W. L. S.

THE

REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

EDITED UNDER DIRECTION OF CONGRESS

By FRANCIS WHARTON,

WITH

PRELIMINARY INDEX AND NOTES HISTORICAL AND LEGAL.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Franklin, Lee, and Adams to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *January* 1, 1779.

SIR: Some late proceedings of the enemy have induced us to submit a few observations to your excellency's superior light and judgment.

His Britannic Majesty's commissioners, in their manifesto of the 3d of October, have denounced "a change in the whole nature and future conduct of the war;" they have declared "that the policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain has thus far checked the extremes of war," when they tended "to distress the people and desolate the country;" that the whole contest is changed; that the laws of self-preservation must now direct the conduct of Great Britain; that these laws will direct her to render the United States of as little avail as possible to France if they are to become an accession to her, and by every means in her power to destroy the new connnection contrived for her ruin. Motions have been made and supported by the wisest men in both Houses of Parliament to address the king to disavow these clauses; but these motions have been rejected by majorities in both Houses, so that the manifesto stands avowed by the three branches of the legislature.

Ministers of state made in Parliament a question concerning the meaning of this manifesto, but no man who reads it and knows the history of their past conduct in this war can doubt its import. There is to be a "change in the nature and conduct of the war." A change for the worse must be horrible indeed! They have already burned the beautiful towns of Charlestown, Falmouth, Norfolk, Kingston, Bedford, Egg Harbor, and German Flats, besides innumerable single buildings and smaller clusters of houses wherever their armies have marched. It is true they left Boston and Philadelphia unhurt; but in all probability

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 366, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 72.

it was merely the dread of a superior army that in these cases restrained their hands, not to mention that burning these towns would have been the ruin of the few secret friends they have still left, of whom there are more in those towns than in all America besides. They have not, indeed, murdered upon the spot *every* woman and child that fell in their way, nor have they in *all* cases refused quarter to the soldiers that at times have fallen into their power, though they have in many. They have also done their utmost in seducing negroes and Indians to commit inhuman barbarities upon the inhabitants, sparing neither age, sex, nor character. Although they have not in all cases refused quarter to soldiers and sailors, they have done what is worse than refusing quarter—they have thrust their prisoners into such dungeons, loaded them with such irons, and exposed them to such lingering torments of cold, hunger, and disease, as have destroyed greater numbers than they could have had an opportunity of murdering if they had made it a rule to give no quarter. Many others they have compelled by force to serve and fight on board their ships against fathers, brothers, friends, and countrymen—a destiny to every sensible mind more terrible than death itself.

It is therefore difficult to apprehend what they mean by a change in the conduct of the war; yet there seems to be no room to doubt that they mean to threaten something more cruel, greater extremes of war, measures that shall distress the people and lay waste the country more than anything they have yet done. The object of the war is now entirely changed. Heretofore their massacres and conflagrations were to divide us and reclaim us to Great Britain. Now, despairing of that end, and perceiving that we shall be faithful to our treaties, their principle is by destroying us to make us useless to France. This principle ought to be held in abhorrence not only by all Christians, but by all civilized nations. If it is once admitted that powers at war have a right to do whatever will weaken or terrify an enemy, it is not possible to foresee where it will end. It would be possible to burn the great cities of Europe. The savages who torture their prisoners do it to make themselves terrible. In fine, all the horrors of the barbarous ages may be introduced and justified.

The cruelties of our enemies have heretofore more than once exasperated the minds of the people so much as to excite apprehensions that they would proceed to retaliation, which, if once commenced, might be carried to extremities; to prevent which the Congress issued an address exhorting to forbearance and a further trial by examples of generosity and lenity to recall their enemies to the practice of humanity amidst the calamities of war. In consequence of which neither the Congress nor any of the States apart have ever exercised or authorized the exercise of the right of retaliation. But now that commissioners, vested with the authority of the nation, have avowed such principles and published such threats, the Congress have, by a resolution of the 30th of

October, solemnly and unanimously declared that they will retaliate. Whatever may be the pretenses of the enemy, it is the manifest drift of their policy to disgust the people of America with their new alliance, by attempting to convince them that, instead of shielding them from distress, it has accumulated additional calamities upon them.

Nothing, certainly, can more become a great and amiable character than to disappoint their purpose, stop the progress of their cruelties, and vindicate the rights of humanity, which are so much injured by this manifesto. We therefore beg leave to suggest to your excellency's consideration whether it would not be advisable for his majesty to interfere, by some declaration to the court of London and to the world, bearing the royal testimony against this barbarous mode of war, and giving assurances that he will join the United States in retaliation, if Great Britain, by putting her threats in execution, should make it necessary. There is another measure, however, more effectual to control their designs and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion; that of sending a powerful fleet, sufficient to secure a naval superiority over them in the American seas. Such a naval force, acting in concert with the armies of the United States, would, in all human probability, take and destroy the whole British power in that part of the world. It would put their wealth and West Indian commerce into the power of France, and reduce them to the necessity of suing for peace. Upon their present naval superiority in those seas depend not only the dominion and rich commerce of their islands, but the supply of their fleets and armies with provisions and every necessary. They have nearly four hundred transports constantly employed in the service of their fleet and army in America, passing from New York and Rhode Island to England, Ireland, Nova Scotia, and their West India Islands, and if any one link in this chain was struck off, if their supplies from any one of these places should be interrupted, their forces could not subsist. Great numbers of these vessels would necessarily fall into the hands of the French fleet and go as prizes to a sure market in the United States. Great numbers of seamen, too, would become prisoners, a loss that England can not repair. It is conceived that it would be impossible for Great Britain to send a very great fleet after the French into those seas. Their men-of-war now in Europe are too old, too rotten, too ill manned, and their masts and yards are of too bad materials to endure such a navigation. The impossibility of their obtaining provisions, artists, and materials in that country, which would be easy to the French, makes it still clearer that they can not send a great additional force, and the fear of Spain's interfering with her powerful navy would restrain them. Whereas France has nothing to fear in Europe from them, as the number and excellence of their armies are an ample security against the feeble land forces of Great Britain.

This naval superiority would open such commerce between the United States and the French West India Islands as would enable our people

to supply themselves with the European and West India articles they want, to send abroad the produce of the country, and, by giving fresh spirit and vigor to trade, would employ the paper currency, the want of which employ has been one cause of its depreciation. The maintenance of such a fleet in America would circulate so many bills of exchange as would likewise in a great measure relieve them from that dangerous evil; and these bills would all return to France for her manufactures, thereby cementing the connection and extending the trade between the two countries. Such a naval superiority would contribute very much to extinguish the hopes of the remaining number of persons who secretly wish, from sinister motives, to again become subjected to Great Britain, and would enable the people of the several States to give such consistency and stability to their infant governments as would contribute greatly to their internal repose, as well as to the vigor of their future operations against the common enemy. The late speedy supply and reparation of his majesty's fleet at Boston will show the advantages which this country must enjoy in carrying on a naval war on a coast friendly to her and hostile to her enemy. And these advantages will in future be more sensible, because the appearance of the fleet before was unexpected, and the harvest in that part of the country had been unfavorable. It is obvious to all Europe that nothing less is at stake than the dominion of the sea, at least the superiority of naval power, and we can not expect Great Britain will ever give it up, without some decisive effort on the part of France. With such an exertion as that of sending a superior fleet to America we see nothing in the course of human affairs that can possibly prevent France from obtaining such a naval superiority without delay. Without it the war may languish for years, to the infinite distress of our country, to the exhausting both of France and England, and the question left to be decided by another war.

We are the more earnest in representing these things to your excellency, as all our correspondence from England for some time has uniformly represented that the intention of the cabinet is conformable to the spirit of the manifesto; that all parties grow more and more out of temper with the Americans; that it has become fashionable with the minority as well as the majority and administration to reproach us both in and out of Parliament; that all parties join in speaking of us in the bitterest terms and in heartily wishing our destruction; that great clamors are raised about our alliance with France as an unnatural combination to ruin them; that the cry is for a speedy and powerful reenforcement of their army and for the activity of their fleet in making descents on the seacoast, while murdering and desolating parties are let loose upon the frontiers of the Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England, and that very early in the year they will carry all these projects into execution. The whole system may, as we conceive, be defeated and the power of Great Britain now

in America totally subdued (and if their power is subdued there, it is reduced everywhere) by the measure we have the honor to propose.

We submit the whole merely as our opinion to your excellency's superior wisdom.

And have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
ARTHUR LEE.
JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin, Lee, and Adams to Sartine.*

PASSY, *January* 2, 1779.

SIR: We had the honor of receiving your excellency's letter of the 22d, and are much obliged to you for the interest you take in what concerns the unhappy prisoners who may escape from England. We have not been inattentive to that subject. There are persons who supply them at Bordeaux, Brest, L'Orient, Nantes, and Dunkirk. A gentleman at Calais has voluntarily done this service, for which we have directed him to draw on us for his disbursements; and we shall as readily discharge what may have been disbursed by your commissaries when we have their accounts.

As there is very little probability of prisoners coming to other ports, we will not give your excellency the trouble you are so good as to offer to take.

The regulation your excellency proposes relative to the prisoners we may take from the enemy and bring into the ports of France is entirely agreeable to us; and we shall direct our agents accordingly, who will readily deliver such prisoners to the persons your excellency may appoint to receive them, having already requested us to procure written orders from you, without which your commissaries were unwilling to take charge of them.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
ARTHUR LEE.
JOHN ADAMS.

A. Lee to Vergennes.†

CHAILLOT, *January* 3, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to send to your excellency the copy of a letter which I received yesterday. It is from the same person as the other which I had the honor of communicating to you through Mr. Grand. It is

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 371.

†MSS. Dep. of State: 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 534. See *infra*, Vergennes to Lee, Jan. 4, 1779; Lee to Berkenhout, Jan. 7, 1779.

fourteen months since the writer has been proposing a rendezvous with Mr. Franklin and myself for the purpose of arranging the conditions of an accommodation. This gentleman, who is named Berkenhout, has since that time been sent to America with the British commissioners. He has been imprisoned in Philadelphia on suspicion of the object of his mission and released for want of proofs. He has again, as you see, returned to his country, and to his endeavors to seduce, by offers of emoluments and *titles of honor*, which we call in our language *honors*.

If your excellency is of opinion that it would be of any utility to endeavor to obtain proofs of authority for what he offers I will answer him accordingly; if otherwise, I will not return him any answer. This is also the opinion of my colleagues.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Vergennes to Arthur Lee.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *January* 4, 1779.

SIR: I did not find annexed to the letter you did me the honor of writing to me yesterday the one from England which you mentioned, and which you say is from Dr. Berkenhout who rendered himself suspected at Philadelphia. But without seeing his letter I think, sir, that after what has passed between Congress and the English commissioners, it would be unbecoming the dignity of your commission to grant a rendezvous to agents who did not bring the palm of sovereign independence in their hands. My opinion would be, therefore, that you should answer in plain terms to this agent that, unless he assures you of the most entire acknowledgment of your independence, and brings you propositions conformable to the fidelity with which your nation and Government glory in fulfilling their engagements, that you can not consent to any interview with him or with any other emissary. You and your colleagues both perceive that these people wish to negotiate with you, not for the purpose of granting you suitable conditions, but to hold up an appearance that there is little agreement between you and us, by means of which illusion the purse of the English is drained.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 535. See *supra*, Lee to Vergennes, Jan. 3, 1779; *infra*, Lee to Berkenhout, Jan. 7, 1779. For notice of Berkenhout, see Introduction, §§ 150, 204.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 4, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France learns by M. Francy that, from the offer which he made in relation to the payment by compensation of a part of the sums due from the United States to M. de Beaumarchais, consequences have been drawn which are contrary to the intentions of the undersigned.

He finds himself obliged, to prevent all mistakes, by declaring in writing, as he always has done verbally, that all the supplies furnished by M. de Beaumarchais to the States, whether merchandise or cannons and military goods, were furnished in the way of commerce, and that the articles which came from the king's magazines and arsenals were sold to M. de Beaumarchais by the department of artillery, and that he has furnished his obligations for the price of these articles. He is, consequently, a debtor to the war department, whilst he is a creditor of the United States by the sale of these same articles, which had become his property. On the other side, the king is a debtor to the United States.

It is this situation, namely, the difficulty which Congress finds in paying M. de Beaumarchais by return of merchandise, and the considerable saving which would result to Congress, that has determined the undersigned to offer a mutual compensation, and to pay the king's debts to the United States to the amount of the receipts of M. de Beaumarchais, which Congress will receive in ready money.

This is the simple and natural operation which the undersigned has offered, and which ought not at all to change the situation of M. de Beaumarchais with regard to Congress, since he is and continues to be a creditor in his own name of the United States, and since the undersigned simply offers to pay to the discharge of Congress a certain sum, which the undersigned will determine in concert with M. de Francy when Congress shall have passed a resolution on this offer.

The undersigned thinks that he owes these explanations to his respect for Congress, and he hopes that if there may remain any false ideas on this subject, Congress will be pleased to place him in a situation to supply all the information which may yet be desired.

GERARD.

Deane to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 4, 1779.

SIR: In my letter of the 30th ultimo I took the liberty of mentioning to Congress a circumstance which made me very solicitous for a final issue of my affairs, which was the illiberal and abusive attacks made on

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 571.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 131.

my character, as the public agent and minister of these States, by a certain Mr. Thomas Paine, styling himself secretary for foreign affairs, and pretending to address the public in his official capacity. This person has since, in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 2d instant, ventured to assure the public that the supplies which I contracted for with Mons. Beaumarchais were promised and engaged, and that as a present, before I arrived in France, and that he has in his possession full proof of this.

I can not suppose that Mr. Paine is possessed of any letters or papers on this subject which are not before Congress, or to which the honorable members are strangers. I will not trouble Congress with any observations on the many groundless and extravagant assertions of this writer; but justice to my own character obliges me to entreat that, if what he has asserted on this subject is a fact, I may be made acquainted with it. Mons. Beaumarchais, in his letter to Congress of the 23d of March last, asserts directly the contrary to what this man has ventured to publish; and as my engagements with Mons. Beaumarchais were made on a very different ground, it is of the last importance to me to know if I have been deceived in the whole of this transaction and how, that I may be able to regulate my conduct accordingly.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Franklin to Ralph Izard.*

PASSY, *January* 4, 1779.

SIR: Your intimation that you expect more money from us obliges us to expose to you our circumstances. Upon the supposition that Congress had borrowed in America but five millions of dollars, or twenty-five millions of livres, and relying on the remittances intended to be sent to us for answering other demands, we gave expectations that we should be able to pay here the interest of that sum, as a means of supporting the credit of the currency. The Congress have borrowed near twice that sum, and are now actually drawing on us for the interest, the bills appearing here daily for acceptance. Their distress for money in America has been so great, from the enormous expense of the war, that they have also been induced to draw on us for very large sums to stop other pressing demands, and they have not been able to purchase remittances for us to the extent they proposed; and of what they have sent much has been taken or treacherously carried into England; only two small cargoes of tobacco having arrived, and they are long since mortgaged to the farmers-general, so that they produce us nothing, but leave us expenses to pay.

The Continental vessels of war which came to France have likewise required great sums of us, to furnish or refit them and supply the men

*8 Sparks' Franklin, 308; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 292.

with necessaries. The prisoners, too, who escaped from England claim a very expensive assistance from us, and are much dissatisfied with the scanty allowance we are able to afford them. The interest bills above mentioned, of the drawing of which we have received notice, amount to two millions and a half, and we have not a fifth part of the sum in our banker's hands to answer them; and large orders to us from Congress for supplies of clothing, arms, and ammunition remain uncomplied with for want of money.

In this situation of our affairs we hope you will not insist on our giving you a farther credit with our banker, with whom we are daily in danger of having no farther credit ourselves. It is not a year since you received from us the sum of two thousand guineas, which you thought necessary on account of your being to set out immediately for Florence. You have not incurred the expense of that journey. You are a gentleman of fortune. You did not come to France with any dependence on being maintained here with your family at the expense of the United States in the time of their distress, and without rendering them the equivalent service they expected.

On all these considerations we should rather hope that you would be willing to reimburse us the sum we have advanced to you, if it may be done with any possible convenience to your affairs. Such a supply would at least enable us to relieve more liberally our unfortunate countrymen, who have long been prisoners, stripped of every thing, of whom we daily expect to have near three hundred upon our hands by the exchange.

We have the honor to be, etc.*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 5, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France can not forbear to submit to the Congress of the United States the passages underscored in the two gazettes annexed, under date of the 3d and 5th of this month. He has no doubt of the indignation of Congress at the indiscreet assertions contained in these passages, which equally bring into question the dignity and reputation of the king, my master, and that of the United States. These assertions will become, in the hands of the enemies of the common cause, a weapon the more powerful and dangerous

* This letter was written by Dr. Franklin, but intended to be signed by the commissioners jointly. On the back of the manuscript is the following indorsement: "Rough draft of a proposed letter in answer to one from Mr. Izard to the commissioners dated Jan. 2." As it is here called the draft of a *proposed* letter, it may possibly never have been sent.—SPARKS.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 572.

as the author is an officer of Congress, and as he takes advantage of hi situation to give credit to his opinions and to his affirmations.

The aforesaid minister relies entirely on the wisdom of Congress t take measures suitable to the circumstance. It has not been owing to hin that the author has not himself repaired the injury which he has done the minister plenipotentiary having hastened to convince him of th wrongs of which he was guilty when the first of these gazettes appeare in public.*

GERARD.

The passages referred to in the above were contained in a piece pub lished in the Pennsylvania Packet, under the title, "Common Sense t the Public on Mr. Deane's Affair," written by Thomas Paine, then sec retary to the committee on foreign affairs, and are as follows:

If Mr. Deane, or any other gentleman, will procure an order from Congress to in spect an account in my office, or any of Mr. Deane's friends in Congress will take th trouble of coming themselves, I will give him or them my attendance, and show then in a handwriting which Mr. Deane is well acquainted with that the supplies he s pompously plumes himself upon (namely, those which were sent from France in th *Amphitrite, Seine,* and *Mercury*) were promised and engaged, and that *as a present,* be fore he even arrived in France, and that the part which fell to Mr. Deane was onl to see it done, and how he has performed that service the public are now acquainte with. The last paragraph in the account is, upon Mr. Deane's arrival in France th business went into his hands, and the aids were at length embarked in the *Amphi trite, Mercury,* and *Seine.* I have been the more explicit on this subject, not so muc on Mr. Deane's account, as from a principle of public justice. It shows, in the firs instance, that the greatness of the American cause drew at its first beginning the at tention of Europe, and that the justness of it was such as appeared to merit support and in the second instance, *that those who are now her allies prefaced that alliance b an early and generous friendship;* yet, that we might not attribute too much to hu man or auxiliary aid, so unfortunate were those supplies that only one ship out of th three arrived; the *Mercury* and the *Seine* fell into the enemy's hands.†

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.‡

PARIS, *January* 5, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: My dispatches of April 14; May 9, 20, and 23; June 1 9, 15, and 17; July 6, 16, 20, 26 and 29; August 21 and 31; Septembe 9 and 30; October 5 and 19; November 4, 18, and 20; and December remain unanswered.

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* See as to question of fact in this case, Introduction, §§ 52, 62.

† Of Paine, Washington, in a letter of June 12, 1784, to Richard H. Lee, thus speaks "Unsolicited by and unknown to Mr. Paine, I take the liberty of hinting the service and distressed condition (for so I think it may be called) of that gentleman. Tha his 'Common Sense,' and many of his 'Crises' were well timed, and had a happy effec upon the public mind, none, I believe, who will recur to the epochs at which the were published, will deny.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 536, with omissions and verba changes.

Nothing material has since happened in Europe. The late proceedngs in Holland discover that the English party have gained ground here. The truth is that the English borrow their money and then ribe them with it; for it is so manifestly their interest to join against ngland, and their advantages from the trade of America being free, re clearly so much greater than those of any other nation, that unless heir rulers were blinded by some powerful application, it is impossible ut that they should be active and earnest in promoting this revolu-ion. The court of France is acting with firmness and wisdom to re-train them by powerful motives of interest.

There does not at present seem any probability of an accommodation n Germany. The ordinary of the expense our enemy is to incur this ear stands thus:

xchequer bills to be paid off	£2,500,000
ritish troops	3,640,000
oreign troops	713,000
avy	4,589,000
ilitia	700,000
	12,142,000
o this add transport service and extraordinaries, which can not be less than	5,000,000
	17,142,000

	Troops.
hey purpose having on the British establishment	82,744
oreigners	24,800
ugmentation to the British by new levies	14,440
ilitia, including fencible men	39,701
merican tories	6,000
ish establishment	14,685
	181,685

Though they will never be able to realize this number or near it, yet he expense will not therefore be diminished. With their taxes doubled nd such an enormous increase of expense, while her commerce is so reatly abridged, it may easily be judged how long Great Britain can ontinue so ruinous a contest. Nothing seems more sure than that she ill not get even the stipulated number of recruits from Germany, uch less has she any chance of an augmentation.

Yet all the advices concur in assuring us that the cabinet is deterined on pushing the war in America, for which purpose they propose ending the following regiments: 1st and 2d battalions of royals; d, 11th, 13th, 19th, 25th, 30th, 32d, 36th, and 69th; the 18th, 66th, nd 67th from Ireland. These fourteen regiments may contain from ve to six thousand men. One of my correspondents, in whom I have uch reliance, thinks they will be sent to the West Indies and not to

the continent. In truth, I believe they will wait till the operations of Count d'Estaing enable them to decide whether they can venture to send them to New York, or must necessarily re-enforce the troops in their islands in order to preserve them.

I send you copies of the bill of lading and the invoice of supplies shipped from Bilboa, which I hope will arrive safe. You also have an account of the money I have been intrusted with and how I have expended it. The vouchers are the merchants' accounts, which I have regularly transmitted as I received them.

[The enclosed copy of a letter from Dr. Berkenhout, by which Congress will see how much our enemies are distressed, and yet how inveterate they are in their persuasion, that because everything is venal among themselves, therefore it must be so among us. It looks like a visitation upon the King of England and his advisers that experience never makes them wise. They see and have seen, or rather they feel, the necessity of making peace. They have tried all undue means in vain, and yet they still persist in dishonoring and disgracing themselves by a repetition of ineffectual attempts, and neglect the only obvious means pointed out to them by Congress of obtaining upon honorable terms the pacification for which they will shortly be obliged to sue most humbly.]*

We wrote to M. de Beaumarchais upon our receiving your letter and the agreement with his supposed company that we were ready to settle accounts with him whenever he chose. He has made no answer. If your commercial agents do not keep an exact account of the marks of what they receive on the public account, and count or weigh what is delivered, you will want the means, as we do, of checking the demands made. For example, M. Monthieu brings in an account to us for so many uniforms of blue cloth and so many pounds of rose copper; and Mr. Williams, the agent, gives a receipt for so many bales of uniforms and so many casks of copper, without specifying the number, weight, or quality, so that we are as little able to judge whether what we are to pay for has been received as if no receipt at all was produced. Nor is the receipt of the agent on your side of the water in the least more explicit.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S.—Circumstances are such that it is not prudent to say much about my particular department, but I think Congress will have reason to be satisfied with that quarter.

JANUARY 28.

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

Public money expended.

1777.		Livres.
May	25. Power of attorney to Dr. Franklin to dispose of the first remittance	9
	Remitted to Gardoqui, at Bilboa (for supplies sent to Congress), 1777, November 29, 60,790; May 29, 1778, 14,599; September 25, 24,654; January 3, 1779, 19,905	119,948
1778.		
Feb.	7. Courier with dispatches to Nantes	120
	20. A person's expenses to and from London to get intelligence	1,165
Mar.	30 Remitted to the prisoners at Portsmouth by Mr. Thornton	495
	Advanced for the State of Virginia	35,585
	Cost and expenses of 800 fusils	22,548
June	10. Lieutenant Jones, of the *Providence*, his expenses for bringing dispatches	347
June	23. Mr. Thornton's expenses to Portsmouth, etc	480
	My own expenses	2,232
Sept.	25. Mr. Bonfield's account for supplies sent	52,501
	Banker's commission	1,037
	30,000 blankets ordered from Bilboa	210,000
	Charges on them	18,000
		464,567

Public money received.

1777, May.	Remittance from Spain	187,500
1778, Oct.	Two remittances from Spain	187,500
	Interest on the last for three months	2,000
		377,000
	Debit	87,567
		464,567

JANUARY 1, 1779.

A. Lee to Dr. Berkenhout.*

PARIS, *January* 7, 1779.

Your favor of the 25th did not reach me so soon as by the date it should have done. I congratulate the ladies very sincerely on your safe return from an expedition the fruitlessness of which I could easily have foretold. My waking opinion is, that a meeting anywhere will be equally fruitless on any other plan than that marked out by Congress: that without the concurrence of our allies no conference will be held or treaty made. That you will come with safety [safe conduct?] and effect, if armed with adequate powers to acknowledge the sovereignty of the United States, and are content with terms consistent with the most perfect good faith to our allies.

*MSS. Dep. of State; see Introduction, §§ 150, 204; Lee to Vergennes, *supra*, Jan. 4, 1779; Vergennes to Lee, Jan. 5, 1779.

On these conditions our jarring worlds may harmonize again, and I am fully persuaded that delay will only add to these demands and render the blessed work of peace more difficult. However we may lament the calamities of war, we are determined it shall not end but in permanent peace and safety.

You have always known me to be sincere, and you may be most assured that I never was more so than at present. Adieu.

ARTHUR LEE.

A. Lee to Vergennes.*

CHAILLOT, *January* 8, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to send to your excellency the answer which I should have written to Dr. Berkenhout, had I sent one. I have studied the court of London and its agents very much and for a long time, and I conceive that it is most for our interest to treat them with pride, if not with an appearance of contempt.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S.—My letters from England announce that a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, with provisions for the English islands, is to sail from Cork in a short time with an escort of two sail of the line and one frigate.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 10, 1779.

SIR: I can not forbear to present to Congress the striking observations occasioned by the delay which the answer to my representation of the beginning of the past month meets with. Already the enemies of the common cause represent it as a proof of the diversity of the opinions which prevail in Congress, as if there could exist a contrariety of sentiments upon a subject so simple and a matter so clear that, to call it in question would be, at the same time, to call in question the solidity, and even the existence, of the alliance. Certainly, sir, no one is further than myself from adopting suspicions which would be so fatal to the common cause; but I have had the honor to explain the motives which should induce Congress to give to this subject a ready, formal, and explicit declaration. They know that erroneous opinions become more difficult to destroy when they have had time to take root in men's minds; it is then wished to remedy the evil, but it is found irremediable. The

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 535. † 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 574.

greater part of these reflections is applicable, in an equal degree, to the declaration which I had the honor to make to Congress on the 5th of this month, and I wait impatiently for answers which may quiet my court against the efforts made by the enemies to draw from the facts in question inferences injurious to the allies and the alliance, efforts of which Congress alone can avoid the dangers. My zeal and my respect do not allow me to conceal from them apprehensions which seem to me but too well founded and worthy of all their attention.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GERARD.

On the 12th of January, Congress, taking into consideration the publication in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 2d and 5th instants, under the title of "Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's Affair," of which Mr. Thomas Paine, secretary of the committee on foreign affairs, has acknowledged himself to be the author, and also the memorials of the minister plenipotentiary of France of the 5th and 10th instant, respecting the said publication, "Resolved, unanimously, that in answer to the memorials of the plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty of the 5th and 10th instant, the President be directed to assure the said minister that Congress do fully, in the clearest and most explicit manner, disavow the publications referred to in his said memorials, and as they are convinced, by indisputable evidence, that the supplies shipped in the *Amphitrite*, *Seine*, and *Mercury* were not a present, and that his most Christian majesty, the great and generous ally of these United States, did not preface his alliance with any supplies whatever sent to America, so they have not authorized the writer of the said publication to make any such assertions as are contained therein, but, on the contrary, do highly disapprove of the same."*

Vergennes to Arthur Lee.†

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *January* 10, 1779.

SIR: I received with the letter which you did me the honor to write me the 8th a copy of your answer to Dr. Berkenhout, which is noble and frank. These are not qualities the most cherished in England, but it is good they should know there that your intentions are not different from those of your constituents, and that they in vain attempt your

* The conference of Gerard with Congress in respect to Paine's assertion that the funds supplied in France to Deane were "promised and engaged, and *that as a present*, before he (Deane) ever arrived in France," which Gerard denied, is given in MSS. vol. 114, Records Dep. of State. (See Introduction, § 52.)

† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 539.

and their fidelity. Agreeable to our advices from England, the gales of wind towards the end of last month have much disordered the numerous convoys that were prepared for the two Americas. I am going to acquaint M. de Sartine of the one that is about sailing from Cork.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Dumas to the Commissioners at Paris.*

THE HAGUE, *January* 12, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: The States of Holland assemble to-morrow. Our friend comes this evening, and I shall see him. They are here every day more embarrassed. Far from the answer to the memoir sent by their high mightinesses to their ambassador at Paris being accepted, the ambassador of France has received an express from his court, the purport of which we shall know at the same time with the result of the deliberations of the States of Holland.

JANUARY 13.

The assembly to-day has been occupied only with simple formalities. I know on very good authority that Amsterdam will have permission to trade to the French Isles in America, as well directly as by the way of St. Eustatia and Curaçoa; and I have been authorized to inform certain armed houses [*maisons armés*] of it, in order that they may be able to speculate in advance upon it.

JANUARY 14.

They wished to resolve to-day by a majority for a delay of four months longer for the convoys of ship timber. All at once Haarlem is ranged on the side of Amsterdam, and Alcmaer has taken the matter *ad referendum* which has much displeased a grand personage present. The grand pensionary cried out also much upon it, and wished to engage the deputies of this city to accede to the opinion of the majority; but they alleged the orders of their city in excuse. This is the cause that the resolution can not be passed till next week. It will be such, moreover, that the court of France will regard it as derogatory to perfect neutrality, for the majority will always prevail; but then Amsterdam, Haarlem, and perhaps Alcmaer will protest. You see, gentlemen, that the opposition not only sustains itself, but gains ground. This opposition was almost nothing six months ago; it was a feeble plant, that could only stand by bending when the wind blew; now it is a solid and robust body, well supported, which resists all the efforts of the English party, which has broken them, and which will succeed at length in prevailing over this party, and will restore to the republic its ancient dignity.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 256.

JANUARY 16 (morning).

Yesterday, the 15th, in the evening, the ambassador sought me out to go and confirm, on his part, to our friend that this morning he should present a memorial to the president of their high mightinesses with the new order of the king, which excludes the commerce and navigation of from the favors which France permits neutrals to enjoy on the sea and in her ports, and preserves them only to the flag of the city of Amsterdam, and that after that he should (though against usage) make the circuit of the hotels of all the cities of Holland, and testify to their respective pensionaries the regret and repugnance with which the king will see himself forced by themselves to publish the said order. I waited at the Hôtel de France till 2 o'clock in the morning to give to the ambassador, who supped abroad, the answer of our friend. He sent it off the same night by express to his court, and I hold myself ready this morning to report on his part to our friend the manner in which all shall pass.

16 (evening).

This morning the ambassador, after having presented his memorial to the president of their high mightinesses, made the rounds to give information of it to the grand pensionary of Holland, to the secretary of their high mightinesses, to the prince stadtholder, to the pensionaries of the cities of Amsterdam, Dort, Brille, and Rotterdam. He was nearly two hours with the deputies of this last city. He testified to all of them the regret of the king in having to withdraw from them his favors, and to permit one patriotic city alone to enjoy them. All manifested more discontent at this distinction than at the privation, and there is danger of I know not what fatal consequences. They pretend that it is a thing without example, and against their constitution, to treat with one city only. The ambassador replied to them that this was a wrong view: that there was neither treaty nor convention between France and Amsterdam, but that he merely let this place continue to enjoy what she enjoyed before, and that the republic ought to be, on the contrary, well satisfied that by means of this city she would not lose all. The next week he will see the pensionaries of the other cities. For the rest I am of opinion that all this will be arranged yet satisfactorily, and that the republic, seeing that the thing is serious, will take the part of giving satisfaction to France.

JANUARY 17.

I gave the ambasador to-day an account of the discourse that I held yesterday with our friend. I must return to morrow with the ambassador. I only tell you, gentlemen, the essentials, and spare you the details of messages which they charge me with, whose result only is interesting. My interposition saves the noise there would be from too frequent interviews between persons who are watched.

JANUARY 20.

The two pensionaries of Amsterdam went this morning on the part of their city to the house of the ambassador to give thanks, and to say that they hoped his majesty would not deprive the other confederates of favors which he is willing to preserve to them. Thence they went to the grand pensionary, to give him information of this proceeding. In place of sour looks and altercations, which they expected as well at the States of the Province to-day as elsewhere, they were agreeably surprised to find themselves treated everywhere with much respect. Those of Rotterdam, among others, sought their intercession for their city. The merchants of Rotterdam came to implore the protection of the gentlemen of Amsterdam, who properly sent them away to their own magistrates. The ambassador, on his part, notified this morning the grand pensionary by word of mouth, and afterwards at his request by a note in form of a letter, that the king has fixed the 26th of January to publish the new order, if he should not receive such an answer as he demands.

JANUARY 21.

Nothing is done yet. The advice of the admiralty proposed to-day to the States of Holland is in contradiction with itself. They annul, in truth, their famous resolution of the 18th of November as to the restriction of convoy (from which they wished then to exclude ship timber), but would suspend the adoption of the resolution as to the extension of these convoys until the time when they would assign their crews. This is only pushing time by the shoulders; it is the Lernean hydra, whose heads started up in place of those that were destroyed, for they agree on all the rest. There were yesterday only altercations and reproaches, to which those of Amsterdam answered with as much moderation and decency as firmness. All has been deferred till to-morrow, and if they will decide the affair by the majority, Amsterdam will protest anew.

JANUARY 22.

Nothing yet is done in the assembly of Holland. The grand pensionary had proposed a draft of a resolution, which Amsterdam would not agree to, because there were terms which appear deceptive, and which were susceptible of a different explanation at the court of London from what it might receive at that of France. The principle is this: They would delay the final resolution for the extension of convoy to the 26th, the day when the admiralty must assign the crews and armament. Now, this extension will only signify in relation to one of the powers the force of the convoys; in relation to the other, the suspension of convoy for ship timber. Those of Haarlem have, therefore, proposed some amendments. If all acquiesce, they may to-morrow adopt a unanimous resolution that may perhaps satisfy France.

JANUARY 23.

Yet undecided. All the cities, meanwhile, are of one mind with Amsterdam on the plan proposed by Haarlem. But a great personage with the majority of the nobility still dispute about the terms. Pending this, a courier has been dispatched to-day to Paris to obtain, if possible, a further delay of a week in favor of the city of Amsterdam, which strongly interceded in behalf of the others. It remains to be known if this courier can arrive in time on the 26th. Amsterdam has declared to-day that she will remain firm and immovable, and will neither suffer herself to be forced nor deceived—a very strong expression.

JANUARY 29.

Contrary to all appearances, they have not resolved anything to-day. The answer proposed by the admiralty was so obscure and ambiguous, that Amsterdam has given notice that she will protest again that it was only necessary to communicate to France the resolution of the 26th instant, by which the republic repealed that of the 18th of November, which displeased France, and embraced the most perfect neutrality. They were not willing to follow this advice, and they have again prolonged the assembly till Tuesday or Wednesday next. They wish to deceive us, said our friend, but they will not succeed.

FEBRUARY 4.

The assembly of Holland resolved to-day, by a majority, on the answer to be given to France, referred from yesterday, against which Amsterdam, with Haarlem, has renewed formally her protestation of the 19th of December; after which the assembly separated. It will meet again the 25th of February.

FEBRUARY 16.

The States-General have not yet made answer to the ambassador. The deputies of the provinces have declared that they were not authorized thereto by their constituents.

I am returned from Amsterdam, where I have been to see if the four new burgomasters who have entered upon office are in the same disposition as those of the past year; and I have found that all goes on well; as also if the merchants intend to profit forthwith by the privileges conceded to them. A letter will not admit of the details, which I have communicated hereon to the ambassador of France. The paper here annexed, which I have drawn up and circulated, will give you a summary view of all that has passed of interest.

Our friend has sent me the materials for a plan of a treaty between the two republics. I am occupied with it. As soon it is drafted I will make copies for America and Paris.

The long silence that America keeps, and the rumors which are industriously spread, and which nobody has authentically contradicted, of divisions that prevail there, of the submission even of two or three of

the most Southern States, and even of Virginia, make me see and experience more reserve and timidity, on the part even of those of Amsterdam, than in the past year. I pray God to guard America from traitors as well as from open enemies.

FEBRUARY 24.

There is a letter from the prince stadtholder to the States of the Province of Friesland, which will have serious consequences, because it is very partial to England and against France. I had the good fortune, Friday, the 19th, to be able to procure an authentic copy of it for the ambassador. I learned the same day that it was printed at Amsterdam. It sells, circulates rapidly, and makes much noise.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Sartine to the Commissioners at Paris.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *January* 13, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter of the 2d instant. I know that you direct your agents, in different ports of the kingdom, to supply American prisoners escaped or returning from England with whatever may be necessary on their arrival; but you appear not to have given these orders in the ports of Normandy, and I am informed that some prisoners who need assistance have appeared in those ports. It seems to me necessary that you should take such measures as you may judge proper on this subject. I will transmit to you an account of the expenses which have been incurred up to the last of December.

I have given orders in all the ports for the reception of English prisoners brought in by citizens of the United States, for their detention in the prisons destined for that purpose, and for their usual supply of rations. A particular account of this expenditure will be kept. You may therefore direct your agents in all the ports to deliver such prisoners, on their arrival, to the commissaries-general.

And I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE SARTINE.

Franklin, Lee, and Adams to William Lee, at Frankfort.†

PASSY, *January* 13, 1779.

SIR: The letter which you did us the honor to write us on the 15th of December we have received. As we have heard nothing further of the congress in Germany, which you inform us was talked of, we presume that no such measure will take place.

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 371. † *Ibid.*, 372.

However, whether there be a congress or not, we can not comply with the terms of the gentleman you mention, nor advise him to take any steps in the business.

We have also the honor of your letter of the 9th of December, informing us of your draft upon us for twenty-four thousand livres, at one month's date, payable to Mr. Grand. The bill of exchange itself has also been presented to us, and accepted.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
ARTHUR LEE.
JOHN ADAMS.

Congress—Fidelity to French Alliance.*

JANUARY 14, 1779.

Whereas it has been represented to this House by the honorable Sieur Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France, that "it is pretended the United States have preserved the liberty of treating with Great Britain separately from their ally as long as Great Britain shall not have declared war against the king his master: Therefore,

Resolved unanimously, That as neither France nor these United States may of right, so these United States will not, conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy without the formal consent of their ally first obtained; and that any matters or things which may be insinuated or asserted to the contrary thereof tend to the injury and dishonor of the said States.†

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 14, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter with which you honored me on the 13th of this month, on sending me the resolution of Congress in answer to the representations which I had the honor to make to it on the 5th and 10th.

I request you to receive, and to offer to Congress, all the sensibility with which I have seen the frank, noble, and explicit manner in which they have destroyed false and dangerous insinuations, which might deceive the misinformed people, and give arms to the enemies of the common cause.

The king, my master, sir, does not need these proofs in order to place

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* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress.

† See *infra*, proceedings of Congress, Feb. 15, 23, 24, 1779.

‡ 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 575.

his confidence in the disposition of firmness and constancy which is exhibited by Congress in the principles of the alliance; but his majesty will always see with pleasure the measures that Congress shall take to maintain its reputation inviolate, and it is from this same consideration that I flatter myself he will have found my representation of the 7th of December last equally worthy of his attention.

I am, with respect and esteem, etc.,

GERARD.

Franklin to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PASSY, *January* 15, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: It being undoubtedly our duty to give the clearest account to Congress of the disbursement of their money intrusted to us, and as I apprehend our advancing to Mr. William Lee and Mr. Ralph Izard so large a sum as four thousand guineas at once, in February, 1778, without any order of Congress for so doing, and at a time when money, was most wanted to fulfill their actual orders in the purchase of arms, etc., may subject the commissioners to censure, I think it right and necessary to relate the circumstances, that they may be communicated to our constitutents. Those gentlemen, then, having represented to Mr. Deane, Mr. Lee, and myself that, though they had received commissions to go and reside at the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Florence, no provision had arrived for their subsistence; that they were nearly ready to set out for their respective destinations, but wanted money to defray the expense of their journeys; for which they therefore requested us to furnish them with a credit on our banker; the commissioners, fearing that the public interests might possibly suffer if those journeys were delayed till the necessary provision or orders should arrive from America, thought they might be justified in giving such a credit for the expense of those journeys; and Mr. Lee, being asked what sum he imagined would be necessary, said justly that the expense of his journey could not be exactly ascertained beforehand; but, if he were empowered to draw on our banker, he should certainly only take from time to time what was absolutely necessary, and therefore it was of little importance for what sum the credit should be ordered; it would, however, look handsome and confidential if the sum were two thousand louis. We, thereupon, confiding that no more of this money would be taken out of our disposition than the expenses of the journeys as they should accrue, did frankly but unwarily give the orders.

Mr. Deane and myself were, however, soon surprised with the intelligence that the gentlemen had gone directly to the banker, and by virtue of these orders had taken out of our account the whole sum mentioned and carried it to their own; leaving the money indeed in his

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* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 310; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 294.

hands, but requiring his receipt for it as their money, for which he was to be accountable to them only. This enormous sum having been received by those gentlemen not above ten months, I was still more surprised when the following letters were communicated to me by my present colleagues, requiring more money. My colleague Mr. Adams was at first as much surprised as myself——*

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

PARIS, *January* 15, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: [I have the honor, gentlemen, of enclosing you copies of my answer to Dr. Berkenhout and my correspondence with the minister upon the same. Knowing how little sincerity or honor there is in the intentions of the King of England and his agents, I expect to hear nothing more upon the subject.]‡

Our enemies are in as much confusion and disorder as possible. Admiral Keppel's trial, which is considered as a sort of an assassination, has revolted all men's minds. Those of Sir Hugh Palliser and the Howes are soon to follow. The demon of discord has lighted among them his most destructive torch. They have made some attempts on the landed property in Wales, which is likely to raise that principality against them if they persist; and the king is not remarkable for the wisdom of retracting from what he has once commenced. It is at present by no means improbable that they will have intestine commotions to employ them in the course of this year, and their possessions are so ill provided, that many of them must fall an easy prey to our ally. The parting proclamation and manifesto of their commissioners has disgraced them much in Europe, and the counter manifesto of Congress is generally approved.

A large West India fleet and transport, victuallers of two hundred sail, with twenty-five sail of men-of-war to convoy them, were lately dispersed by a terrible storm in the channel. A most valuable East Indiaman was sunk to the bottom by the *Russel*, a 74-gun ship, which was greatly damaged. Many of their transports were forced into the harbors of France and captured. The loss, damage, and delay are very considerable, and the more distressing to them, as they are with great reason under infinite apprehensions for the fate of their islands. It is supposed that only five of the men-of-war are to continue with them quite to the West Indies.

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* Here the manuscript breaks off, apparently in an unfinished state.—SPARKS'.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 539, with omissions and verbal changes.

‡ Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

There are many doubts of their being able to raise the loan they want, and it certainly will not be procured but on most ruinous terms. In short, their distress begins to be proportioned to their deserts, and is only exceeded by the folly of their councils.

There is not yet any appearance of a pacification in Germany; and the city of Amsterdam is exerting its utmost to preserve the States-General in their neutrality.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 15, 1779.

SIR: With all my eagerness for whatever can be agreeable to Congress, I have made use of their resolution relative to M. Duportail † and the officers who accompany him. They feel much honored by the praises which their services and conduct have merited, as well as by the confidence which Congress shows in them, by desiring them to pass another campaign in the service of the United States. Their letter, a copy of which is annexed, expresses their resolution to accept this invitation, and moreover contains proofs of an unlimited confidence in the justice and goodness of Congress.

I do not doubt, sir, that these sentiments will increase the degree of esteem and good will which they already deserve on account of their distinguished services. This affair being thus settled, I shall lose no time in asking of the king the consent which the officers of engineers need. My knowledge of the dispositions of the king and his ministry in relation to whatever may be useful to the United States does not allow me to doubt that my conduct and the attachment of these officers to the American service will be approved.

I am, with respectful esteem, etc.,

GERARD.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 576.

† Duportail (Louis Lebegne) was one of the first engineers engaged by Deane in Paris in 1776. He was appointed colonel of engineers on his arrival at Philadelphia and became brigadier-general on Nov. 17, 1777, and major-general on Nov. 16, 1781 in recognition of his services in the command of the engineer department at Yorktown. He materially aided La Fayette during the latter's Virginia campaign. Duportail on his return to France became maréchal de camp; and was at the head of the war department in 1790–'91. He escaped to America during the reign of terror, but died at sea on the return voyage. See Introduction, § 78.

Duportail, La Radiere, and Laumoy to M. Gerard.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 15, 1779.

SIR: We have been penetrated with gratitude on seeing in the resolution of Congress, annexed to your excellency's letter, proofs of esteem with which we are honored by our illustrious general, and which gives occasion to the proposition which is made to us of continuing in the service of the United States through the next campaign. We willingly consent to it, since your excellency thinks that we shall thereby fulfill the intentions of the court, and since you are so kind as to take upon yourself the trouble of asking from it the necessary permission. Relying also on the justice of Congress for the favors which we may merit from longer services, we affix no conditions to the continuance of our residence in America. But we deem it our duty to state, that being determined to remain here by our desire of serving and of being useful to the United States, if the means of usefulness should disappear on any account whatsoever we shall be desirous of preserving the liberty of returning into our country. Sensible of the interest which your excellency is so kind as to take in this affair, we beg you to accept our most humble thanks.

We are, respectfully, your excellency's most obedient humble servants,

DUPORTAIL.
LA RADIERE.
LAUMOY.

P. S.—M. de Goudion has said that he would agree to whatever we should do.

Price to Arthur Lee.†

NEWINGTON-GREEN, *January* 18, 1779.

DEAR SIR: Your most kind and excellent letter, together with the letter conveying the resolution of Congress, has made the deepest impression on my mind. I entreat you to accept yourself and to deliver to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams my best acknowledgments. Though I can not hesitate about the reply addressed to the honorable commissioners, and through them to Congress, which accompanies this letter, yet so flattering a testimony of the regard of an assembly which I consider as the most respectable and important in the world can not but give me the highest pleasure, and I shall always reckon it among the first honors of my life.

There is an indolence growing upon me as I grow older which will probably prevent me forever from undertaking any public employment.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 576. † 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 540.

When I am in my study and among my books and have nothing to encumber me I am happy, but so weak are my spirits, that the smallest hurry and even consciousness of having anything to do which *must* be done will sometimes distress and overpower me. What I have written on the subject of finances has been chiefly an amusement which I had pursued at my leisure, with some *hope*, indeed, but very little *expectation*, of its being useful. Nothing can be more melancholy than to see so many great European states depressed and crippled by having debts which have been the growth of ages, and which in the end must ruin them, but which a small appropriation faithfully applied might have always kept within the bounds of safety. This is particularly true of this country. Here our debts must soon produce a shocking catastrophe. The new world will, I hope, take warning and profit by the follies, corruptions, and miseries of the old.

My pamphlets on the principles of government and the American war were extorted from me by my judgment and my feelings. They have brought upon me a great deal of abuse; but abundant amends have been made me by the approbation of many of the best men here and abroad, and particularly by that vote of Congress, to which I suppose they may have contributed. When you write to any of the members of that assembly be so good as to represent me as a zealous friend to liberty, who is anxiously attentive to the great struggle in which they are engaged, and who wishes earnestly, for the sake of the world, that British America may preserve its liberty, set an example of moderation and magnanimity, and establish such forms of government as may render it an *asylum* for the virtuous and oppressed in other countries.

Tell Dr. Franklin that he is one of the friends in whom, while in this country, I always delighted, and for whom I must ever retain the greatest esteem and affection. We are now separated from one another, never probably to meet again on this side the grave. My connections and state of health and spirits are such that I must stay in this country and wait its fate. I do this with a painful concern for the infatuation that has brought it into its present danger, but at the same time with indifference as far as my own personal interest is concerned, and a perfect complacency in the consciousness of having endeavored to act the part of a good citizen and to serve the best of all causes. Will you further mention me particularly to Mr. Adams and inform him that I greatly respect his character.

Some good friends of yours and mine are well, but I differ from them at present in opinion.

Under a grateful sense of your friendship, and with regard and wishes of all possible happiness,

I am, dear sir, etc.,

RICHARD PRICE.

Congress—Conduct of Commissioners abroad.*

JANUARY 20, 1779.

Resolved, That a committee of one member from each State be appointed, to take into consideration the foreign affairs of these United States, and also the conduct of the late and present commissioners of these States in Europe, and report thereon. The members chosen: Mr. Whipple, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Duane, Mr. Fell, Mr. Searle, Mr. McKean, Mr. Paca, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Burke, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Langworthy.†

Deane to the President of Congress.‡

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 21, 1779.

SIR: When I had the honor of waiting on Congress, you were pleased to inform me that if Congress had any further commands for me I should be notified thereof. Not having received any notice from you on the subject, I take the liberty to inform you that my affairs are become so pressing and so peculiarly circumstanced, that it is impossible for me to attend longer without doing greater prejudice to myself and interest than I am able to sustain. I must therefore request of you to remind Congress of my situation, and that you will inform me of their determination respecting me.

I have the honor to be, with sincere respect, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Congress.§

JANUARY 21, 1779.

A memorial from M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France and consul-general, was read, enclosing a commission of consul in the port of Boston and other ports in Massachusetts Bay to the Sieur Valnais. The commission was referred to the marine committee, and they were instructed to register it, and to return the original to M. Valnais, and to take measures for making him known to all whom it may concern as consul of France in the State of Massachusetts.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; secret journals of Congress.

† See action of Congress, *supra*, Sept. 22, 1778; *infra*; Mar. 24, 27, Apr. 3, 15, 20, 30, June 10, 1779.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 132.

§ MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State; printed journals of Congress.

Franklin Lee and Adams to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *January* 24, 1779.

We had the honor of receiving your excellency's letter of the 20th, enclosing M. de Sartine's answer relative to the convoy which we requested of your excellency for the ships now assembled at Nantes.

We are totally at a loss to understand what M. de Sartine writes of four vessels mentioned by us as ready to sail and a convoy having sailed with two of them. We never mentioned anything concerning those four vessels, nor has the appointment of a convoy been announced to us, nor to those who have applied through us, and consequently they remain in expectation of an answer, and of a favorable one, through his majesty's goodness and our application. We therefore apprehend that M. de Sartine is under some misinformation on that subject.

On the 29th of December we had the honor of writing to your excellency that we had received a letter signed by many gentlemen at Nantes and dated the 15th of that month, informing us that most of their vessels were ready to sail to America and that others were expected to be ready immediately, so that the convoy might be ordered as soon a convenience would permit; that they were desirous of a convoy quite to America, if consistent with his majesty's service, or at least to the westward of the Western Islands; that it was of so much importance to our countrymen to be supplied with goods of various kinds, and especially with warlike stores, and there are so many belonging to the United States of the commonwealth of Virginia, as well as to individuals now ready to go, that we can not avoid interesting ourselves with your excellency that a sufficient convoy may be appointed, and that as soon as possible, to rendezvous at Nantes.

On the 9th day of this month your excellency wrote us desiring to know at what port the vessels for which we solicited a convoy were collected. To this we replied on the 15th, those vessels are at Nantes, where they wait for the convoy, which we hope may be ordered immediately, as a letter we received yesterday from a large number of gentlemen at Nantes informs us that many vessels with valuable cargoes have been waiting a considerable time for the convoy.

We are since well informed that the number of vessels is about fifteen.

Your excellency will perceive by these proceedings that from the middle of last month to this time the gentlemen who have applied through us for a convoy, and among whom are some as respectable as any in our country, have been waiting at a considerable expense in expectation of their request being granted. They had so full a confidence that such an application would be successful that they for some time imputed their disappointment to our neglect.

We therefore beseech of your excellency that as strong a convoy as

* MSS. Dep. of State.

can be spared either quite through or to the westward of the Western Islands may be granted immediately; as we conceive the supplies that are to go are of very great importance to the UnitedStates, and that they will certainly fall into the enemy's hands if unprotected.

Franklin to Hartley.*

PASSY, *January* 25, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I a long time believed that your Government were in earnest in agreeing to an exchange of prisoners. I begin now to think I was mistaken. It seems they can not give up the pleasing idea of having at the end of the war one thousand Americans to hang for high treason. You were also long of opinion that the animosity against America was not national or general; but having seen the exterminating proclamation of the commissioners approved by king, lords, and commons, and that not attended by any marks of popular disapprobation, perhaps you too begin to think you are mistaken. I thank you for writing those excellent letters to your constituents. I like all but your reflections against the King of France for assisting us. In my mind the coming to the relief of an innocent people under the bloody oppression your ministers were exercising over them, and exposing himself and nation to a war on their account, was not only what any prince had a right to do for the sake of common humanity, but was a magnanimous and heroic action, that is admired at present by the wise and good through all Europe, and will hand his name down with glory to posterity. Our different ways of thinking in this particular will not, however, diminish our private friendship, nor impair the sentiment of sincere esteem and respect with which,

I am ever, dear sir, yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress—Ford's Treachery.†

JANUARY 26, 1779.

The honorable Meriwether Smith laid before Congress sundry papers, which he informed the House contained matters of public information, and which the delegates of Virginia were instructed to lay before Congress. The papers, being read, are—

1. An account, headed "Sums advanced for the State of Virginia by the honorable Arthur Lee, esquire, dated the 3d of September, 1778," and undersigned "A true copy, H. Ford, secretary," on which is endorsed as follows: "The delegates from the State of Virginia are instructed to lay this paper before Congress, with a view to inform them

* 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 297. †MSS. Dep. of State; secret journals.

that Hezekiah Ford, who signs it as secretary to the honorable Arthur Lee, hath been and is considered by the governor and council of this State as an enemy to the American cause of independence, and by no means a fit subject to be near the person of an American commissioner in Europe, or intrusted with any of the secrets of the United [*sic.*] or of their allies. January the 25th, 1779."

Ordered, That the committee of foreign affairs communicate to the honorable Mr. A. Lee by the first opportunity the purport of the above endorsement, that he may be acquainted with the character of Mr. Ford.*

Franklin, Lee, and Adams to John Lloyd and others.†

PASSY, *January* 26, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: We had yesterday the honor of your letter of the 21st of this month.

You desire to know what port or ports is or are made free pursuant to the treaty. We believe that none has as yet been determined on; at present all the ports of France are open to American vessels of all denominations, and we are at present rather doubtful whether it would be politic in us to apply to have any distinction made. If the appointment of free ports would relieve us from the payment of duties, import or export, we should apply immediately; but, as we apprehend this advantage would not be the consequence, the limits of the free ports would be prescribed, and the same duties must be paid, upon removing goods within or without those limits, as are now paid upon the imports and exports. Goods, however, might be brought into such free ports from abroad and then landed, and stand for a time and then exported without paying duties; but whether this would be any great advantage to our trade you are better judges than we. We shall be glad of your advice upon this head; and, if you think of any advantages of considerable moment that would arise, we shall be always ready to apply for such an appointment.

We are sorry it is not in our power to give you any acceptable information respecting the eighth article of the treaty relating to the Barbary corsairs. All we can say is, that we have applied to the ministry upon this head some months ago, and received satisfactory expressions of the disposition of this government to do everything which is stipulated in that article of the treaty. But some things remain to be determined by Congress, to whom we have written upon the subject, and we must necessarily wait their instructions.

There are two inquiries to be made, viz: which, of all the nations who

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* See Introduction, §150.

† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 372; 7 John Adams' Works, 77; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 300.

now trade with France, is the most favored, and what duties are paid by that nation? These duties, and these only, we suppose we are to pay; and as soon as circumstances will permit (two of us having been for a fortnight very ill and one of us continuing so) we shall apply to the ministry for an eclaircissement upon this head, which we will endeavor to communicate to you as soon as we shall obtain it.

We have received an answer to our last application for a convoy from their excellencies Count de Vergennes and M. de Sartine; but the answers convinced us that M. de Sartine was under some misinformation or misunderstanding relative to the business, which obliged us to write again. As soon as we shall be honored with an answer, we will communicate the result of it to you.

Meantime we have the honor to be, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servants,

B. FRANKLIN.
ARTHUR LEE.
JOHN ADAMS.

Izard to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *January* 28, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor of informing Congress that the political state of Europe has prevented the Grand Duke of Tuscany from receiving me in the character of their representative, and as I thought it would be injurious to them if I had resided at his court in any other character I have remained in France, ready to embrace the first opportunity of obeying the orders of Congress if any change of circumstances should put it in my power to do so.

In consequence of a resolution of Congress "that the commissioners at the other courts in Europe be empowered to draw bills of exchange from time to time for the amount of their expenses upon the commissioners at the court of France," I drew a bill of exchange on the 12th instant for five hundred louis d'ors on the commissioners at this court, and I waited on them at Passy with it myself for acceptance. I presented it to Dr. Franklin, as eldest, who refused to accept it. He said the two thousand louis d'ors, which I had already had were so extravagant a sum that he was sure I could not have spent it; and, if I had, he saw no reason why Congress should maintain my family. Congress will be pleased to recollect that my commission is dated July 1, 1777, and that I received it the September following. Dr. Franklin added that the resolution of the 7th of May, 1778, to which I referred him, directed that the commissioners *at* the other courts of Europe should draw bills for the amount of their expenses; but as I was not *at* Flor-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 709, with verbal changes.

ence, he was determined not to consent that any more money should be paid me, and I might protest the bill if I pleased. I desired that he would favor me with his reasons in writing, which he promised to do; but though I wrote him eight days after about it, and received a repetition of his promise under his hand, he has not to this day paid the least regard to it. Congress will judge, when they consider the differences which have for some time past unhappily subsisted between us by what motive Dr. Franklin has been actuated in the conduct which I have just stated, and will, I hope, take such measures as will for the future prevent any such unjustifiable proceedings.

As the commissioners at the other courts of Europe are directed to draw bills of exchange for their support on the representatives of Congress at the court of France, the situation of the former will be very deplorable if the latter are allowed the liberty of disobeying those orders of Congress, whatever may be the pretence for such disobedience. At the time of Dr. Franklin's refusal to accept my bills for five hundred louis d'ors there were in the hands of the public banker between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand livres. Dr. Franklin is not empowered to judge of the propriety of my going into Italy or staying in France. I consulted him, however, about it, and it was his opinion that the situation of affairs did not admit of my going to Florence. After Dr. Franklin had refused to accept the bill I presented it to Mr. Lee and Mr. Adams, who accepted it immediately. It is with reluctance that I lay this matter before Congress, but it is my duty to do it, as it is an evil that requires an immediate remedy. Our disagreements are much to be lamented by every friend to our country. I can, with the most perfect truth, declare that I have done everything in my power to prevent them, but I have found it impossible. I have a most grateful sense of the goodness of Congress to me in appointing me one of their representatives in Europe. It has been my constant wish to prove myself worthy of the confidence with which they have honored me, and I consider it as my greatest misfortune that I have not had it in my power to render them any service.

As there does not appear to be any prospect of my being received in my public character at Florence, nor any other means of my being of service, I am desirous of returning to America. I should take the first good opportunity of doing so, but do not think myself at liberty to leave Europe without the permission of Congress. You will very much oblige me if you will be so good as to obtain that permission for me, and send me copies of it by several opportunities.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RALPH IZARD.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 29, 1779.

SIR: By the way of Martinique I send you a large course of newspapers. In those of late date you will see that the enemy are exerting their force but too successfully in Georgia. We hope the Count d'Estaing will be able to operate with us by a detachment from his fleet, so that we may wrest from our foes the fruits of their present success. You will know by letters from Martinique whether these our hopes are well or ill founded.

We have not had a line from you since the short letter of information respecting Byron's sailing, which you signed jointly with Mr. Adams. I hope this does not arise from any other circumstance than a want of a good conveyance for important dispatches. We have had a few short letters from Mr. Adams, with gazettes. Late as it is, I enclose a quadruplicate of your credentials; and I wish you success and every satisfaction in your important agency, being with much respect,

Sir, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Franklin to Lloyd et al.†

PASSY, *February* 1, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: We have this moment the honor of your letter of the 28th of last month, and shall give the earliest attention to its important contents, but we are unhappy to think that it is not in our power to give effectual relief.

By this treaty consuls, etc., are to be appointed in the several ports, but the power of appointing such important officers is wholly with the Congress. They have not delegated it to us, and it is not probable that they will delegate it at all, at least it is our opinion that so important a trust would not be so safe in any other hands as in theirs. We therefore can not presume to appoint any such officers. Indeed, we have not power to appoint any officers but agents to execute any orders we may have occasion to send to the seaports, excepting that Congress some few days before they received the news of the treaty passed a resolution empowering us to appoint commercial agents for the United States. But, supposing that this resolution would not have been passed if they had been apprised of the treaty and expecting that soon after the ratification of the treaty they would appoint consuls, we have as yet done nothing in consequence of that resolution.

We have long since written to Congress advising and requesting that consuls might be appointed, and we have expected every day for some months intelligence of such appointments.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 48. † MSS. Dep. of State.

There is nothing, therefore, remains in our power to do at present for your relief but to lay your letter and the other representation which accompanied it before the ministry, which we will do without loss of time, and request their advice upon it and their interpositions in your favor as far as they shall judge it consistent with their characters to interfere.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

Franklin to Hartley.*

PASSY, *February* 3, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I have just received your favor of the 23d past, in which you mention "that the alliance between France and America is the great stumbling block in the way of making peace;" and you go on to observe that "whatever engagements America may have entered into, they may, at least by consent of parties, *be relinquished*, for the purpose of removing so material an obstacle to any general treaty of free and unengaged parties;" adding, that, "if the parties could meet for the sake of peace upon *free* and *open* ground, you should think *that* a very fair proposition to be offered to the people of England, and an equitable proposition in itself."

The long, steady, and kind regard you have shown for the welfare of America by the whole tenor of your conduct in Parliament satisfies me that this proposition never took its rise with you, but has been suggested from some other quarters; and that your excess of humanity, your love of peace, and your fear for us that the destruction we are threatened with will certainly be effected, have thrown a mist before your eyes which hindered you from seeing the malignity and mischief of it. We know that your king hates whigs and Presbyterians; that he thirsts for our blood, of which he has already drunk large draughts; that weak and unprincipled ministers are ready to execute the wickedest of his orders, and his venal Parliament equally ready to vote them just. Not the smallest appearance of a reason can be imagined capable of inducing us to think of relinquishing a solid alliance with one of the most amiable as well as most powerful princes of Europe for the expectation of unknown terms of peace to be afterwards offered to us by *such a government;* a government that has already shamefully broken all the compacts it ever made with us. This is worse than advising us to drop the substance for the shadow. The dog, after he found his mistake, might possibly have recovered his mutton; but we could never hope to be trusted again by France, or indeed by any other nation under heaven. Nor does there appear any more necessity for dissolving an alliance with France before you can treat with us than there would of dissolving your alliance with Holland, or your union with

* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 316; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 302.

Scotland, before we could treat with you. Ours is, therefore, no *material obstacle* to a treaty, as you suppose it to be. Had Lord North been the author of such a proposition all the world would have said it was insidious, and meant only to deceive and divide us from our friends and then to ruin us, supposing our fears might be so strong as to procure an acceptance of it. But, thanks to God, that is not the case. We have long since settled all the account in our own minds. We know the worst you can do to us, if you have your wish, is to confiscate our estates and take our lives, to rob and murder us; and this you have seen we are ready to hazard, rather than come again under your detested government. You must observe, my dear friend, that I am a little warm; excuse me; it is over. Only let me counsel you not to think of being sent hither on so fruitless an errand as that of making such a proposition. It puts me in mind of the comic farce entitled Godsend, or the Wreckers. You may have forgotten it, but I will endeavor to amuse you by recollecting a little of it.

SCENE.—*Mount's Bay.*

[A ship riding at anchor in a great storm. A leashore full of rocks, and lined with people, furnished with axes and carriages to cut up wrecks, knock the sailors on the head, and carry off the plunder, according to custom.]

First wrecker. This ship rides it out longer than I expected; she must have good ground tackle.

Second wrecker. We had better send out a boat to her, and persuade her to take a pilot, who can afterwards run her ashore, where we can best come at her.

Third wrecker. I doubt whether the boat can live in this sea; but if there are any brave fellows willing to hazard themselves for the good of the public and a double share, let them say ay.

Several wreckers. I, I, I, I.

[The boat goes off, and comes under the ship's stern.]

Spokesman. So ho, the ship, ahoa!

Captain. Hulloa.

Spokesman. Would you have a pilot?

Captain. No, no.

Spokesman. It blows hard, and you are in danger.

Captain. I know it.

Spokesman. Will you buy a better cable? We have one in the boat here.

Captain. What do you ask for it?

Spokesman. Cut that you have, and then we'll talk about the price of this.

Captain. I shall do no such foolish thing. I have lived in your parish formerly, and know the heads of ye too well to trust ye; keep off from my cable there; I see you have a mind to cut it yourselves. If you go any nearer to it I'll fire into you and sink you.

Spokesman. It is a damned rotten French cable, and will part of itself in half an hour. Where will you be then, captain? You had better take our offer.

Captain. You offer nothing, you rogues, but treachery and mischief. My cable is good and strong, and will hold long enough to balk all your projects.

Spokesman. You talk unkindly, captain, to people who came here only for your good.

Captain. I know you came for all our goods, but, by God's help, you shall have none of them; you shall not serve us as you did the Indiamen.

Spokesman. Come, my lads, let's be gone. This fellow is not so great a fool as we took him to be.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 3, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to represent to the Congress of the United States that it is of infinite importance to the safety of the king's squadron stationed in the Gulf of Mexico to determine the supply of provisions on which it may rely. And several vessels being ready to sail for Martinique, the wisdom of Congress will show to that body the necessity of informing the commander of this squadron of it without delay.

GERARD.

Lovell to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 8, 1779,

SIR: The Marquis de la Fayette having sailed from Boston the day before the arrival there of letters sent from hence for you by the President of Congress, I now forward to you duplicates of those letters, with a course of newspapers, via St. Eustatia, having a very fine opportunity to that island, and hoping they will reach you securely from thence in a Dutch bottom.

I am, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 8, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, being ordered to communicate to Congress subjects of the highest importance, has the honor to inform the President of it, and requests him to inform him whether he wishes him to execute his orders through him, or if he prefers that he should communicate them to Congress in an audience.

GERARD.§

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 577.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 49.

‡ 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr. 578.

§ *Ordered*, That the President acquaint M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France, that Congress will admit him to a private audience, when he shall present himself, to make the communication he is instructed to make to Congress.

Franklin, Lee, and Adams to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *February* 9, 1779.

SIR: It is now six months since Captain McNeal, of the *Mifflin*, privateer from America, has been embarrassed with a process on account of a French ship which he retook from the English after she had been three days in their possession. The laws of France are clear with regard to the validity of this prize, and our captains have orders, contained in their commissions, to submit their prizes to the laws of the country into which they carry them, and they ought undoubtedly to regulate their own conduct by those laws, without any regard to the laws of America relating to this matter, which may be different in every one of the United States, and therefore too uncertain to be made the rule for judgment in the courts here. But the persons reclaiming this prize insist, among other reasons, that their cause should be judged by the laws of Captain McNeal's country, because more favorable for them.

We believe that no Americans in France will ever think of claiming here any advantage by virtue of the laws of their own country, and it seems not just to put those laws in force against them in France, when it may be done to their detriment. The vexation of these kinds of processes, and the slowness and length of these expensive proceedings before a decision can be obtained, discourage our armed vessels, and have tended to impress them with an opinion that their operations against the English can not be carried on to advantage in the European seas. We therefore request your excellency to join your solicitations to those we have had the honor to make to M. de Sartine, that these processes may be more speedily determined, and that the Americans in France may be treated in those respects on the same footing with the subjects of his majesty; of which we shall be glad to give information to the Congress, that so some popular prejudices occasioned by these affairs may be effectually removed, and the American armed ships be encouraged to return and cruise again upon the coasts of England.

We have the honor to be, with the greatest consideration and respect, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
ARTHUR LEE.
JOHN ADAMS.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 9, 1779.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has received a formal order from the king, his master, to make known to Congress that the King of Spain, in order to put an end to the tergiversa-

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 374. † 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 579.

tions of England, has determined upon a decisive and peremptory proceeding. His catholic majesty has consequently made to the King of England a final offer of his mediation;* but with the declaration that it was the last, and if it was as fruitless as those which preceded, it would only remain to him to perform the duties which his alliance with the king imposes upon him.

The King of Spain, by taking this proceeding upon himself in a friendly manner, has shown a disposition most favorable to the alliance. The king, my master, on his side, persists in the invariable resolution not to separate his interests from those of America, and to support the cause of the United States as if it were his own personal cause.

His majesty thinks, while fulfilling the duties of the alliance by this confidential communication, that he ought to invite and urge Congress to furnish immediately with the necessary powers and instructions the person or persons whom they shall think proper to authorize to assist in the deliberations and in the conclusion and signing of the treaty. His majesty trusts that Congress will perceive the inestimable value of time in a juncture so critical and so important, and that the injuries caused by any delay would be irreparable both to the alliance and the allies. In complying with the invitations of the king, the United States would regard equally their dignity and their interests. The place of the negotiation is fixed at Madrid.

His majesty, while engaging in everything that can hasten the happy moment in which America can enjoy peaceably internal and external prosperity, which is the object of the revolution and the limit of his majesty's wishes, has instructed the undersigned to suggest to Congress that, at a time in which they are employed in fixing their political existence, it seems to belong to their foresight to consider the sentiments of the States as to the peace in relation to Spain; and they will perhaps think that the means of preventing all future discontents merits their attention, and ought to be one of the subjects of the positive and definite instructions which the States will give for the conclusion of the peace.

GERARD.†

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 9, 1779.

SIR: By instructions addressed to the undersigned on the 29th of October last he is ordered to transmit to Congress the answer of the king to certain communications made to his majesty by the commissioners of the United States.

*As to this mediation, see Introduction, § 98

† For proceedings of Congress, see *infra*, February 13, 15.

‡ 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 578.

1. These commissioners having desired his majesty to continue the subsidy which he had granted them, he gave them to understand that his affairs did not permit him to make this engagement, since the war which he is carrying on against England and the general situation of Europe require expenses which absorb all his resources, yet, in consequence of the representations made by the deputies of the difficulty which they found in honoring the bills of exchange which Congress had drawn upon them for the interest due upon money which had been borrowed, his majesty has been pleased to grant a sum of 750,000 livres, as a new proof of his friendship for the United States.

2. The same commissioners made known to the king that Congress had reason to presume that a part of the articles furnished to the United States was a present on the part of his majesty. The undersigned is authorized to declare that this intention never existed, that it was an affair entirely commercial, in which the ministry had no other part than that of permitting M. de Beaumarchais to take from the magazines and arsenals of the king, on condition of replacing them, the articles with which commerce could not supply him; that, consequently, the ministry had no other power in this affair than that of preventing Congress from being pressed too soon for payment for the articles taken from the magazines and arsenals of the king. As to the contract made with Roderique Hortalez & Co., the ministry has declared to the American deputies, who asked their advice upon the ratification or rejection of this contract, that they did not know the house of Roderique Hortalez & Co., and that they could not answer for it, nor express an opinion as to its stability and fidelity in the performance of its engagements.

GERARD.*

Franklin and Adams to M. Schweighauser.†

PASSY, *February* 10, 1779.

SIR: Captain Jones has represented to us his desire and intention of returning to the Countess of Selkirk some plate which his people took from her house.‡

We apprehend that Congress would not disapprove of this measure

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* For proceedings of Congress, see *infra*, Feb. 13, 15.

† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 375: see Franklin to Jones, *infra*, Feb. 24, 1779.

‡ Of the Selkirk plate the London Chronicle for September 21-23, 1779, gives us the following information:

"Paul, after this plunder, put into one of the ports of France, and immediately wrote an account of the particulars to Dr. Franklin, but that statesman condemned the measure, and immediately told him he must make restitution. * * * Lord Selkirk refused the plate on these terms, but wrote him word, as it had been in his family for a long time, he would esteem it a favor if, when it was put up at auction he should buy it in for him. Paul forwarded Lord Selkirk's letter to Dr. Franklin, who took care to have few bidders for the plate, and had it all bought in, at a very low price for Lord Selkirk, to whom he forwarded it by the first opportunity."

as far as it should depend upon them, and we therefore consent, on the part of the United States, that this plate should be returned. This consent is to be understood to extend no further than to the share to which the United States may be supposed to have a claim. The claim of the officers and men Captain Jones must be responsible to them for. This plate, in the whole, is represented to be worth about 100 guineas.

We are, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin and Adams to John Paul Jones. *

PASSY, *February* 10, 1779.

SIR: As your separation from the *Ranger* and the appointment of Lieutenant Simpson to the command of her will be liable to misinterpretations and misrepresentations by persons who are unacquainted with the real cause of those facts, we hereby certify that your leaving the *Ranger* was by our consent, at the express request of his excellency Monsieur de Sartine, who informed us that he had occasion to employ you in some public service; that Lieutenant Simpson was appointed to the command of the *Ranger* with your consent, after having consented to release him from an arrest under which you had put him.

That your leaving the *Ranger*, in our opinion, ought not and can not be any injury to your rank or character in the service of the United States; and that your commission in their navy continues in full force.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.
JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *February* 11, 1779.

SIR: As your excellency reads English perfectly well, my first request is that you would do me the favor to read this without a translation, after which I submit it to your excellency to make what use of it you shall think proper.

I have hitherto avoided in my single capacity giving your excellency any trouble by letter or conversation; but the present emergency demands that I shall ask the favor to explain my sentiments either by letter or in person. If you will permit a personal interview, I am persuaded I can make myself understood. If you prefer a correspondence, I will lay open my heart in writing before your excellency.

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 375.

† MSS Dep. of State; 1 Sparks', Dip. Rev. Corr., 542; 7 John Adams' Works, 79.

It is the address to the people in America under the name of Mr. Silas Deane that has occasioned this boldness in me.* It is to me the most unexpected and unforeseen event that has happened. I hope your excellency will not conclude from thence that I despair of the commonwealth. Far otherwise. I know that the body of the people in the United States stand immovable against Great Britain; and I hope that this address of Mr. Deane's (although it will occasion much trouble to individuals) will produce no final detriment to the common cause; but, on the contrary, that it will occasion so thorough an investigation of several things as will correct many abuses.

It is my indispensable duty upon this occasion to inform your excellency, without consulting either of my colleagues, that the honorable Arthur Lee was as long ago as 1770 appointed by the house of representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, of which I had then the honor to be a member, their agent at the court of London in case of the death or absence of Dr. Franklin. This honorable testimony was given to Mr. Lee by an assembly in which he had no natural interest, on account of his inflexible attachment to the American cause, and of the abilities of which he had given many proofs in its defense. From that time to the year 1774 he held a constant correspondence with several of those gentlemen, who stood foremost in the Massachusetts Bay against the innovations and illegal encroachments of Great Britain. This correspondence I had an opportunity of seeing, and I assure your excellency from my own knowledge that it breathed the most inflexible attachment and the most ardent zeal in the cause of his country. From September, 1774, to November, 1777, I had the honor to be in Congress, and the opportunity to see his letters to Congress, to their committees, and to several of their individual members. Through the whole of both these periods he communicated the most constant and certain intelligence which was received from any individual within my knowledge, and since I have had the honor to be joined with him here I have ever found in him the same fidelity and zeal, and have not a glimmering of suspicion that he ever maintained an improper correspondence in England or held any conference or negotiation with anybody from thence without communicating it to your excellency and to his colleagues. I am confident, therefore, that every insinuation and suspicion against him of infidelity to the United States, or to their engagements with his majesty, is false and groundless, and will assuredly be proved to be so.

The two honorable brothers of Mr. Lee, who are members of Congress, I have long and intimately known; and of my own knowledge I can say, that no men have discovered more zeal in support of the sovereignty of the United States and in promoting from the beginning a

* Deane's address to the people of the United States, published in the Philadelphia Gazette, Dec. 5, 1778.

friendship and alliance with France, and there is nothing of which I am more firmly persuaded than that every insinuation that is thrown out to the disadvantage of the two Mr. Lees in Congress is groundless. It would be too tedious to enter at present into a more particular consideration of that address. I shall therefore conclude this letter, already too long, by assuring your excellency that I am, with the most entire consideration, your most, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PASSY, *February* 13, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I had yesterday the honor of your favor of the 28th October, enclosing a resolution of Congress of the 22d of the same month, to which I shall give all the attention in my power.† I have great satisfaction in the reflection that I have hitherto endeavored with much sincerity to conform to the spirit of it. What you recommend to me, viz., to communicate to the ministers of other courts such intelligence as I may receive, will not in future be so much in my power; but as far as I can, while I stay in Europe, I shall endeavor to comply. Indeed, it is a long time that we have had no intelligence to communicate. Three vessels we know have been taken, each of which had many letters and two of them public dispatches; one that sailed from Philadelphia 4th November, another 24th, and one from Boston the 20th. And we fear that many others are lost. The dispatches in all these were sunk and the letters too.

It would be agreeable to me, indeed, if I were able to throw any light on the subject of finances. As to a loan in Europe, all has been done which was in our power to do, but without the desired effect. Economy and taxation comprehend all the resources that I can think of.

We expect the honor of a visit from the Marquis de la Fayette this morning, whom we shall receive with gratitude for his gallant and glorious exertions in one of the best causes in which a hero ever fought.

Accept my thanks for your kind wishes for my happiness, and believe me to be your affectionate friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 372, with verbal changes and omissions; 7 John Adams' Works, 81.

† See the proceedings of Congress on foreign affairs, Oct. 22, 1778, in the secret journals, vol. II, p. 107.

Congress.*

FEBRUARY 13.

The President was directed to inform the minister that Congress will ake the subject of his memorials of the 9th into immediate considera-on, and that if he wishes to communicate any thing farther to them, ongress will receive the same from him in a private audience. And was at the same time resolved that all private audiences given to for-gn ministers be held in a committee of the whole.

Franklin to Jonathan Williams, jr.†

PASSY, *February* 13, 1779.

DEAR COUSIN [*sic*]: I have the pleasure of acquainting you that ne Congress have been pleased to honor me with a sole appointment to e their minister plenipotentiary at this court, and I have just received y credentials. This mark of public confidence is the more agreeable o me, as it was not obtained by any solicitation or intrigue on my part, or have I ever written a syllable to any person, in or out of Congess, agnifying my own services or diminishing those of others.

William Greene, esq., present governor of the State of Rhode Island, as sent me some bills of exchange, amounting to 1,080 livres, which e desires may be laid out in the following articles: One piece dark alico, one piece bedtick, best silk handkerchiefs and linen ditto, hol-nds, cambries, muslins, sewing silk, and one box of window glass seven ches by nine. I send you the commission, and desire you to forward ne things by the first good opportunity, drawing upon me for the oney.

I am told you have laid aside your thoughts of going to America for ne present, so that you will not have the opportunity you wished for settling your accounts there. No resolution has been yet taken by ne commissioners here relating to your proposition of settling them by rbitration at Nantes, and though I could now, perhaps, do myself what necessary to finish the affairs in that way, yet, as the transactions ere in their time, it seems to me most proper that they should consent it.‡

I am ever, your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* MSS. secret journals; printed journals of Congress.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 306, where "cousin" at the beginning this letter and "uncle" at the end are transposed.

‡ As to Jonathan Williams, see Introduction; §§ 186–188.

Vergennes to John Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 13, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me the 11th instant, and agreeable to your desire I have not submitted its contents to the inspection of a translator. I am no less concerned than yourself, sir, at the appeal which Mr. Silas Deane has made to the people of America.† It does not belong to me to qualify this step; your respective sovereigns must judge of the measure, and decide the differences which have arisen between their commissioners. The manner in which you have been treated here, conjointly and separately, must have convinced you that if we had been informed of your disputes we should have paid no regard to them, and the personal esteem which we have endeavored to show each of the commissioners is a proof that we have not adopted the prejudices with which it seems it has been endeavored to inspire America, and the foundation of which is unknown to us.

Although this disagreeable disunion is foreign to us, and it becomes us by all means to refrain from taking part therein, I shall not be the less pleased to see you, sir; and whatever day you fix will be agreeable to me. I only request you to acquaint me beforehand with the time you shall choose.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Franklin to Vergennes.‡

PASSY, *February* 14, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that I have received from the Congress their appointment to be their minister plenipotentiary at this court, together with a letter of credence to be pre-

*1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 544.

†When Mr. Deane's address reached Paris Mr. Lee ascertained that it was intended to be published in the Courrier de l'Europe, and he wrote to Count de Vergennes requesting him to order it to be suppressed. The following answer was returned:

VERSAILLES, *February* 9, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me the 7th instant. I had no knowledge of the writing it mentioned, and yesterday I was about taking measures that it should not be inserted in the Courrier de l'Europe just as that paper was sent to me, wherein I found the writing in question, so that it was out of my power to second your wishes. Do not doubt, sir, of the regret I experience on account of this disappointment.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

[SPARKS.]

‡MSS. Dep., of State.

sented to his majesty. I beg thereupon your excellency's advice and direction.

I have need also of your counsel with regard to the trial and punishment of some conspirators on board our frigate, the *Alliance*, which is just arrived. I would have done myself the honor of waiting on your excellency to-day, but am not quite well enough to go abroad in such weather.

I have received a number of letters from America, all expressing the highest esteem for the Count d'Estaing and the Marquis de la Fayette. As I think they will give you and M. de Sartine some pleasure, I send you the originals, praying only to have them returned.

I have the honor to be, etc., with the greatest respect, your excellency's.

J. Adams to Samuel Adams.*

PASSY, *February* 14, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR: The Marquis de la Fayette did me the honor of a visit yesterday, and delivered me your favor of the 25th of October. I am not sorry, as things have been ordered, that mine of May 24 did not reach you till the 24th of October, because as the new arrangement † was previously made, it can not be said that I had any hand in accomplishing it. Yet I am glad the letter has arrived, because it will show that the new system is quite agreeable to me—that is, the appointment of a single minister here. Believe me, sir, it was become very necessary.

How Congress will dispose of me I do not know. If it is intended that I shall return, this will be very agreeable to me; and I think that this is the most probable opinion, because Mr. Deane's "address" was on the 5th of December. Congress soon after resolved to enter on foreign affairs and go through them. The *Alliance* sailed on the 11th of January, and there is no resolution arrived here respecting me. I think, therefore, that it is my duty to return, and that is my present determination; but whether I shall go to Amsterdam, and from thence to St. Eustatia, or to Spain and thence home, or in a French man-of war to Martinique, or an American frigate to America, I have not decided. Some hint that I am to go to Holland, others to Spain. This last implies the removal of Mr. Lee, which would give me much pain on many accounts. I think him a faithful man and able. Yet what the determination will be upon the complaint of Mr. Deane I can not say. This is a subject which I can not write or talk about: I would not feel such another sensation to be made a prince. I confess I expected the most

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 573. The original of this letter is among the S. Adams papers in the Bancroft Collection of MSS

† Dissolving the commission in Paris, and appointing Dr. Franklin minister plenipotentiary.

dismal consequences from it, because I thought it would render business and confidence between us three totally impracticable; that it would destroy all confidence between this court and us, and that it would startle Spain; that it would alienate many in Holland from us, and that it would encourage the ministry in England and disconcert opposition so much that they would even make another vigorous campaign, besides all the evils it would produce among you. But the arrival of Dr. Franklin's commission has relieved me from many of these fears. This court have confidence in him alone. But I think they were cautious, even of him, when he had two colleagues to whom he was obliged to communicate every thing, one of whom was upon as bad terms with him as with Mr. Deane. I have had a kind of a task here, as Mr. Lovell expresses himself; determined to be the partisan of neither, yet to be the friend of both, as far as the service would admit. I am fixed in these two opinions, that leaving the doctor here alone is right, and that Mr. Lee is a very honest and faithful man.

You say that France should be our polar star in case war should take place. I was, I confess, surprised at this expression. Was not war sufficiently declared in the King of England's speech, and in the answers of both houses, and in the recall of his ambassador? Has it not been sufficiently declared by actual hostilities in most parts of the world? I suspect there will never be any other declaration of war. Yet there is in fact as complete a war as ever existed, and it will continue; for you may depend upon it, the King of France is immovably fixed in your support, and so are his ministers. Every suspicion of a wavering disposition in this court concerning the support of American independence is groundless, is ridiculous, is impossible. You may remember that several years ago several gentlemen were obliged to reason to show that American independence was the interest of France. Since my arrival in this kingdom I never yet found one man, nor heard of more than one, who doubted it. If the voice of popularity is anything, I assure you that this voice was never so unanimous in America in favor of our independence as it is here. It is so much so, that if the court were to depart from its present system in this respect it is my clear opinion it would make this nation very unhappy and the court too; but I again repeat, that the court is as fixed as the nation. And this union of sentiment arises out of such principles of nature as, without a miracle, can not alter. Common sense in America supported independence; common sense in France supports the alliance, and will support it to the last. Nay, the common sense of Europe supports the common sense of France.

By the way, my regards to Mr. Paine, and tell him that I do not agree with him in his ideas about natural enemies. It is because England is the natural enemy of France that America in her present situation is her natural friend; at least this is one cause, although there are many others. Some of them are more glorious for human nature.

France scarcely ever made a war before that was popular in Europe. There is not a state that I can hear of but applauds her and wishes her success. And in point of finance and naval strength and in skill and bravery of officers she seems to be superior to England. You may be surprised to hear me say naval strength, yet if you consider the wretched state of the British navy as to masts, yards, rigging, and men, you will not wonder, although their number of ships may be superior. I therefore think that all is safe. We may have further trouble and trials of our faith and patience. But trouble is to you and me familiar, and I begin to think it necessary for my health.

There is one thing in my letter to you exaggerated, the expenses of the commissioners. I had been here but a short time, and wrote according to the best guess I could make from what I heard; but I now think I put it much too high, yet I can not say exactly. *

February 20. There is not the least appearance of the embarkation of troops for America, nor any intelligence of transports taken up. The national discontent is great, and tumults have arisen in Edinburgh and London. According to present appearances, they will have occasion for so many of their troops to keep their populace in order as to be able to spare few in America. Their proclamations are all alike, from Burgoyne's to those of the commissioners. The weaker they are, the more they puff.

I am, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Congress.†

FEBRUARY 15, 1779.

The President acquainted the House that, pursuant to their order, he had informed the minister of France that Congress will take his memorials of the 9th into immediate consideration, and that if he wishes to communicate anything farther to them Congress will receive the same in a private audience; that the minister wished to make further communications to Congress, and would attend the House at 12 o'clock this day.

The minister, agreeably to his appointment, was introduced, and had a free conference with Congress, in which he represented the present state of affairs in Europe, the dispositions of the Spanish court, and the measures it was about to take in order to restore peace; from thence he took occasion to press upon Congress the necessity of having a minister in Europe properly empowered and instructed. He further signified that it was the desire of his most Christian majesty that the United States would speedily put themselves in a condition to take

* See the statement here referred to in a letter dated May 21, 1778, *supra*.

† MSS. secret journals; printed journals of Congress.

that part in the negotiation for peace apparently about to take place which their dignity and interest required; and that they should lay a solid foundation for obtaining a speedy peace, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, by giving their plenipotentiary the most ample instructions and full powers. This he enforced by sundry arguments, and pressed the utmost dispatch.*

Vergennes to Arthur Lee.†

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 15, 1779.

The Count deVergennes has the honor to present his compliments to Mr. Lee, and to inform him that if he will take the trouble of coming to Versailles on Wednesday or Thursday next, as shall be most convenient to him, he will be very glad to converse with him.‡

J. Adams to Vergennes.§

PASSY, *February* 16, 1779.

SIR: Last evening I had the honor of your letter of the 13th of this month in answer to mine of the 11th.‖

I thank your excellency for the politeness with which you have agreed to my proposition of a conference upon the subject of Mr. Deane's "Address to the People of the United States."

At the time when my letter of the 11th was written and sent to your excellency there were three commissioners here, representatives of Congress, between whom it appeared to me Mr. Deane's address had a tendency to destroy all confidence, as well as between your excellency and them, for which reason I thought it my duty to endeavor, by a conference with your excellency, to lessen those evils as far as should be in my power.

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*A full report of Gerard's address, taken by W. H. Drayton, is given in 2 Gibbes' Doc. Hist., 101.

†Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 545.

‡NOTE BY MR. LEE.—Went next day to Count de Vergennes; showed him my books concerning the treaties and the French and English propositions. It was agreed that I should have the passages translated for him to lay before the king and council. He said that Mr. Deane's charges were inapt; that it was surprising he should bring them into his personal dispute; that he had much wished Mr. François to go as minister to America. Upon my saying the cause of Mr. Deane's recall was his having sent over so many officers, he said it was what he always disapproved of, because he knew that multitudes of those who were applying were neither officers nor anything else.

§2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 576, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 82.

‖See index.

But within a few hours after my letter of the 11th was sent the aid-de-camp of the Marquis de la Fayette arrived, with dispatches from Congress to Dr. Franklin and from their committee of foreign affairs to me, informing me of the new arrangement by which Dr. Franklin is constituted minister plenipotentiary here and I am restored to the character of a private citizen; so wholly changed are the scene and the characters here, that I now think I have no right to do what, if I had continued in the character of a commissioner here, I should have thought it my indispensable duty to do.

This masterly measure of Congress, which has my most hearty approbation, and of the necessity of which I was fully convinced before I had been two months in Europe, has taken away the possibilities of those dissensions which I so much apprehended. I shall not, therefore, give your excellency any further trouble than to take an opportunity of paying my respects in order to take leave, and to assure you that I shall leave this kingdom with the most entire confidence in his majesty's benevolence to the United States and inviolable adherence to the treaties between the two powers, with a similar confidence in the good disposition of his majesty's ministers of state and of this nation towards us, and with a heart impressed with gratitude for the many civilities which I have received in the short space I have resided here, at court, in the city, and in the country, and particularly from your excellency.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to A. Lee.*

PASSY, *February* 18, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to communicate to you herewith copies of resolutions of Congress of September the 11th and 14th and October the 22d. I shall endeavor strictly to comply, on my part, with the commands of Congress contained in the letter, which are at the same time perfectly agreeable to my inclinations.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

A. Lee to Franklin.†

CHAILLOT, *February* 18, 1779.

SIR: I this moment had the honor of receiving yours of this date, containing copies of the resolutions of Congress of September the 11th and 14th and October 22d. I shall do myself the honor of paying my compliments to you on your appointment to-morrow about 12 o'clock.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 545.

† MSS. Dep.of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 545, with omissions.

Nothing can be more agreeable to me than your intention of cultivating the harmony recommended in the last resolve, because I always lamented the interruption of it as detrimental to the public and dishonorable to ourselves.

[As Mr. Deane has used your name in his letter to the people in order to support his accusations of and invective against me, and has done the same in a piece given in by him to Congress and by their order sent to me, to authorize the most outrageous abuse of me that can be imagined, it was my intention to have written to you to know whether this was done by your authority; but I shall not carry this intention into execution without an assurance from you that it will not prevent the promised harmony and confidence which from my heart I believe to be essential to the honor and interest of the United States. Rather, therefore, than hazard these by an act of mine I will combat Mr. Deane's calumnies without endeavoring to take from him the appearance of your concurrence, under which he shelters himself.]*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to A. Lee.†

PASSY, *February* 18, 1779.

SIR: I beg you will be pleased to send me by the bearer all the public papers in your hands belonging to this department.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to Lovell.‡

PASSY, *February* 20, 1779.

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I can not lay aside my pen without saying that the accusations before Congress against the Messrs. Lee, and I know not who besides, distress me beyond measure. I fear they will perpetuate altercation without bringing any great truths to light for the benefit of the public. I have sighed and mourned and wept for that intemperance of passion which I very early discovered here, without being able to soften or to cool it in the least degree. I wish I could draw the portrait of every character here as it appears in my eyes, but this would be imprudent, and if it should be known would do public mischief, full enough of which has been done already by indiscretion.

Our old incidental agent is an honest man, faithful and zealous in

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* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' and Bigelow's ed.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 546; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 308.

‡ 9 J. Adams' Works, 476.

our cause; but there is an acrimony in his temper, there is a jealousy, there is an obstinacy, and a want of candor at times, and an affectation of secrecy, the fruit of jealousy, which renders him disagreeable often to his friends, makes him enemies, and gives them infinite advantages over him. That he has had great provocations here I never doubted, and since the appearance of the address less than ever.*

There is another character here, exceedingly respectable in fortune, education, travel, honor, integrity, love of his country, and zeal in its cause, but Tacitus would say his passions are always strong, often violent, and he has not experience in public life.† These two gentlemen have been very intimate, and have encouraged, no doubt, and often irritated each other. Another thing: I think that other gentleman ought not to have been here; he should have been in Italy or in America, or, being here, I really think he ought not to have interfered so much. This is simply my opinion; I may be wrong. That that gentleman thought he was doing his duty I am clear. But of this I am persuaded, that if he had been in Italy, things would never have gone to the lengths they have. On the other hand, most of the old connections of the doctor and Mr. Deane were filled with prejudices against those two gentlemen. One party was striving to get the better of the other, to lower its reputation and diminish its authority.

In this chaos I found things and have been tossed in it; on the other hand, there was a monopoly of reputation here and an indecency in displaying it which did great injustice to the real merit of others that I do not wonder was resented. There was an indolence, there was a dissipation, which gave just occasion of complaint, and there was a complaisance to interested adventurers. There was an intimacy with stockjobbers; there was an acquaintance with persons from England which gave just occasion of jealousy, however innocent the intentions were. I have learned that total silence is enough to procure a character for prudence, whatever indiscretions a man may commit.

In this state of things Congress have had the wisdom and the fortitude to do the only thing which could be done for putting matters on a better footing; but this will last a very little while if money matters are not separated from political. Some other thing must be done; some resolution must be passed forbidding every man, in the most positive terms, who has any connection with your minister here, from having any connection with English stocks, insurances, etc., and forbidding all correspondence with them. There is in England a practice of making insurances on political events which has interested the whole alley in American politics, and has thrown all into distraction.

I have been wholly without information of what was passing in Congress, and, indeed, in America, especially in Philadelphia. My friends,

*Arthur Lee. The address alluded to is Silas Deane's.

† Ralph Izard.

I know, have been engaged in doing the public business, not in strengthening the hands of individuals or parties here. But bushels of letters have come to adventurers here containing information more exact in some things, and not so true in others as they ought to be.

A. Lee to Franklin.*

CHAILLOT, *February* 21, 1779.

SIR: Your grandson delivered to me between 10 and 12 o'clock on the 19th your letter dated the 18th, in which you desire I "will send by the bearer all the papers belonging to this department."

I have no papers belonging to the department of minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. But if you mean, sir, the papers relating to the transactions of our late joint commission, I am yet to learn, and can not conceive, on what reason or authority any one of those who were formerly in that commission can alone claim or demand possession of all the papers evidencing their transactions, in which, if they should appear to have been equally concerned, they are equally responsible.

Of these papers Mr. Deane, by his own account, has taken and secured such as he chose. The rest, a very few excepted, you have. Many of these I have never seen, but have been favored with copies. Of the few originals in my possession there are, I know, duplicates of the most part at Passy, because it was for that reason only that I took them. The rest are evidence necessary to answer Mr. Deane's accusations [which you know to be most base and false that ever the malice or wickedness of man invented.]†

If it were, indeed, agreed that all the papers belonging to our late commission should be brought together, numbered, docketed, and deposited where the late commissioners, and they only, might have access to them, I would very readily contribute the few I have. But on no other terms can I part with them, and must, therefore, desire you to command me in some other service.

Still, however, I am in the judgment of Congress, and if, upon our mutual representations, should you think it worth troubling them with, they should be of a different opinion, I shall abide by their decision and obey their orders.

I hope your gout is better, and have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 546, with omissions; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 309, where the original is correctly given.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 21, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write me on the 16th of this month. Although you are to be henceforth without a public character in France, be persuaded that the esteem and consideration which you have justly acquired are by no means diminished, and I flatter myself, sir, that you will not deprive me of the pleasure of assuring you of it by word of mouth, and being at the same time the interpreter of the favorable sentiments with which the king honors you. They are the consequence of the particular satisfaction which his majesty has received from the wise conduct you have held during the whole time of your commission, as well as the zeal you have constantly displayed both for the cause of your country and for the support of the alliance which attaches it to his majesty.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to La Fayette.†

PASSY, *February* 21, 1779.

MY DEAR MARQUIS: The conversation with which you honored me last evening has induced me to give you the trouble of this letter upon the same subject.

It is certain that a loan of money is very much needed to redeem the redundancy of our paper bills, and without it, it is impossible to foresee what will be the consequence to their credit, and therefore every service that may be rendered in order to obtain it from this kingdom, from Spain or Holland, will be a most acceptable service.

But without some other exertions even a loan perhaps would be but a temporary relief; with them a smaller loan might suffice. You know perfectly well that the enemy in America are at present very weak and in great distress in every part. They are weak in Canada, weak in Halifax, weak in Rhode Island, weak in New York, weak in the Floridas, and weak in every one of the West India Islands. A strong armament of ships of the line, with five thousand troops, directed against Halifax, Rhode Island, or New York must infallibly succeed. So it must against the Floridas, so it must against Canada or any one of the West India Islands.

You are very sensible that in this state of weakness the British possessions in America depend upon each other for reciprocal support. The troops and ships derive such supplies of provisions from Canada

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*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 579; 7 John Adams' Works, 83.

†2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 577; with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 84.

and Nova Scotia, that if these places or either of them were lost it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the other to subsist. The West India Islands derive such supplies from the Floridas, that if they were lost the others could hardly subsist. Their fleets and armies in Canada, Halifax, Rhode Island, New York, and the Floridas receive supplies of rum, sugar, molasses, etc., from the West India Islands, without which they could scarcely subsist. Every part of their possessions in America, both on the continent and in the islands, receive constant supplies from Europe, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, without which they must fall. You perceive, therefore, that their dominions in America at present form such a chain, that the links mutually support each other in such a manner that if one or two were taken away the whole, or at least the greater part, must fall. In this state of things, then, the obvious policy is to send a strong squadron of ships of the line to co-operate with the Count d'Estaing and the American army in some expedition directed against New York, Rhode Island, Halifax, or perhaps all of them in course. Five or six thousand troops would be quite enough. Above all, it is indispensably necessary to keep a clear superiority of naval power both on the coast of the continent and in the West India Islands. This, together with French and American privateers, would make such havoc among the enemy's transports passing from one of their possessions to another as must ruin their affairs. The French have a great advantage in carrying on this kind of war in America at present. The British ships are badly manned and in bad repair. They can not send them into the American seas without the utmost terror for their own coasts. And when they are in America they have not such advantages for supplies of provisions, naval stores, etc., as the French.

The devastation which was made among their ships of the line, frigates, transports, and traders in the American seas the last summer shows how much might be done if a stronger force were sent there. As long as the enemy have possession of New York and Rhode Island, so long it will be necessary for us to keep up large armies to watch their motions and defend the country against them, which will oblige us to emit more paper and still further increase the depreciation. Now, as long as they maintain the dominion of those seas their troops will be protected by the cannon of their ships, and we could not dislodge them with an army, however large; at least we could not keep possession of those places. But if their force was captivated in those seas, as it might easily be by a sea force co-operating with the land forces, we might reduce our army and innumerable other articles of expense; we need not emit any more paper and that already out would depreciate no further. I should be happy to have further conversation with you, sir, upon these subjects, or to explain anything by letter which may be in my power.

With the highest sentiments of esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, etc.

JOHN ADAMS.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 22, 1779.

SIR: In obedience to the orders of Congress of the 8th of December, 1777, which I received the 4th of March, 1778, I embraced the first opportunity of returning to America, and on my arrival repaired with all possible dispatch to Congress on the 13th of July last, since which time I have attended their orders in this city. I beg leave to remind Congress that early in January, 1776, I had the honor of being engaged by their committee to go as their agent to France, to transact important business for them in the commercial as well as political departments, and that I have ever since been in their service, in which I flatter myself I have been of some utility to them and to my country; but that an absence of almost four years from my family and private affairs, more than seven months of which I have waited to know their pleasure respecting me here, has so exceedingly embarrassed and distressed me, that I hope I shall not be deemed guilty of an unbecoming impatience in pressing to know if Congress have any further commands for me, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, are to be adjusted and closed. I have heretofore written repeatedly and particularly to Congress on this subject and will not enlarge upon it at present, but have the honor to be, with the utmost respect, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Franklin to Hartley.†

PASSY, *February* 22, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your proposition for removing the stumbling-block. Your constant desire of peace ought to endear you to both sides; but this proposition seems to be naturally impracticable. We can never think of quitting a solid alliance, made and ratified, in order to be in a state for receiving unknown proposals of peace, which may vanish in the discussion. The truth is, we have no kind of faith in your government, which appears to us as insidious and deceitful as it is unjust and cruel; its character is that of the spider in Thomson,

> —— cunning and fierce,
> Mixture abhorred!

Besides, we can not see the necessity of our relinquishing our alliance with France in order to a treaty, any more than of your relinquishing yours with Holland.

I am, very affectionately, yours,

N. A.‡

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 133.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 49; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 310.

‡ North America.

Franklin to Harley.*

PASSY, *February* 22, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your favor of January 23, containing the answer you had received from the board of sick and hurt, in which they say they are taking measures for the immediate sending to France the number of Americans first proposed to be changed, etc.

I have heard nothing since of the measures taken. The prisoners grow more and more uneasy with us. They are told that we neglect them. We sent the passport required in September last. We were soon after assured that a passport was actually taken up and victualed for 100 men to be sent to France with so many prisoners. That vessel has never appeared.

We relied upon the agreement to exchange and the promise of doing it speedily, and we advised our people thereupon not to attempt escapes. We seem to have been deceived or trifled with, but perhaps it is rather owing to the multiplicity of business the board has on its hands, and your important occupations not permitting you to follow it with such frequent solicitations as are necessary to keep up its attention to this particular affair. I have, therefore, thought of sending over a person for that purpose, empowering him to stipulate readily, without the delay attending letters. By this means I would save you some of that trouble which your goodness and humanity might otherwise continue to lead you into. I would only desire you at present to procure a safe conduct; his name is Edward Bancroft; he is a gentleman of character and honor who will punctually observe such restrictions respecting his conduct when in England as it may be thought reasonable to lay him under. If this is or is not obtainable, I beg you will signify it by a line directed for him at M. Leveaux's, merchant, in Calais; and that as soon as possible, that he may not be fruitlessly detained long there in expectation of it.

Proceedings of Congress as to conditions of pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and Fisheries.†

FEBRUARY 23, 1779.

The committee, to whom were referred the letters from Mr. A. Lee and the communications of the minister plenipotentiary of France in his memorial of the 9th and in the private audience of the 15th, report:

That upon consideration of all the matters referred to your committee they are of opinion that his catholic majesty is disposed to enter into an alliance with the United States of America. That he hath manifested this disposition in a decisive declaration lately made to the court of Great Britain. That in consequence of such declaration the independence of these United States must be finally acknowledged by

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*6 Bigelow's Franklin, 311.

†See secret MSS. journals, Dep. of State, which are followed with variations and omissions by the printed secret journals.

Great Britain, and immediately thereon a negotiation for peace will be set on foot between the powers of France, Great Britain, and these United States under the mediation of his catholic majesty; or that Spain will take part in the war, and his catholic majesty will unite his force with the most Christian king and the United States.

That in the event of a negotiation for peace your committee, pursuant to the declaration of Congress that they would not make nor even treat of peace until the independence of these United States should be acknowledged, or all the forces of their enemy withdrawn, pursuant to the guaranty of his most Christian majesty by the treaty of alliance eventual and defensive, made and subsisting between him and these United States as sovereign and independent, they assume it first as a ground and preliminary, that previous to any treaty or negotiation for peace the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of these United states, as well in matters of government as of commerce, be acknowledged on the part of Great Britain.

And if the same shall be done, your committee are of opinion that the minister of these United States ought on the part of the said States to assist at and contract and stipulate in such negotiation for peace as may be set on foot under the mediation of his catholic majesty.

That in order to be in readiness for such event the said ministers ought to be instructed by Congress in the several following particulars, to wit:

(1) What to insist on as the ultimatum of these States; and

(2) What to yield or require on terms of mutual exchange or compensation.

On the first head, your committee are of opinion that the following articles are absolutely necessary for the safety and independence of the United States, and therefore ought to be insisted on as the ultimatum of these States.

(1) That the bounds of the United States be acknowledged and ratified as follows: Northerly by the ancient limits of Canada as contended for by Great Britain, running from Nova Scotia southwesterly west and northwesterly to Lake Nipissing; thence a west line to the Mississippi easterly by the boundary settled between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia; southerly by the boundary settled between Georgia and East and West Florida, and westerly by the river Mississippi.

(2) That every port and place within the United States, and every island, harbor, and road to them, or any of them belonging, be absolutely evacuated by the land and sea forces of his Britannic majesty and yielded to the powers of the States to which they respectively belong.

(3) That a right of fishing and curing fish on the banks and coasts of the island of Newfoundland equally with the subjects of France and Great Britain be reserved, acknowledged, and ratified to the subjects of the United States.

(4) That the navigation of the river Mississippi as low down as the

southern boundary of the United States be acknowledged and ratified absolutely free to the subjects of the United States.

(5) That free commerce be allowed to the subjects of the United States with some port or ports below the southern boundary of the said States on the river Mississippi, except for such articles as may be particularly enumerated; and

(6) In case the allies of these United States will agree to support them in such claim by continuing hostilities, then to insist that Nova Scotia and its dependencies be ceded to the United States or declared independent.

On the present head your committee are of opinion—

(1) That the claim to Nova Scotia ought to be given up in lieu of the equal share in the Newfoundland fishery, or such share of the fishery in lieu of Nova Scotia if both can not be obtained.

(2) That in case neither of these can be obtained in lieu of the other, then if the Bermuda Islands can be obtained the claim to Nova Scotia be ceded in lieu thereof.

(3) That it may be stipulated that the subjects of the United States shall not trade to the East Indies, or engage in the slave trade, if adequate compensation can be obtained.

(4) That the United States will not establish any settlement or dominion beyond the limits of the said States as settled at the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

(5) That if Great Britain shall cede the Floridas to the United States the same may be ceded to the crown of Spain for an adequate compensation.

(6) A reciprocal guaranty of all American possessions which shall remain to the respective powers at the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

Your committee are further of opinion that no truce ought to be agreed to on the part of the United States.* That a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation may be admitted in case all the force of the enemy shall be withdrawn from every port and place within the limits of the United States. That no exclusive privilege of commerce be allowed to Great Britain with the United States, and that all claims not in the instructions mentioned may be ceded, exchanged, or retained, as the circumstances of the negotiation may require.

In the event of a continuance of the war and an alliance with Spain, your committee are of opinion that a subsidy should, if possible, be obtained from the court of Madrid on the following stipulations:

That his catholic majesty shall pay to the United States, in such convenient manner as shall be agreed on, a sum not less than —— and the further sum of —— yearly during the continuation of the war between the United States and Great Britain and for a term not less than —— years after the determination thereof, or if that can not be obtained, then a sum not less than —— yearly during the term aforesaid. That in consideration thereof the United States shall hold in readiness

* As to truce, see Introduction, §§ 86, 98 *ff*.

well-appointed force, not exceeding —— effective infantry, with all amp and marching requisites, with suitable arms, artillery, and other quipments for war, to be employed in conquering the Floridas. That he said countries when conquered shall be ceded and guarantied to is catholic majesty by the United States, reserving always the free avigation of the river Mississippi to the subjects of the United States s well as to the subjects of his catholic majesty, if possible, in the full-st extent of egress and ingress, but, if this can not be obtained, then nat a port be reserved for the delivery and sale, purchase and lading, f all commodities excepting such articles as shall be particularly numerated.

Your committee are also of the opinion that the ministers of these Jnited States should be instructed and empowered to stipulate and ontract for the delivery of masts for the royal navy of Spain, at some onvenient port or ports of the United States.

The above report being read:

Ordered, That it lie on the table for the consideration of the members nd that it be taken up on Thursday next.

Resolved, That on Thursday next Congress be resolved into a com-ittee of the whole to take into consideration the foregoing report.*

Franklin to Paul Jones.†

PASSY, *February* 24, 1779.

DEAR CAPTAIN: M. Alexander called here this morning to deliver a ttle message to be communicated to you from Lord Selkirk. The pur-ort was that his lordship had written an answer to your letter, which nswer, after having been detained many months in the post-office, had een sent back to him. That as to the proposition of returning the late, if it was made by order of Congress or any public body, he would ccept of it, and endeavor to make suitable returns for the favor; but f by a private person's generosity, the captain's for instance, he could y no means receive it. You will now judge whether it is worth while o give yourself any further trouble about that matter.

I am, with great regard, dear sir, etc.

Congress—Proceedings as to Barbary Treaty.‡

FEBRUARY 24, 1779.

A letter of 7th November, 1778, from B. Franklin, A. Lee, and J. Adams, commissioners of the United States at Paris, was read, indors-

* See proceedings of Feb. 27, 1779, *infra*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; see as to the Selkirk plate, Franklin and Adams to Schweighauser, Feb. 10, 1779, *supra*.

‡ Secret journals, MSS. Dep. of State; in printed secret journals, with verbal changes, nder date of Feb. 15, 1779.

ing copies of letters between them and the Count de Vergennes relative to a negotiation with the Barbary States, and also a copy of a letter from the ambassador of Naples to the commissioners, informing them that the king, his master, has opened his ports to the flag of the United States of America, and desiring at these times when the sea is covered with the privateers of different nations, and also with pirates, to know the colors of the flag and the form of the sea papers.

Ordered, That the papers relative to a negotiation with the States of Barbary be referred to a committee of three.

The members chosen: Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. Burke.

Ordered, That the letter from the minister of Naples be referred to the marine committee; and that the committee be instructed to report forms of proper commissions, ship papers, and the like, with the means of authenticating them and of notifying the same to the several powers who shall be disposed to open their ports to the subjects of the United States.

On passing the instruction, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke:

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye	
	Mr. Holton	No	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	Aye	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye	Aye.
	Mr. G. Morris	Aye	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Aye	Aye.
	Mr. Frelinghuysen	Aye	
	Mr. Fell	Aye	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Clingan	Aye	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye	
	Mr. Searle	Aye	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	Aye	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No	No.
	Mr. Paca	No	
	Mr. Carmichael	No	
	Mr. Henry	No	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No	Aye.
	Mr. F. L. Lee	Aye	
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye	
	Mr. R. H. Lee (excused)		
	Mr. Griffin	No	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye	No.
	Mr. Hill	No	
	Mr. Burke	No	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton	No	No.
	Mr. Hutson	No	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	No	No.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *February* 25, 1779.

SIR: I received duly your excellency's most obliging letter of the 17th instant. I was then so ill with the gout and a fever that I could neither write nor think of anything. This necessarily prevented my attending at court to present my letters of credence on Tuesday last, agreeably to his majesty's gracious permission; but as the fit seems to be going off, I hope that in two or three days I shall be able to pay my respects to your excellency at Versailles.

I thank your excellency for your kind notice of the affairs of Captain McNeill.

I have ordered the *Alliance* frigate to prepare for returning immediately to America, in order to convoy thither about fifteen sail of ships going from Nantes. As this ship is said to be an admirable swift sailer I mention her as an opportunity by which dispatches may probably go safely if your excellency should think fit to write by her.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Sartine.†

PASSY, *February* 25, 1779.

SIR: I thank your excellency for the appointment of a frigate to escort the ships from Nantes to the Isle of Aix, and the assurances of protection to our vessels who may join the convoy there.

Our frigate the *Alliance*, is ordered to prepare for returning immediately to America. If your excellency should think fit to send some dispatches by her they may probably go safe, as she is a remarkably swift sailer.

I thank your excellency also for your favorable dispositions towards the Chevr. de Marigni, expressed in the letter you honored me with of the 13th instant. I have been ever since severely handled by the gout and unable to write or think of business. But I now hope I shall soon be able to pay my respects to your excellency in person at Versailles and congratulate you on better news from the West Indies.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.‡

PARIS, *February* 25, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I received the remarks of Mr. Deane, dated the 12th of October, 1778, on my letter of the 1st of June, 1778.

The banker's account proves what I said, *that millions have been ex-*

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 316.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

‡ 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 547.

pended; but it does not prove what I wanted to be satisfied of that the value of this expenditure has been received by the agents of Congress in Europe. Neither their receipts nor the bills of lading appeared among the papers he left at Passy. Upon a scrap of paper Mr. Deane had left notes that such and such sums were paid in general for such and such purposes. This was a manner of accounting equally mercantile and satisfactory. It was not even so explicit as the summary of the banker's account he has subjoined to the remarks I am answering. It never specified the quantity, and not often the quality, of what the sums were paid for. It was not accompanied with accounts and receipts from the persons to whom the money was said to have been paid, nor the receipts of our agent, to whom the things must be supposed to have been delivered. It is manifest why the agent, Mr. Williams, did not, and will not, to this moment give receipts, specifying the quantity and quality of what he received for the public use, because such receipts would make him responsible to the public for their contents; which now he is not.

This, then, is distinctly the subject of my complaint, that Mr. Deane, who assumed to himself the management of those affairs, left them in such confusion that neither was there any usual or satisfactory evidence of the things said to have been delivered, nor were there any means left of knowing how to settle the accounts that remained unpaid, so as to do justice to the public. There were no books of accounts—nothing but a confused mass of motley refuse papers, without order, reference, or effect. I do not, nor ever did, say that Mr. Deane has not the regular responsible accounts and vouchers; but I said, and still say, he did not leave them with us. Perhaps they are among those he informs the public he had *placed in safety*—that is, in fitter hands than those of the commissioners appointed by Congress.

Mr. Deane informs us that there are but two sides of an account; but he ought to know that there also ought to be to every mercantile account, receipts, invoices, and bills of lading. Had he ever taken the pains to procure these and left them for our satisfaction he would have saved himself much discredit and me much trouble; the public would have been secured and satisfied.

Mr. Deane lumps 244,285 livres, as had and expended in common by the commissioners.* But this is not the fact. I had nothing to do with

* In report No. 220, Twentieth Congress, first session, vol. 14, p.54, the following is given as an extract from a letter of A. Lee of Feb. 25, 1779:

Mr. Deane is entirely at a loss to understand what I mean by saying almost everything remained to be paid for. I will tell him some gross sums which may satisfy him without descending to a multitude of lesser:

Mr. Beaumarchais' demand	$6,000,000
Mr. Monthieu's	674,000
Mr. Williams'	300,000
	6,974,000

what the other commissioners received. What I took for my expenses I gave separate and distinct receipts for. By misstating what I say of my expenses he would induce Congress to suppose that I had half of that sum. This, too, is not a fact, as my receipts will show. When I said that from my experience I judged a public minister could not live on less than three thousand a year, I did not mean that I had actually spent that sum; but that, as the expenses of a public minister must be greater than those of a commissioner, I could judge from my experience of the expense of the latter what must be necessary for the former. I had not been a public minister, and therefore could not speak from experience in that or from any other judgment.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

W. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

FRANKFORT, *February* 25, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor of enclosing to you with this a fourth copy of the plan of a treaty, arranged, as you will see, between M. John de Neufville on the part of the pensionary and burgomasters of Amsterdam, and myself on the part of the United States of America. This plan, I presume, will meet with the approbation of Congress; and if it can be carried through in the General Assembly of the Seven United States of The Netherlands, America can not have any just ground for complaint. If any further steps are taken by you in this business, it will be necessary to authorize some person to complete it in your name, who must advance it with the States-General as he finds the temper of the times and politics; for it is to be observed that by their constitution, in all cases of treaties, new alliances, peace, or war, the unanimous consent of all the states is requisite. However, it is with pleasure that I inform you that in consequence of the negotiation with Amsterdam and the correspondence I have since kept up with the parties, that city (by far the most important member of their union) has with infinite firmness and resolution opposed all the intrigues of Great Britain, countenanced as it is said by the Prince of Orange, to involve the republic in a war against France, and consequently against America.

The efforts of Amsterdam have at last prevailed on the States-General to come to a resolution lately much in our favor; that is, that they insist on Great Britain's strictly adhering to the treaty of 1674, whereby

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* Mr. Lee wrote a very long letter to the President of Congress, dated Feb. 10, vindicating himself against statements of Silas Deane. This letter, somewhat altered, was published under the title of "Extracts from a letter written to the President of Congress by the honorable Arthur Lee in answer to a libel published in the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 5th of December, 1778, by Silas Deane, in which every charge or insinuation against him in that libel is fully and clearly refuted. Philadelphia, 1780." See also Silas Deane in France, 151, ff.

† MSS Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 625, with verbal changes.

the Dutch commerce is allowed to be entirely free; and if Great Britain will not accede to this, they will convoy their trade with ships of war and repel force by force. They are accordingly making a very respectable addition to their navy, the care of which Amsterdam has taken on herself.

With respect to Germany, our affairs seem to wear a more promising aspect than they have done for some time past. Letters of good authority from Vienna, Berlin, and Breslau, the present residence of the King of Prussia, speak with confidence of the terms of peace being fully settled between the House of Austria and Prussia under the mediation of France and Russia, that of Great Britain being equally slighted by both parties. There has been above ten thousand men raised in this country, under the title of free corps, for the two contending powers, all of whom will be dismissed as soon as the peace is signed, and will be ready to enter into any service that will pay them. It will require infinite address, industry, and management to prevent Great Britain from gaining advantage from this circumstance, which will no doubt be attempted by their agent, General Faucet, who is now in this country, endeavoring to buy more human flesh to sacrifice to the demon of tyranny in America. To this object I shall apply at present my principal attention, at the same time keeping a watchful eye on the courts of Vienna and Berlin, to take advantage of the first favorable opening for us that appears at either.

I think it most probable that one or both of those courts will begin a negotiation with us in a very little space of time after the peace between them is finally settled. However, for the present the King of Prussia has formally engaged, by a letter from his minister, who writes in the king's name, the 17th of this instant (February), "that the merchants of North America who should come with their merchant vessels into the ports of his majesty to trade there in merchandise that is not prohibited should have full liberty, and should be received in all respects as the merchants of other countries." This looks to me as if they begin to wish for the trade to be commenced between America and the Prussian dominions, but the European merchants, and especially those who are not accustomed to a foreign commerce, which is almost universally the case with the merchants in the Prussian dominions, are cautious, and do not care to venture hastily in a trade which they do not understand. A vessel or two from America, arriving in the port of Embden, would convince the Prussian merchants more of the practicability of this commerce than a volume of the most demonstrative reasoning that ever was written. You will judge then of the propriety of encouraging the American merchants to undertake a trial of this commerce.

This will be delivered to you by Samuel W. Stockton, esq., of New Jersey, who has been with me some months in the capacity of secretary to the commission at the courts of Vienna and Berlin, for which

purpose he left London in May last, where he had been some years pursuing the study of the law. He now returns to his country, because we do not see clearly how the expense of a secretary is to be supported, since the American commissioners at the Court of Versailles have lately demurred at paying my draft on them for my expenses, conformable to the resolve of Congress; and though they have allowed me some money, I am given to understand that it is the last I am to expect from them; therefore, if you should agree in opinion with most others on the propriety of keeping up the commissions in Germany, it will be quite necessary to establish some sure funds to support the expense. Mr. Stockton has received from me 3,732 livres for his expenses, and I am obliged to refer him to Congress for such further consideration as they may judge he deserves, not having it in my power to make him that compensation for his services to the public which I think him entitled to. However, justice calls upon me to say that he merits consideration and esteem for his zeal and readiness to serve his country whenever it was in his power, and therefore I am sure Congress will render him ample retribution.

To Mr. Stockton I refer you for further information relative to the general state of political affairs in this quarter of the world, and expecting shortly another opportunity, I shall write again, when I hope to be able to give you very pleasing accounts of the progress of my negotiations in this country. I have not received any letter or intelligence from you of a later date than May last, therefore I have nothing to reply.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

Franklin to Patrick Henry.*

PASSY, *February* 26, 1779.

SIR: I had the honor of receiving your excellency's letter of March 3, 1778, by Captain Lemaire, acquainting me that the State of Virginia has desired Mr. William Lee, your agent, to procure a quantity of arms and military stores, and requesting me to assist him with my influence in obtaining them on credit.

Being glad of any opportunity of serving Virginia, and showing my regard to the request of a person whom I so highly esteem, and Mr. William Lee being absent, I found immediately three different merchants here, men of fortune, who were each of them willing to undertake furnishing the whole, and giving the credit desired. But, Mr. Arthur Lee being understood to have taken the management of the affair into his own hands, one of the three soon after refused to have anything to do with it; a second, whose letter to me I enclose, apprehending difficulties from Mr. Lee's temper, required my name and Mr.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 317.

Adams' to the agreement, which he supposes Mr. Lee did not like, as his offer was not accepted. I know not why the offer of the third was not taken. I was afterwards not at all consulted in the business.

Poor Lemaire was sent about Germany to find goods and credit, which consumed a great deal of time to little purpose. Several of the manufacturers wrote to me that they would furnish him on my promise of payment. I referred them to Mr. Lee. On his return, Mr. Lee and he differed about his expenses. He complained frequently to me of Mr. Lee's not supplying him with necessary subsistence, and treating him with great haughtiness and insolence. I thought him really attentive to his duty and not well used, but I avoided meddling with his affairs, to avoid, if possible, being engaged in quarrels myself. Mr. Lee, in fine, contracted with Messrs. Penet and Dacosta to supply a great part of the goods. They, too, have differed, and I have several letters of complaints from those gentlemen, but I can not remedy them, for I can not change Mr. Lee's temper.

They have offered to send the things you want, which he has refused, on my account; but, not knowing whether he has not provided them elsewhere, or in what light he may look upon my concerning myself with what he takes to be his business, I dare not meddle, being charged by the Congress to endeavor at maintaining a good understanding with their other servants, which is, indeed, a hard task with some of them. I hope, however, that you will at length be provided with what you want, which I think you might have been long since if the affair had not been in hands which men of honor and candor here are generally averse to dealing with, as not caring to hazard quarrels and abuses in the settlement of their accounts.

Our public affairs at this court continue to go on well. Peace is soon expected in Germany, and we hope Spain is now near declaring against our enemies.

I have, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Proceedings of Congress as to conditions of pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[Continuation of proceedings of February 23, 1779, *supra.*]

SATURDAY *February* 27, 1779.

Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to consider the report of the committee on the letters from A. Lee and the communications of the minister of France, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. F. L. Lee reported that the committee have had under consideration the report referred to them and have

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed report of same.

nade some progress, but not having come to a conclusion desire leave o sit again.

Leave granted.

On Monday Congress was resolved into a committee of the whole on he above report, and on Thursday resumed the same subject in committee; on the 10th, 11th, 15th, and 16th of March the same.*

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *February* 27, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me the onor to write on the 21st of this month. This testimony from your xcellency of those indulgent sentiments with which his majesty is leased to honor my sincere intentions can not fail to be preserved by ie and my posterity as a most precious monument; and what is of inuitely more importance, it can not fail to give great satisfaction to my ountry to find that a servant of theirs, who has been honored with no mall share of their confidence in the most dangerous of times and ost critical circumstances, has been so happy as not to forfeit the confidence of their illustrious ally.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Jay, President of Congress.‡

PASSY, *February* 27, 1779.

SIR: By the new arrangement which was brought by the Marquis de a Fayette I find myself restored to the character of a private citizen.

The appointment of a single minister at the court of Versailles was ot unexpected to me, because I had not been two months in Europe efore I was convinced of the policy, and indeed of the necessity, of uch a measure. But I ever entertained hopes that when the news of uch an alteration should arrive the path of my own duty would have een made plain to me by the directions of Congress, either to return ome or go elsewhere. But as no information we have received from Congress has expressed their intentions concerning me, I am obliged o collect them by implication, according to the best of my understandng; and as the election of the new minister plenipotentiary was on the 4th of September, and the *Alliance* sailed from Boston the 14th of Jaary, and in this space of four months no notice appears to have been aken of me, I think the only inference that can be made is, that Congress have no further service for me on this side of the water, and that

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* For further proceedings see *infra*, March 17, 1779.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 579; 7 John Adams' Works, 86.

‡ 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 580, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 86.

all my duties are on the other. I have accordingly given notice to his excellency M. de Sartine, and to his excellency the minister plenipotentiary here of my intentions to return, which I shall do by the first frigate that sails for any part of the United States, unless I should receive counter orders in the mean time. In a matter of so much uncertainty I hope I shall not incur the disapprobation of Congress even if I should not judge aright of their intentions, which it is my desire as well as my duty to observe as far as I can know them.

By the papers enclosed with this Congress will perceive the discontented and tumultuous state of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which is so great and so rapidly increasing, that the United States will have little to fear from re-enforcements of their enemies the ensuing campaign. All their forces will be necessary to keep in order their own riotous populace and to replace those which are daily consuming in the West Indies. There is, however, no prospect of their evacuating either New York or Rhode Island. The possession of those places is so indespensable for the preservation of their West India and other trade, as well as of their other dominions in America, that nothing but the last necessity will induce them to give them up.

The greatest source of danger and unhappiness to the States, then, probably will be a depreciating currency. The prospect of a loan in Europe, after every measure that has been or could be taken, I think it my duty to say frankly to Congress, is very unpromising. The causes of this are very obvious, and can not be removed; the state of our country itself and the course of exchange would be sufficient to discourage such a loan if there were no other obstruction, but there are many others. There are more borrowers in Europe than lenders; and the British loan itself will not be made this year at a less interest than seven and a-half per cent.

I see no hope of relief but from taxation and economy; and these, I flatter myself, will be found sufficient, if the people are at once convinced of the necessity of them. When a people are contending not only for the greatest object that any people ever had in view, but for security from the greatest evil that any nation ever had to dread (for there is at this hour no medium between unlimited submission to Parliament and entire sovereignty), they must be destitute of sense, as well as of virtue, if they are not willing to pay sufficient sums annually to defray the necessary expense of their defense in future, supported as they are by so powerful an ally, and by the prospect of others, against a kingdom already exhausted, without any ally at all or a possibility of obtaining one. As this is the first time I have had the honor to address myself to Congress since we received the news of your excellency's appointment to the chair, you will please to accept of my congratulations on that event.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Sartine to John Adams.*

VERSAILLES, *le* 28, *Fevrier* 1779.

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 16 de ce mois, pour me prévenir que vous êtes dans l'intention de retourner à l'Amérique, et que vous désirez y passer sur un bâtiment du roi. J'ai lieu de croire que lorsque vous avez formé cette demande, vous n'aviez pas connoissance des ordres qui ont été donnés au capitaine de la frégate *l'Alliance* appartenant aux États-Unis, de faire ses dispositions pour mettre à la voile incessament. Comme ce bâtiment a une marche supérieure, j'ai d'autant plus lieu de croire, que vous vous déterminerez à profiter de cette occasion, qu'il n'est pas possible de vous indiquer l'époque où le roi pourra en faire expédier un pour quelque des États-Unis.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.,

DE SARTINE.

J. Adams to Jay, President of Congress.†

PASSY, *March* 1, 1779.

SIR: My last letter to Congress was on the 27th of last month, since which an account of the new loan is received from London; and as this may perhaps afford to Congress the clearest proof of the weakness of their enemies, it is of importance that it should be transmitted to them. Some accounts say that the loan is to be seven millions, others eight. The conditions of the loan are, in general, the established interest of three per cent., an annuity for three and three-quarters per cent. for twenty-nine years, and seven lottery tickets for every thousand pounds.

In one account the advantages are thus stated:

100 3 per cent	£61 00 00
£3 15*s.* annuity for twenty-nine years, at twelve years' purchase	45 00 00
Two-fifths of a year's interest and annuity gained by both beginning from the 5th of January, although the money is paid monthly and not ended until December	2 14 00
£3 premium of seven lottery tickets for each £1,000 gives for each hundred	2 2 00
For each £100 paid, there is received	110 16 00

This statement for the first year is pretty accurate. Another account makes it ten and one-quarter per cent. for the first year. The subsequent years however, it will not be so much. Yet for all the subsequent years, during the term of the annuity, it will be six and three-quarters per cent. Upon the whole, it is generally looked upon as good as seven and one-half per cent. In a country where the highest interest that is tolerated by the standing laws is five per cent. this is a terrible symptom.

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* 7 John Adams' Works, 88.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 582, with omissions.

While this system has any credit among the money lenders in Hol land, Switzerland, Geneva, etc., Congress will perceive that there i little hope of procuring a private loan for the United States from an of those places. Whether any may be procured from any state o prince time must discover. I confess I have no very sanguine hopes

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

THE HAGUE, *March* 1, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have nothing to add to the extracts here annexed except to press anew the necessity there is that the most honorable Con gress send me a commission in all its forms of chargé d'affaires and agent of the United States of America in the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with power to manage and watch over their politica interests and those of the navigation and commerce of the American Union, as well near their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, now and at all times when opportunity shall be presented, as near each province, city, and indi vidual of this republic.

The opposition formed, sustained, and consolidated against the enor mous influence which your enemies had over this republic is the work of three persons, of whom I have the honor in my sphere to be one.

With orders and powers more precise on the part of Congress I should have been able to contract long since with merchants of this country for useful expeditions, and to defeat divers adventurers and intriguers who, falsely boasting of full powers and of credentials which they have not, have abused and much deceived the people and compromised the dignity and credit of the United States. The little I have been able to do in this respect has been done with a pure zeal and a disinterested ness and discretion which I dare propose as an example to others who may be called to a similar service. I can boldly defy all the world to accuse me of having in any case preferred my own interest to that of the American people.

My request, at the commencement of this letter, has for its object the service of the United States of America, as much at least as the proper care of my fortune, of my family, my honor and credit, my character and safety. The earliest of your agents and correspondents, gentlemen, in Europe, out of Great Britain, has risked all these things from the time he received and accepted this honor with a confidence equal to that with which it was offered.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 260.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *March* 2, 1779.

SIR: The orders which your excellency did me the honor to inform me (in your letter of the 13th of January last) were sent to all the ports for receiving into his majesty's prisons the English prisoners brought in by our cruisers have not, it seems, arrived at Brest. For I have just received a letter from M. Schweighauser, of Nantes, who has the care of the prisoners taken in the *Drake* by Captain Jones, and which were put into the brigantine *Patience*, lying in Brest road, that the said prisoners are still in the same suffering situation of which he had the honor of informing your excellency by his letter of the 10th of October last. I therefore beg your excellency would favor me with a renewal of your orders to the proper officers at Brest to receive those prisoners and keep them on shore till they shall be exchanged, allowing them the same provisions as are allowed to other English prisoners, the expense of which will be paid by the Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Izard to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

PARIS, *March* 4, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of writing to you on the 28th of January, and have since received your letter of the 28th of October, informing me of the appointment of Dr. Franklin to be minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, and enclosing a resolution of Congress of the 22d of the same month. The respect which I owe to the representatives of my country in Congress would make me follow any advice which I might receive from them. I am most perfectly convinced that the cultivation of harmony and good understanding between the ministers, commissioners, and representatives of Congress is necessary for the honor and interest of the United States, and I have acted to the utmost of my power in conformity to that opinion.

Congress will be enabled to judge how far their other servants have done so from the papers which have already been and will be laid before them.

I beg leave to repeat again the high sense I have of the honor that Congress did me in appointing me one of their representatives in Europe, and to request that you will be so good as to obtain their leave for me to return to America, as I see no prospect of my having it in my power to render them any service in this part of the world.

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State, 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 702.

I should embrace the opportunity of going under the convoy of the *Alliance* frigate, but do not think myself at liberty to leave Europe without the permission of Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RALPH IZARD.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

NANTES, *March* 7, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I had not the honor of receiving yours of the 29th o October until the 13th of February. The two pieces it enclosed fron Mr. Deane I suppose it is expected I should answer; and I shall do it probably by the next opportunity. [In the mean time I can assure you that I have sufficient evidence to show the evasion and untruth o everything they contain.]†

I hope it will not be expected of me to continue answering the asser tions of Mr. Deane. If he produces any evidence to support his asser tions they may be worth attention, but it is an endless as well as fruit less and unbecoming business to be refuting all that such a man i capable of inventing.

On the 18th of February I received from Dr. Franklin a copy of the resolution of Congress appointing him minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, accompanied with an assurance that the resolution of Congress recommending harmony and confidence among the com missioners was agreeable to him.‡ I returned an assurance of my sen timents being the same. The next day I received a letter from him dated also the 18th, and demanding of me the immediate delivery o all the public papers in my possession. I replied that, as the papers belonging to the late commissioners were or ought to be vouchers o their joint transactions, they should be equally accessible to them all but that Mr. Deane, by his own confession, had taken and secured to himself all that he chose, that most of what remained were in his (Dr Franklin's) possession, and of the very few that were in mine most o them were duplicates, and the remainder necessary for my defense against Mr. Deane's accusation. But, however, I was in the judgmen of Congress whether I ought to give them up, and should obey thei orders.

I think it proper to inform you that Dr. Franklin, immediately upon the receipt of the resolution of Congress appointing him minister pleni potentiary, took into his sole management what was before under the

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 549, with omissions.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed. In a letter from A. Lee to Samue Adams, of Mar. 6, 1779 (S. Adams' papers, Bancroft Collection of MSS.), Franklin i charged not only with arbitrary action, but with peculations. See Introduction § 149.

‡ See *infra*, for letter of Franklin to Lovell, of June 2, 1779.

commissioners, without showing us any authority for so doing or any revocation of our joint commission. To this we submitted without the least question, supposing it probable that such was the intention of Congress, and believing that any dispute about it would destroy all possibility of harmony, and do more injury to the public than any possible good that could be derived from the contest.

It is supposed that peace is certain in Germany, and it has been procured chiefly by the mediation of this court.

Our enemies have derived considerable credit from their late success in the West Indies and their superiority there, which give expectation of much greater. This has happened in a favorable moment for effecting their loan with great facility and success. The consequence will be their carrying on the war with new vigor; and you must therefore prepare for another, and perhaps another, campaign. With regard to the rest of Europe, it remains as when I wrote you last.

It is probable that the establishment of peace in Germany will produce some movements among them. But at present it is not possible to say with precision what they will be.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *March* 9, 1779.

SIR: It is with great reluctance that I give your excellency any further troubles on the subject of a loan of money; but the bearer, Mr. Grand, who is much better acquainted with the nature and manner of such operations than I am, being of opinion that the sum we want might, with your permission and countenance, be procured in France, I beg you would be so good as to hear him upon the subject both of the necessity of obtaining such a loan and of the means of accomplishing it.

I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin's Circular respecting Captain Cook.†

PASSY, *March* 10, 1779.

To all captains and commanders of armed ships acting by commission from the Congress of the United States of America now at war with Great Britain:

GENTLEMEN: A ship having been fitted out from England before the commencement of this war to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most celebrated navigator

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 319.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 50.

Captain Cook—an undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between distant nations in the exchange of useful products and manufactures and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented and science of other kinds increased, to the benefit of mankind in general;

This is therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you that, in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England, by detaining her or sending her into any other part of Europe or America, but that you would treat the said Captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindness, affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power which they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing you will not only gratify the generosity of your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of Congress and of your own American owners.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN,
Minister Plenipotentiary
from the Congress of the United States to the Court of France.

Franklin to Arthur Lee.*

PASSY, *March* 13, 1779.

SIR: A severe fit of the gout, with too much business at the same time necessary to be done, has prevented till now my answering yours of the 21st past.

I did not imagine there would be any difference of sentiment between us concerning the propriety of returning to me the papers which you have at various times taken from this house. Where several persons joined in the same commission are to act upon papers it seems necessary that they should be lodged in one place, where all the parties may be sure of finding them, and under the care of one person, who should be accountable for them; and if there were not some particular reasons to influence another choice, I should suppose the person first named in the commission might, with great propriety, take charge of them. I am sure that if you had been that person I should have made no objection to it. Mr. Adams having a room more convenient and more private than mine, and in which he lodged, I approved of his keeping the papers. He has voluntarily returned me all that he had without ask-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks', Dip. Rev. Corr., 551; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 326.

ng, and I thought asking was only necessary to obtain the rest from you; for the whole business, which before was transacted by us jointly being now devolved on me, and as there must be frequent occasion to look back on letters received, memorials delivered, and accounts given in, contracts made, etc., which, if I can not have the opportunity of doing, I must be frequently at a loss in future transactions, I did not imagine I should have any difficulty in obtaining them, nor had I the least idea that my asking for them would occasion any dispute.

I suppose that the papers Mr. Deane mentions to have taken and secured were those only that related to his separate commercial transactions for the public before his appointment with us in the political commission. If he took away any of the papers we were jointly concerned in I conceive he was wrong in doing so, and that his doing wrong would not justify the rest of us in following his example. I can have no desire to deprive you of any paper that may be of use to you in answering Mr. Deane's accusations, having no concern in them, nor interest in supporting them. On the contrary, if any papers remaining in my hands can be of such use to you, you are welcome to have authenticated copies of them (which shall, on request, be made out for you), as well as of any others "evidencing our joint transactions" which you may desire. On the whole, it seems to me that this matter may be reasonably settled by your keeping, if you please, all those originals of which there are duplicates at Passy, retaining for a time such of the rest as you desire to copy, which copies, being compared by us with the originals, may be authenticated by our joint signatures, and returning immediately all the others docketed and catalogued as you please, so as that you may know what and where they are, and call for a copy of any of them you may hereafter have occasion for, which shall always be given you. If these propositions are agreed to the affair may soon be settled; if not, I must wait the orders of Congress, and in the mean time do as well as I can with their business, which I think must often suffer by my want of the knowledge these papers might occasionally furnish me with.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Arthur Lee.†

PASSY, *March* 13, 1779.

SIR: Finding by a note of yours on the back of Mr. Williams' accounts dated October 6, but which I never saw till lately by accident, expressing that you are "perfectly satisfied, from his own accounts, that Mr. Williams has now, and has long had, in his hands upwards of 100,000

* See Franklin to A. Lee, Mar. 27, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 324.

livres belonging to the public which have not been employed in t
public use," etc., I have resolved to have those accounts carefully e
amined by impartial persons skilled in such business; and if you ha
any other objection to them than what appears in your note, or a
other reasons than what appears upon the face of his accounts, for
lieving such a sum in Mr. Williams's hands, I beg you will furnish
with them, that I may communicate them to the examiners. I wi
justice to be done, and that you had shown your note either to M
Adams or me when you made it; the matter would not have been
long neglected. The money, if due, ought to be recovered immediate

I have, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S.—The persons I have requested to examine the accounts are t
American merchants now at Nantes with our deputed commercial age
Mr. Schweighauser.*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 14, 1770

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, undersigned, does
doubt that the committee charged on the part of Congress to persua
the undersigned to keep the rate of exchange at 900 per cent., in or
to stop the further depreciation which circumstances threatened, has
ported the answer which the said minister gave on this subject; but
the undersigned is still ignorant of the manner in which Congress
received this answer, he is the more desirous of being informed of
as he must give an account to his court of the success of the cou
which he has adopted, and as the agent of the royal navy has till t
time confined himself to the rule proposed on the part of Congre
without any return to the interests of his majesty.

GERARD

* In 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 325, is given the letter to the referees above noti
It is given hereafter under date of April 8, 1779, as taken from Franklin's letter-b
There is a discrepancy in the date and in the names of the parties addressed, the l
list including additional names, and omitting two on the first list, who probably w
reported not to be at Nantes at the time. This may be explained by supposing
Franklin, finding that the persons named in this first draft were not all of them
Nantes, an amended and reliable list was made up.

†5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 581.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 15, 1779.

SIR: I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 22d of February past, to which letter I beg leave to refer your excellency. Having received no answer to the requests I then made, I have now only to add, that my situation, which for eight months past has been peculiarly distressing, is now become such as to oblige me to leave this city without further delay, and therefore I again most respectfully entreat of Congress to inform me, if they expect further information from me respecting their foreign or other affairs, and, as I shall without loss of time return to Europe, that I may be informed if they have any further commands for my service, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, are to be adjusted and closed.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc.

SILAS DEANE.

W. Lee to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *March* 16, 1779.

SIR: I have just had communicated to me the copies of two letters from Mr. Silas Deane, addressed to Mr. President Laurens, dated Philadelphia, October the 12th, 1778, and a separate paper relative to the eleventh and twelfth articles of the treaty of commerce between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America; in which letters, so far as respects me personally, he has asserted nearly the same groundless charges as in his letter to the public, which has been already so fully replied to and proved to be utterly repugnant to truth. Had Mr. Deane made these very extraordinary assertions only once he might have had some shadow of excuse, though it is a very bad one, by pleading a weak memory; but a deliberate repetition of them, after an interval of time amply sufficient for recollection, shows a heart and designs of such a complexion as all good men should avoid and guard against. Mr. Deane concludes with the following assertions, by way of summary of all that he had before advanced:

First. "That Mr. William Lee never had a commission for the commercial agency." What Mr. Deane may style a *commission* I do not know, but he knew by a letter from himself to Mr. John Ross, in July, 1777, of which he knows I have a copy, that I had as sufficient authority to act in the commercial agency as Mr. Thomas Morris, and that I did act in that department accordingly. But if Mr. Deane knew I was not a commercial agent, how can he palliate so bold and daring an imposition of his most Christian majesty and his ministers as to represent

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 133.

†1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 628

me in that character to them, which he did do in the letter signed by him to his excellency Count de Vergennes, in February, 1778, requesting that the late Mr. Thomas Morris' papers might be put into my possession, as then being the sole commercial agent of Congress. But, indeed, we ought not to be surprised at any imposition whatever on the part of Mr. Deane, since he imposed himself on the King of France, his ministers, and the whole world as a commissioner of Congress on the 20th of March, 1778, when he confesses that on the 4th of that month he received a resolution of Congress recalling him to America. I also refer for his conviction to the letters and proceedings of the secret committee.

Second. Mr. Deane says: "Mr. Lee's caution was such, that he never even answered my letters to him in February or March, informing him that Mr. Robert Morris had written to me that he was appointed; nor did I hear anything from him of his intentions until he arrived at Paris the summer following, where also he acted with the greatest caution while he waited the return of his brother from Berlin."

One can not here omit observing the studied latitude of his expressions. Mr. Deane talks of his letter in *February* or *March*, and that I came to Paris in the summer following. Will Mr. Deane say how many letters he wrote? I never saw or heard of but *one*. Will he please to say whether that one letter was dated the 1st of February or the 31st of March? For the difference of *two* whole months makes a very material alteration in the consequence he means to draw from the assertion.

I will answer, that his only letter is dated the 30th of March, though he acknowledges his having received a *notification* from Mr. Robert Morris in February of my appointment, and at the same time was desired to give me information of it *immediately*. It has been also proved by Mr. Deane's letter to Mr. Williams, on the same day, viz., March 30th, that he was plotting a contention and rivalship in this department before it was possible for him to know my determination on the subject.

Again, will Mr. Deane specify what time in the *summer* I arrived in Paris? Because here it is left to be understood either the first day of June or the last day of August, which is a still greater difference than the former expression. I will assert what I can prove, that I arrived in Paris the 11th of June, and that besides receiving a letter from me himself in the month of *May*, he was personally told by my brother, Arthur Lee, by my desire, in the beginning of May, that I would come over as soon as possible to execute my appointment; and so far from waiting in Paris for my brother's return from Berlin, I waited, by the express advice of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, until the 31st of July, 1777, as their letter to me of that date will show, which was nine days after my brother's return from Berlin to Paris.

The manner in which Mr. Deane sent me the letter informing me of my appointment, joined with what is now manifest, a formed design in him and Dr. Franklin to make Mr. Williams (nephew of the latter,

and who now appears connected with the former in private mercantile business) commercial agent,* in opposition to the secret committee's appointment, renders it evident that he expected either the interception of that letter or my answer would have subjected me to imprisonment and secured their plan. It is this disappointment that makes Mr. Deane so outrageous against me for not having committed so great an act of imprudence, situated as I was, as to be writing to him by the post upon such a subject. That this scheme of Mr. Deane might be more effectual, notice of my appointment was circulated upon the royal exchange of London before I received Mr. Deane's letter, and not long after it was published in the newspapers in authentic letters written from Paris. Now, as Mr. Deane acknowledges that he received a letter announcing my appointment, it must have been by him that others were enabled to write and publish it to all the world, while my life, liberty, and property were at stake. It is hardly in charity to believe that these were not the intended victims of Mr. Deane's conduct.

Third. Mr. Deane says: "So far was he (meaning me) from ever executing, or publicly attempting to execute, that agency until after the news of General Burgoyne's defeat had arrived in France, that he did nothing that ever I heard of which could have prevented his returning to the exercise of his aldermanship in London."

If anything could astonish me that comes from Mr. Deane, surely here is abundant matter for astonishment. He had just before, from under his own hand, on the very same paper, acknowledged my having attempted to exercise that appointment in the joint letter from Mr. Thomas Morris and myself as commercial agents to himself and Dr. Franklin in August, 1777, which he calls *severe*, but which I aver is a very civil one, and that it does not contain a single harsh or offensive expression. He acknowledges, also, the conference I had with all the commissioners in France in October on the subject of the commercial business, when Mr. Izard was present. He knew, also, that I had received a cargo publicly at Nantes, belonging to Congress, by the *Abigail*, Captain Jenne, which vessel was loaded again by me and dispatched back for America in three weeks, while other American vessels, of no greater size or importance, were detained at Nantes from two to three months. He knew also, or ought to have known, that I had written a letter addressed to all the commissioners—Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee—on the 10th of November, 1777, which was delivered to Dr. Franklin as eldest commissioner the same day, wherein I requested a copy of the treaties that had been proposed to the courts of France and Spain, agreeably to my instructions from Congress, that I might not, as a commissioner of Congress, propose anything repug-

*For a correction of an error here, in regard to the imputed designs of Dr. Franklin, respecting his nephew, see A. Lee to Committee of Foreign Affairs, June 1, 1778, *supra, note.*

nant thereto to the courts of Vienna and Berlin. After these things and a continued series of operations in the public service (all of which Mr. Deane was acquainted with), from the time I was permitted to act by himself and Dr. Franklin until the 4th of December, when the news of General Burgoyne's defeat arrived at Paris, with what face could Mr. Deane make such an assertion as he has done? Most of these things also being of public notoriety and capable of being proved by a multitude of witnesses, can any one suppose Mr. Deane so totally ignorant of the laws of England as to imagine he could think I might return "to the exercise of my aldermanship in London" without being a madman desirous of hanging myself?

This gentleman attempts to excuse himself and Dr. Franklin for not answering the joint letter of Mr. Morris and myself to them by laying the blame on Mr. Arthur Lee, not a syllable of which was mentioned at the conference I had in October, 1777, at Passy, with the commissioners, when Mr. Izard was present, and which Mr. Lee has answered himself; but he omits to say why my several letters from Nantes, as commercial agent on public business to the commissioners, were not answered, and of which I not only complained at the conference, but since. In order to invalidate what Mr. Izard has written he totally mistakes the purport of the letter in which Mr. Izard complains of Dr. Franklin's and Mr. Deane's refusing to write. This letter, as desired by me, was a general one to all captains and others, informing them that I was a commercial agent of the secret committee of Congress, and that in consequence they ought to follow my directions and orders in all matters relative to the commercial business of the committee.

So far from my proposing the suspension of Mr. Morris, I never thought that the commissioners had the least shadow of authority to do it. It is certain that Mr. Deane not only proposed the suspension of Mr. Morris at this conference, but at several other times. As a confirmation of this assertion, I beg leave to give the following extract of Mr. Deane's letter to me, dated "Passy, December 18, 1777. My advice, before your appointment (as was well known), was to supersede Mr. Morris and appoint another until the pleasure of Congress should be known. I was always of the same opinion after your appointment that you ought to conduct the business alone. These are well known to have been my uniform sentiments."

Mr. Deane labors much to throw an odium on me, as wishing to monopolize to myself the places both of honor and profit. Probably from the weakness of his memory he forgot that in the commencement of his address to the public he states that before September, 1776, he "had the honor to be the *commercial* and *political* agent of America in Europe." He forgets that the first cause of any difference between us was his usurping the exercise of the commercial agency, to which Mr Morris and myself were appointed by the secret committee, while he was not only one of the commissioners to the court of Versailles particu

arly, but generally authorized to treat with every power in Europe; he influence and patronage of which very expensive commission he was perpetually endeavoring to retain entirely to himself. He also seems o be ignorant, of what I suppose is known to most people in Philadelphia, that his "venerable friend," as he calls him, Dr. Franklin, is at his moment not only sole minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, but also in fact sole superintending commercial agent in all Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 16, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, being about to send M. de Maulcon to New York to effect the exchange of the French prisoners who are detained there, takes the liberty to request the Congress of the United States of America to have the goodness to allow them the same facilities as heretofore, by charging their commissioners to receive them on their landing at Elizabethtown and New London, and from thence as far as Philadelphia or Boston, and to give them, at the expense of his most Christian majesty, the same treatment which American prisoners receive.

GERARD.

Franklin to Jonathan Williams.†

PASSY, *March* 16, 1779.

DEAR JONATHAN: Agreeable to your desire I have requested the American gentlemen residing at Nantes to examine your accounts.‡ I have added Mr. Schweighauser, he having been appointed by my former colleagues to manage our affairs there, and may be supposed interested particularly to do justice to the Congress. And the others, I imagine, can have no interest in favoring you, as perhaps you may stand in their way respecting business. Enclosed you have copies of my letter to the gentlemen and of another on the same business to Mr. Lee. If I had known of his going to Nantes I should have desired him to state his objections to the accounts there, but I did not hear of his being there till a day or two before his return. I have yet no answer from him.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 582.

† MSS Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 329.

‡ See *infra*, Franklin to Wharton, Apr. 8, 1779; *supra*, Franklin to Arthur Lee, Mar. 13, 1779.

I showed your letter of February 20, relating to Mr. Simeon Deane's goods, to Mr. Adams, who thought the proposition reasonable. I send by this opportunity an order to Mr. Schweighauser to deliver to you the case which remains; and if you will send me the original invoice and the form of the bills you propose I shall sign and return them, if no objection arises on signing them that does not at present occur to me.

I suppose you settled the affair yourself with Mercier's agent, as he took the papers from me, saying that he was going to Nantes. This was before I received yours of February 23 relating to that business.

I received the bond for Collas' commission. The following bills, drawn before the 12th of December in favor of William Denine, were presented and accepted on the 19th of February last, viz: $600, $12, $600, $30, $120, $12, $120, in all $1,494. These may possibly be a part of those you mention. I shall order payment to be stopped till I have examined the indorsements, though I am not sure that I can well refuse payment after having accepted them. We shall strictly examine such drafts in favor of Denine as may appear hereafter till you let us know further.

I return Dr. Cooper's letter, with thanks to you for communicating it. I am much obliged to that good man for his kind expressions of regard to me.

The tobacco which came in the *Bergère* and all the tobacco which comes to us from America is to be delivered directly out of the ships to the agents of the Farmers-General in the ports where it arrives. I had sent orders accordingly before the receipt of your notice of her arrival.

I am ashamed of the orders of my countrymen for so much tea, when necessaries are wanting for clothing and defending!

I have been long ill and unfit to write or think of writing, which occasioned my omitting to answer before your several letters since the 16th of February. I omitted also answering a kind letter from Mr Ridley, who I suppose is now gone. If not, present my respects to him, and best wishes of a prosperous voyage and happy sight of his friends. I am getting better, and hope our correspondence will now be more regular.

I am, ever, your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *March* 17, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 13th instant. I imagine that M. de Chaumont has been disappointed in the expectations he had of finding bankers here who would advance the sum for which he solicited your excellency to guarantee

* MSS. Dep. of State.

the interest. He at length brought to me a merchant of Amsterdam, who has undertaken to procure a loan of 1,500,000 florins at 6 per cent. But by what I can learn and judge of that person I think there is little dependence to be had upon his success, especially as the English borrow there at a higher rate, and the house of Horneca, Fizeaux & Co. have been already engaged more than six months in endeavoring to obtain such loan, and have succeeded only to the amount of 51,000 florins. In the mean time, my apprehensions of approaching distress grow stronger and give me a great deal of anxiety, and having more hopes from Mr. Grand's endeavors to procure us a supply than from those of M. de Chaumont by the Dutch merchant, I wish his plan may be examined, and, if found practicable, encouraged; for if both should succeed they will not be too much for our occasions.

With sincere and great respect, I have the honor to be, your excellency's, etc.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 17, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to remind the Congress of the United States of North America that in executing for five months the instructions with which he has been charged by the king, his master, in relation to the present state of affairs, the undersigned has expressed his majesty's desire that the United States should quickly put themselves in a situation to take, in the negotiation for peace which seems on the point of taking place, the part which their dignity and their interests require, and that they should lay firm foundations for obtaining a speedy pacification conformable to the terms of the alliance, by giving to their plenipotentiary instructions the most ample, and powers the most extensive. It is, in fact, impossible to be too economical of time, when a correspondence is carried on at so great a distance upon a business so important and so liable to be changed by many incidents impossible to be foreseen. These observations have still greater force when the opening of the campaign is approaching, and when the greatest celerity alone can anticipate the moment of it. Every day's delay increases the obstacles to the success of the advantageous plans which the king has communicated to the United States. To prolong the deliberation upon peace may be to reject it. His majesty, who thinks that he has deserved the confidence of the United States, believes, moreover, that he has a right, after the assurances which Congress have so often repeated with regard to the uniformity of sentiments on the subject of his alliance with the United States, to

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 582.

hope that this subject will be treated with the promptness which the juncture requires.

The indulgence with which Congress has received the reflections of the undersigned authorizes him to submit these to their wisdom and prudence. He adds that there may be reason to fear that longer delays may give rise to suspicions, and authorize the assertions which have been made in Europe respecting a division of opinions and sentiments prevailing in Congress, and strengthen the hope which the enemy continues to entertain of fomenting this domestic discord, and at the same time of exciting distrust between the allies by pretending to treat with each of the States singly, in order to take them separately in the snare of their credulity, and to deprive them of the mutual support which they derive from their union. It is, moreover, well known that the preliminary condition of the court of London to the United States would be to renounce the alliance formed with France, to form an offensive coalition, and to restrain the commerce of America. The undersigned is very far from believing that the wisdom and rectitude of Congress do not protect them from the effects of this insidious policy; but their glory and interests seem to require that they should prevent the further establishment of an opinion which, more than anything else, will contribute to support the false expectation and the obstinacy of the common enemy.

GERARD.

Proceedings of Congress as to conditions of pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

MARCH 17, 1779.

Congress was resolved into a committee of the whole, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. F. L. Lee reported that the committee have had under their further consideration the report of the committee on the communications from the minister of France and have come to sundry resolutions thereon, which he was ready to report.

The resolutions agreed to in the committee of the whole being read,

Ordered, That the consideration thereof be postponed till to-morrow.†

Franklin to Dumas.‡

PASSY, *March* 18, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received duly yours of the 3d instant. My indisposition seems to be wearing off, and I hope will permit me to go abroad in a few days.

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* MSS. secret journals of Congress; comparing printed journal.

† For further proceedings see *infra*, Mar. 19, 1779.

‡ MSS. Dep. State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 333.

M. Neufville's first propositions were so much out of the way that I could not accept them. He required a fifth part of the loan to be sent over to him annually during the first five years in the produce of America for sale, and the money to remain in his hands as a fund for paying off the debt in the last five years. By this means he would have had the use of our money while we were paying interest for it. He dropped this demand on my objecting to it, and undertook to procure a subscription on reasonable terms. I wish him success, but as the English give at present higher interest than I am permitted to offer, I have little dependence on that subscription. Let me know what you hear of it from time to time.

Mr. Adams is gone to Nantes to take his passage for America in one of our frigates. Mr. A. Lee has retired from Chaillot to Paris, and his brother has come on a visit from Frankfort. He talks of a congress to be held in Germany, and seems to want me to advise his attendance there incognito. I know nothing of it, and therefore can give no advice about it. He talks of twenty thousand men at liberty by the German peace to be hired by the English against us, and would be employed in preventing it. What do you think or learn of these circumstances?

The present situation of affairs in your country is interesting. Unacquainted as I am with your parties and interests, I find it difficult to perceive how they will terminate.*

Franklin to Jonathan Williams.†

PASSY, *March* 19, 1779.

DEAR NEPHEW: In your receipts for M. Monthieu's copper there is mention made of *copper ore*. Explain this to me; for as we bought no copper ore of him, and as it is not so valuable as copper, it ought not to be given us instead of copper.

Mr. Lee has yet sent me no answer to mine relating to your accounts. Let me know whether the reference is accepted by the referees and whether it goes on. I send you three original papers that may be of use to you, as they show Mr. Lee's great skill in accounts and ability in objecting to them. The *first* is a proposition M. Monthieu made to obtain a contract. The *second* is the contract actually * * * made, differing from the proposition. The *third* is Mr. Lee's *report*, wherein he took M. Monthieu's proposition of a contract to be an *account of charge* for the execution of it, and comparing it with the contract, he charges all the difference he finds as so many errors in M. Monthieu's account. For instance, M. Monthieu proposed to make ten thousand suits; we agreed with him only for six thousand. Here Mr. Lee finds an overcharge of four thousand suits. M. Monthieu proposed that we should give him thirty-eight livres per suit; we agreed for thirty-

* Incomplete. † MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 335.

seven. Here Mr. Lee finds an overcharge of 10,000 livres, and so on of the rest; when in fact M. Monthieu in his real account had charged exactly according to the agreement. You must take good care of these papers, say nothing how you came by them, and return them to me safely.

I send you enclosed the proposals of a tin-plate manufacturer, which may some time or other be of use to you.

I shall dispose of your letter to Mr. Lee as you desire. I would advise you avoiding the publication you mention.

Explain to me what is meant in your postscript by *the zeal of the best of them*, etc.

I send an order this day to suspend the action against M. Peltier. But surely he acted very irregularly to sell a cargo consigned to us without our order and give the produce to another. We ourselves never had any dealings with M. Beaumarchais, and he has never produced any account to us, but says the States owe him a great deal of money. Upon his word only we gave him up the cargo of the *Amphitrite;* he promised then to give us an account, but has never done it; and now, by means of M. Peltier, he has seized another cargo. I imagine there is no doubt but M. Peltier would be obliged to pay us the money if the action were continued. And methinks every man who makes a demand ought to deliver an account. For my own part I imagine our country has been really very much obliged to M. Beaumarchais, and it is probable that Mr. Deane concerted with him several large operations for which he is not yet paid. They were before my arrival, and therefore I was not privy to them. Had I been alone when the action was commenced perhaps I should have thought of some milder proceeding, making allowance for M. Beaumarchais not being bred a merchant. But I think you can not well justify M. Peltier.

I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Proceedings of Congress as to Conditions of Pacification and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see Mar. 17, 1779, *supra.*]

MARCH 19, 1779.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee of the whole, and agreed to the following ultimata:

1. That the thirteen United States are bounded north by a line to be drawn from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia along the highlands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the mid-

*MSS. secret journals of Congress; comparing printed journals.

dle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence due west in the latitude forty-five degrees north from the equator to the northwesternmost side of the river St. Lawrence or Cadaraqui; thence straight to the south end of Lake Nipissing, and thence straight to the source of the river Mississippi; west by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to where the said line shall intersect the latitude thirty-one degrees north. South by a line to be drawn due east from the termination of the line last mentioned in the latitude thirty-one degrees north from the equator to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; then east by a line to be drawn along the middle of St. John's from its source to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, or by a line to be settled and adjusted between that part of the State of Massachusetts Bay, formerly called the Province of Maine, and the colony of Nova Scotia, agreeably to their respective rights, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other part shall, respectively, touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean: Provided, that if the line to be drawn from the mouth of Lake Nipissing to the head of the Mississippi can not be obtained without continuing the war for that purpose, then that a line or lines may be drawn more southerly, so as not to be southward of a line in latitude forty-five degrees north.

2. That every port and place within the United States, and every island, harbor, and road to them or any of them belonging, be absolutely evacuated by the land and sea forces of his Britannic majesty and yielded to the powers of the States to which they respectively belong.*

A. Lee to Franklin.†

PARIS, *March* 19, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 13th relative to the few papers of our late joint commission remaining in my hands; they are confounded among a multitude of other papers. I will examine them soon; and if I find any that relate to public accounts remaining unpaid (which I do not believe I shall find), I will inform you of it, that copies may be taken of them.

You are pleased to say that Mr. Adams gave you the papers unasked. Mr. Adams gave you the general papers, which no way related to him in particular, on your promise that you would have them arranged and

* See *infra*, proceedings of Mar. 24, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 552.

kept in order. Mr. Adams was not a calumniated person, nor were the papers he delivered to you necessary to justify him and prove the wickedness of his accuser. In circumstances so totally different I can not imagine, sir, that you can think we should act the same. Your pressing so earnestly to get from me a few original papers, which you only conjecture may be, in some shape or other, useful to you, after I have informed you that they are absolutely necessary to my vindication from an impeachment that touches even my life and honor, gives me great uneasiness. Whether you are concerned or not in the accusation, it is equally necessary for me to refute them; and I am sure, sir, you know that originals are better evidence than copies, however authenticated. On the contrary, copies are as adequate to the purposes you mention as originals; and I am most ready to give you copies sealed and authenticated of all or any of the papers in my hands as you may command. I beg, sir, that you will have the goodness to believe that when I give my reasons for my conduct I do not mean to enter into or occasion a dispute.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to Hartley.*

PASSY, *March* 21, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received duly yours of the 2d instant. I am sorry you have had so much trouble in the affair of the prisoners. You have been deceived as well as I. No cartel ship has yet appeared, and it is now evident that the delays have been of design, to give more opportunity of seducing the men by promises and hardships to seek their liberty in engaging against their country; for we learn from those who have escaped that there are persons continually employed in cajoling and menacing them; representing to them that we neglect them; that your government is willing to exchange them, and that it is our fault it is not done; that all the news from America is bad on their side; we shall be conquered, and they will be hanged if they do not accept the gracious offer of being pardoned on condition of serving the king, etc. A great part of your prisoners have been kept these six months on board a ship in Brest road ready to be delivered, where I am afraid they were not so comfortably accommodated as they might have been in French prisons. They are now ordered on shore. Dr. Bancroft has received your letter here. He did not go to Calais.

Knowing how earnestly and constantly you wish for peace, I can not end a letter to you without dropping a word on that subject, to mark that my wishes are still in unison with yours. After the barbarities your nation has exercised against us I am almost ashamed to own that

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 50; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 337.

I feel sometimes for her misfortunes and her insanities. Your veins are open and your best blood continually running. You have now got a little army into Georgia and are triumphing in that success. Do you expect ever to see that army again? I know not what General Lincoln or General Thompson may be able to effect against them; but if they stay through the summer in that climate there is a certain *General Fever* that I apprehend will give a good account of most of them. Perhaps you comfort yourselves that our loss of blood is as great as yours. But, as physicians say, there is a great difference in the facility of repairing that loss between an old body and a young one. America adds to her numbers annually one hundred and fifty thousand souls. She therefore grows faster than you can diminish her, and will outgrow all the mischief you can do her. Have you the same prospects? But it is unnecessary for me to represent to you or you to me the mischiefs that each nation is subjected to by the war; we all see clear enough the nonsense of continuing it. The difficulty is where to find sense enough to put an end to it.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *March* 22, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I admire much the activity of your genius and the strong desire you have of being continually employed against our common enemy.

It is certain that the coasts of England and Scotland are extremely open and defenseless. There are also many rich towns near the sea which four or five thousand men landing unexpectedly might easily surprise and destroy or exact from them a heavy contribution, taking a part in ready money and hostages for the rest. I should suppose, for example, that two millions sterling or forty-eight millions of livres might be demanded of Bristol for the town and shipping; twelve millions of livres from Bath; forty-eight millions from Liverpool; six millions from Lancaster, and twelve millions from Whitehaven. On the east side there are the towns of Newcastle, Scarborough, Lynn, and Yarmouth, from which very considerable sums might be exacted. And if among the troops there were a few horsemen to make sudden incursions at some little distance from the coast it would spread terror to much greater distances, and the whole would occasion movements and marches of troops that must put the enemy to a prodigious expense and harass them exceedingly. Their militia will probably soon be drawn from the different counties to one or two places of encampment, so that little or no opposition can be made to such a force as is above mentioned

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 339.

in the places where they may land. But the practicability of such an operation and the means of facilitating and executing it military people can best judge of. I have not enough of knowledge in such matters to presume upon advising it, and I am so troublesome to the ministers on other accounts that I could hardly venture to solicit it if I were ever so confident of its success. Much will depend on a prudent and brave sea commander who knows the coasts, and on a leader of the troops who has the affair at heart, who is naturally active and quick in his enterprises, of a disposition proper to conciliate the good will and affection of both the corps, and by that means to prevent or obviate such misunderstandings as are apt to arise between them, and which are often pernicious to joint expeditions.

On the whole, it may be encouraging to reflect on the many instances of history which prove that in war attempts thought to be impossible do often for that very reason become possible and practicable, because nobody expects them and no precautions are taken to guard against them. And those are the kind of undertakings of which the success affords the most glory to the ministers who plan and to the officers who execute them.

With the sincerest esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, March 19, 1779.]

MARCH 22, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole, and the third resolution reported by the committee as one of the ultimata being under debate, and being in the words following:

"3. That common right in these States to fish on the coasts, bays, and banks of Newfoundland, and gulf of St. Lawrence, coast of Labrador, and streights of Belleisle be acknowledged, and in case of refusal, that the war be continued, unless the circumstances of our allies shall be such as to render them utterly unable to assist in the prosecution of the war, in which case as ample privileges in the fishery be insisted on as can possibly be obtained. That in case Great Britain should not be prevailed on either to cede or declare Nova Scotia independent, the privilege of curing fish on the shores and in the harbors of Nova Scotia be required."

In lieu thereof a substitute was moved by Mr. Morris in the words following, viz:

"That an acknowledgment be made by Great Britain of a common

* MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State, comparing and completing printed journals.

right in these States to fish on the coasts, bays, and banks of Nova Scotia, the banks of Newfoundland, and gulf of St. Lawrence, the coasts of Labrador and streights of Belleisle, *and a stipulation for the right of curing fish on the shores of Nova Scotia;* provided always that the allies of these States shall be in circumstances to support them in carrying on the war for such acknowledgment *and stipulation*, but that in no case by any treaty of peace the common right of fishing as above described be given up."

The substitute being adopted and under debate,

A motion was made by Mr. M. Smith, seconded by Mr. Burke, to strike out the words "*and a stipulation for the right of curing fish on the shores of Nova Scotia*," and also the words "*and stipulation*," after the word "acknowledgment."

And on the question, Shall those words stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. M. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Frost	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	No.	No.
	Mr. Root	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. G. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Frelinghuysen	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Fell	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Scarle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLane	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Smith	No.	
	Mr. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	No.	No.

So it passed in the negative and the words were struck out.

A motion was then made by Mr. Drayton, seconded by Mr. G. Morris, to strike out the words "*provided always that the allies of these States shall be in circumstances to support them in carrying on the war for such acknowledgment.*"

On the question, Shall those words stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton.

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
	Mr. Frost	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	No.	No.
	Mr. Root	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. G. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Frelinghuysen	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLane	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
Virgina	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	Aye.
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A division was then called for. And to the question to agree to the first part as amended, including the proviso, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	0.
	Mr. Frost	Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. G. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Frelinghuysen	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLane	No.	

Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The second clause was then agreed to.

The article as amended and agreed to is as follows:

"3. That an acknowledgment be made by Great Britain of a common right in these States to fish on the coasts, bays, and banks of Nova Scotia, the banks of Newfoundland and gulf of St. Lawrence, the coasts of Labrador and streights of Belleisle; provided always that the allies of these States shall be in circumstances to support them in carrying on the war for such acknowledgment. But that in no case by any treaty of peace the common right of fishing as above described be given up."

MARCH 24.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole, and the fourth article being under debate, to wit:

4. That the navigation of the river Mississippi be acknowledged and ratified absolutely free to the subjects of the United States.

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to add these words: "*Provided*, That the allies of these United States shall declare themselves in circumstances to afford effectual assistance for carrying on the war until the said acknowledgment and ratification shall be obtained."

And on the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. R. H. Lee,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
	Mr. Frost	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	No.	0.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. G. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Frelinghuysen	No.	No.
	Mr. Fell	No.	

Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLane	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	No.
	Mr. F. L. Lee	No.	
	Mr. M. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	Aye.	Aye.

So it passed in the negative.

On the question to agree to the article as reported, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. R. H. Lee.

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Frost	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Root	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Frelinghuysen	No.	No.
	Mr. Fell	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLane	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. F. L. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	No.	No.

So it passed in the negative.

The committee of the whole having reported that they disagree to the fifth article in the report referred to them,

Resolved, That Congress concur with the committee.

On motion of Mr. Gerry,

Resolved, That the third article be reconsidered.

The third article was then read, as follows:

"That an acknowledgment be made by Great Britain of a common right in these States to fish on the coasts, bays, and banks of Nova Scotia, the banks of Newfoundland and gulf of St. Lawrence, the coasts of Labrador and streights of Belleisle; provided always that the allies of these States shall be in circumstances to support them in carrying on the war for such acknowledgment, but that in no case by any treaty of peace the common right of fishing as above described be given up."

Whereupon a motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr.———, to strike out the words between "*to fish*" and "provided" and in lieu thereof to insert:

"On all and singular the fishing banks to the eastward of the island of Cape Breton and of Nova Scotia which by the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris was ceded to the King of Great Britain in exclusion of the subjects of France."

A motion was made by Mr. R. H. Lee, seconded by Mr. Dyer, as a substitute to the whole,

"That the right of fishing on the coasts and banks of North America be reserved to the United States as fully as they enjoyed the same when subject to the King of Great Britain, excepting always what shall have been excepted by the treaty of Paris between France and the United States, the whole to be explained by the treaties of Utrecht and Paris with Great Britain and of Paris with the United States of North America."

On the question, Shall this be received as a substitute? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Frost	Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLane	Aye.	

Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. F. L. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	No.	No.

So the substitute was received, and the article as heretofore agreed to and the amendment proposed were set aside.*

Congress.—Action as to Ministers abroad—Resolutions of Committee.†

MARCH 24, 1779.

The committee, consisting of Mr. Whipple, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Duane, Mr. Fell, Mr. Searle, Mr. McKean, Mr. Paca, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Burke, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Langworthy, being a member from each State, appointed to take into consideration the foreign affairs of these United States, and also the conduct of the late and present commissioners of these States, brought in a report, which was read as follows:

"1. That it appears to your committee that Dr. Franklin is plenipotentiary for these States at the court of France; Dr. A. Lee commissioner for the court of Spain; Mr. William Lee commissioner for the courts of Vienna and Berlin; Mr. Izard commissioner for the court of Tuscany; that Mr. John Adams was appointed one of the commissioners at the court of France in the place of Mr. Deane, who had been appointed a joint commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Dr. A. Lee, but that the said commission of Mr. Adams is superseded by the plenipotentiary commission to Dr. Franklin.

"2. That it is the opinion of the committee that ministers plenipotentiary for these States are only necessary for the present at the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

"3. That in the course of their examination and inquiry they find many complaints against the said commissioners and the political and commercial agency of Mr. Deane, which complaints, with the evidence in support thereof, are herewith delivered and to which the committee beg leave to refer.

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* For further proceedings see *infra*, May 8, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress compared and corrected.

"4. That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the said commissioners which may be highly prejudicial to the honor and interest of these United States.

"5. That the appointments of the said commissioners be vacated and that new appointments be made.

"6. That there be but one plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States at a foreign court.

"7. That no plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States, while he acts as such, shall exercise any other public office.

"8. That no person be appointed plenipotentiary, minister, or commissioner for these United States who is not a citizen thereof and who has not a fixed and permanent interest therein.

"9. That fit and proper persons be appointed to settle and adjust Mr. Deane's public accounts and the public accounts of all other persons who have transacted the commercial affairs of these States in France.

"10. That each of the plenipotentiaries, ministers, and commissioners who now is, or has been, or may be, appointed be allowed at the rate of $—— per annum."

Ordered that the consideration thereof be postponed to Friday next

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W. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *March* 25, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: Be pleased to refer to the foregoing copy of my letter to you of the 25th ultimo by Mr. Stockton, which may not get to hand so soon as this.

On the 10th instant an armistice was published between the Emperor and King of Prussia, and the same day the conferences were opened at Tescnin in Austrian Silesia, to consolidate and reduce into form the treaty of peace between the two contending powers, the important articles of which have been already agreed upon by both parties. The operations of war are consequently ceased, but perhaps the final signature of the peace may not take place for some weeks.

The principal objects of my coming here were to engage this court to aid and assist me in adopting the most speedy and efficacious measures to prevent our joint enemies from reaping considerable advantage from the peace in Germany, by engaging a vast number of the free corps that have been raised for this war, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand men, that will all be disbanded as soon as the peace is signed, and to aid me in endeavoring to get the German powers to acknowledge the independence of America, which would certainly have a decided influence on Great Britain, and induce her king and ministers to make peace with us on the footing of independence.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 633, with omissions and verbal changes.

As it is the regular and usual mode in Europe for one nation to treat with another on public business through the medium of their public ministers, I applied to Dr. Franklin on my arrival here, as the American minister at this court, to go with me to his excellency Count de Vergennes, to consult with him on these points. The doctor declined doing so, saying he was so little acquainted with German affairs that he could not meddle with them. I told him that it was not his knowledge or idea of the German politics that was to be communicated to the minister, but mine, on which the minister would form his own judgment with respect to the propriety of my propositions, but unless they were made to him in the regular mode by the minister of Congress at this court it could not be expected that he would pay much attention to what came from me, as an individual unauthorized by Congress to treat with him on great political subjects. The doctor still refused either to go with me or to write by me on the subject to Count de Vergennes. I shall, however, do everything that is in my power to accomplish these desirable ends, and from the present appearance of things it appears to me most probable that I shall succeed in one, if not both, the objects in view, if I can obtain the aid and concurrence of the ministry here.

These are certainly objects of high importance, especially with respect to the troops, as the British ministry have now several officers in pay in Germany waiting to engage them. Our enemies, it seems, are determined to prosecute the war against us at least for this year; their plan must be begun before this gets to hand, and therefore opened to you, which renders it unnecessary for me to mention anything on that subject.

With this is a letter to his excellency President Jay, covering my reply to the allegations of Mr. Silas Deane against me in his letter to Congress of the 12th of October last, and his letter to the public in Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet of December 5, to be laid before Congress, which I flatter myself will, in the mind of every impartial person, be not only a full vindication of my conduct, but also prove how little credit is due to any assertions of Mr. Deane. As to myself personally, I am perfectly at ease with respect to the weak and wicked attempts of Mr. Deane to injure me, for I am shielded with the invincible armor of innocence; but the injury his daring publication has done to the common cause of America in Europe is not easily to be delineated, and I can assure you, with truth, that our enemies are more elated at it than they would have been with a capital victory. The reason for their exultation is too evident to require mentioning. Besides, it has created a diffidence in the minds of the Europeans, which will embarass extremely every attempt at public negotiations, since few ministers will treat with a people who permit everything that passes to be wantonly published to the world with impunity. I trust, however, the wisdom of Congress will not let its attention be drawn off from the great and principal object of providing effectually for defeating the open and secre-

efforts of our enemies against us, and finally to force them to an honorable peace, which I am convinced they will not accede to until they are driven off the continent.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

Franklin to A. Lee.*

PASSY, *March* 27, 1779.

SIR: I have not hitherto undertaken to justify Mr. Williams' accounts, nor to censure your conduct in not passing them. To prevent any suspicion of partiality towards him as my nephew I avoided having anything to do with the examination of them, but left it entirely to you and Mr. Adams. After that examination Mr. Adams drew up and sent me in, for signing, the order you mention. I considered the expressions in it as only serving to show that the accounts were not finally settled; and I considered Mr. Adams' drawing up and sending me the order as a proof that, in his judgment, who had with you examined the accounts, the bills drawn on M. Grand ought to be paid. I therefore signed it. I was not, as you suppose, convinced "*that the accounts as they stood could not be passed*," for, having never examined them, I could form no such opinion of them.

It was not till lately that, being pressed by M. Monthieu for a settlement of his accounts, and finding that they had a reference to Mr. Williams, I got those from Mr. Adams. They were put up in a paper case, which covered the note you had made upon them, and that case was fastened with wax. This prevented the notes being before seen either by myself or by Mr. Adams, among whose papers you had left those accounts. He was as much surprised at seeing it as I was, and as much dissatisfied with another you had made in the body of the accounts, which, taken with the first, imports, that, notwithstanding it appeared from Mr. Williams' own account that he has now and has long had in his hands upwards of an hundred thousand livres belonging to the public that have not been applied to the public use, "B. Franklin and John Adams, esqrs., had given an order on the public banker for the payment of all Mr. Williams' demands."

This, being a severe reflection upon us both, might be suspected, if I were disposed to be suspicious, as one reason why it was shown to neither of us, but left concealed among the papers, to appear hereafter as a charge not controverted at the time, whereby a future accusation might be confirmed. Mr. Adams spoke in strong terms of your having no right to enter notes upon papers without our consent or knowledge, and talked of making a counter entry, in which he would have shown that your assertion of our having "given an order for the payment of

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 341.

all Mr. Williams' demands" was not conformable to truth nor to the express terms of the order, but his attention being taken up with what related to his departure, was probably the cause of his omitting to make that entry. On the whole, I judged it now incumbent on me for my own sake and for Mr. Adams', as well as for the public interest, to have those accounts fully examined, as soon as possible, by skillful and impartial persons, of which I informed you in mine of the 13th instant, requesting you to aid the inquiry by stating your objections, that they might be considered by those judges, which I am sorry you do not think fit to comply with. I have no desire to screen Mr. Williams on account of his being my nephew; if he is guilty of what you charge him with, I care not how soon he is deservedly punished and the family purged of him; for I take it that a rogue living in [a] family is a greater disgrace to it than one *hanged out* of it. If he is innocent, justice requires that his character should be speedily cleared from the heavy charge with which it has been loaded.

I have, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.*

Franklin to A. Lee.†

PASSY, *March* 27, 1779.

SIR: The offer you made of sending me copies, sealed and authenticated, of all the papers in your hands is very satisfactory, and as you say they are but few, I suppose it may soon be done. I imagined when I desired you to send me the originals that they were a great many and at present of no importance to you, and therefore not worth copying.‡ I assure you I had not the least intention of depriving you of anything you might think necessary for your vindication. The suspicion is groundless and injurious. In a former letter I offered you authenticated copies of any remaining in my hands that you should judge might be of such use to you, and I now offer you the originals, if you had rather have them, and will content myself with keeping copies.

Mr. Adams did not, as you insinuate, exact any promise of me to arrange and keep in order the papers he sent me. He knew such a promise unnecessary, for that I had always kept in order and by themselves the public papers that were in my hands, without having them so confounded among a multitude of other papers "that they could not be found when called for."

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* See Franklin to Williams, Mar. 13, 1779; to A. Lee, same date; Franklin to Williams, July 8, 1779. Franklin's position in respect to Lee's attack on Williams is well stated and supported in 1 Hale's Franklin in France, 281 ff.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 343.

‡ See *supra*, Franklin to A. Lee, Mar. 13, 1779.

Congress—Call on Members for Information as to Foreign Affairs.*

MARCH 27, 1779.

A motion was made by Mr. M. Smith, and seconded by Mr. Burke, in the following words:

"Whereas it is of the utmost importance that Congress should be well informed of the situation of the several courts of Europe, and particularly of the views and designs of the British ministry; and whereas the servants of the United States at foreign courts have not in their public letters given satisfactory information on that subject, and have written private letters to individuals, members of this House, which have lately arrived. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the members of Congress be called on from the chair to declare upon their honor whether they have received any, and what intelligence relative to the views and designs of any of the European courts, and particularly of the court of Great Britain."

On the question to agree to the resolution, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Collins	No.	0.
	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Dyer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLane	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was made by Mr. Holton, and seconded by Mr. R. H. Lee, to strike out the words in the preamble, "and whereas the servants of

* MSS. Dep. of State; secret journals of Congress.

the United States at foreign courts have not in their public letters given satisfactory information on that subject, and have written private letters to individuals, members of this House, which have lately arrived."

The words moved to be struck out containing two parts, the same were divided; and on the question that the first part, as far as the words "on that subject," inclusive, stand part of the preamble, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith.

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. S. Adams	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Collins	No.	No.
	Mr. Ellery	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Root	No.	No.
	Mr. Dyer	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLane	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	No	No.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. F. L. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Langworthy	Aye.	Aye.

So it passed in the negative, and the words were struck out.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 29, 1779.

SIR: I did myself the honor of writing to your excellency the 22d of February last, in which I mentioned the distressed situation into which my affairs were brought by being detained in this city, and in which I earnestly requested to know of Congress whether they had any further commands for me, and in what manner my past transactions, as their agent and commissioner, were to be adjusted and closed. You were pleased to inform me verbally that my letter was referred to the committee, who were ordered to report immediately. I have since been

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 134, with verbal changes.

informed that they have reported, but that the report has not been considered by Congress, nor any resolutions passed thereon. This forces me again to apply to Congress, and to lay before that honorable body in part my situation. I have been near four years absent from my family and private affairs, which have suffered exceedingly thereby. More than three years of the time I have been in the actual service of Congress.

The settlement of the commissioners' accounts and my own will show to demonstration that I have received nothing therefor except money for my necessary expenses. When the orders of Congress and the service of these States required my immediate return, I took with me one hundred and eighty louis d'ors, or guineas only, to defray my expenses and those of four Americans and a servant to America. Two of the Americans were captains in the navy of the United States, and had escaped from prison in England. Of the other two, one had been taken in a private ship of war which he commanded, and had also escaped from prison; the other was a captain in the merchant service. Our journey to Toulon, which is near six hundred miles, was expensive, and was defrayed by me. Our passage from Toulon to America was at the expense of his most Christian majesty. I took those American captains with me by the advice and at the desire of the ministers of France and of Dr. Franklin, these captains being well acquainted with the American coast. I have been for more than eight months past in this city, and at an expense to which my private fortune is by no means adequate, though I have regulated my expenses by the strictest economy my situation could admit of. I will not trouble Congress with mentioning what has passed since my return. The loss of my private property is of no consideration with me if my country is in anyway essentially served thereby; but whilst Congress defer coming to any resolution respecting my public services as their agent and commissioner, what is dearer to me than life or fortune, my character, is attacked, and liable to suffer from the groundless and base insinuations of some and from the open calumnies of others. I can not but think it an act of justice due not only to me as an individual, but to Congress and the public in general, that my conduct be either approved of or censured. I have most surely merited one or the other, from the important part I have acted, and the manner in which I have transacted it. I had the honor of bringing with me testimonials, not only from my late venerable colleague, but from his most Christian majesty and his ministers, in favor of my conduct whilst in France. They have been long since laid before Congress, and I can not but conceive that if I have merited the calumnies which have for some months past been publicly thrown out against me and industriously spread through these States, justice to those great personages who condescended to interest themselves so warmly in my favor requires that my demerits should be publicly known and made to appear, that they may no longer be deceived or in a state of uncertainty respecting my real character and merits.

A writer, who has been busily employed for three months past in inventing and publishing the most scandalous falsehoods in order to injure me in the opinion of my countrymen, has produced in Dunlap's paper of the 27th instant two charges against me, the one for "*negotiating an intended present into a loan*," or, in other words, of defrauding my honorable constituents of a large sum of money; the other, of intercepting and destroying the public dispatches in order to cover the fraud. This writer has not long since been in the employ of Congress as a secretary or clerk, of which circumstance he avails himself to give force to his calumnies, and has had the confidence to appeal to Congress for the truth of his assertions, though he knew at the time that Congress had unanimously contradicted the first, and that the latter was but the creature of his own forming. From the moment that I was ordered by Congress to lay before them, in writing, a narration of my public transactions I have considered myself as being before that tribunal, and no other, and under their immediate protection, and consequently not at liberty to take that notice of the publications of this writer or of his prompters which, as an individual otherways circumstanced, I should have took long since. This consideration, and the full reliance I have ever placed on the justice of Congress, have prevented my making any reply to the many base and false insinuations thrown out by this writer and others against me; and I have been encouraged to wait with patience for the decision of Congress by repeated promises that a speedy issue should be made of those affairs.

I now submit it to that honorable body whether, if my patience is exhausted, I ought to be deemed culpable, and have further to entreat that, if Congress or any of its members entertain any apprehensions that I am guilty of the two charges brought against me (to which I have referred), or on any other account whatever, that I may be heard before Congress, and I submit it to their wisdom to determine how public the inquiry shall be, assuring them that the more public the scrutiny shall be into every part of my conduct the more agreeable it will be to me. I have only to entreat further, that a decisive answer may be given to me on the above requests, and that you will be assured of my unalterable respect and attachment.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 31, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the season proper for my departure for France is coming on, and I take the liberty to request you to persuade Congress to hasten the time of it as much as possible. Even

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 583.

if my health did not require this voyage, circumstances would have induced me to undertake it, because I perceive how important it is for the common cause that in the present situation of affairs those men alone who are informed of the actual state of things and opinions in America, and who enjoy an unlimited confidence, should be employed in this negotiation.

Besides, sir, as I must presume from the wisdom of Congress that they have made the same reflections, that they have fixed, or will fix, the choice of their minister or ministers plenipotentiary in consequence of what they must also have felt, that the only way of proceeding is to choose persons who should enjoy the fullest confidence of the allied or friendly courts, and to furnish them with the fullest and most extensive powers. In this case it will, in my opinion, be proper that I should depart with one or more of your ministers, and it is an additional motive for urging this whole arrangement, with which your own interest inspires me, by increasing my eagerness to go where I shall think myself happy to announce that union and unanimity prevail in America.

Moreover, sir, I request you to inform me in what manner Congress will judge proper that I should take my leave with regard to the secrecy which I endeavor to keep as to my speedy departure. I also flatter myself that, if they shall think proper to give me any commission, they will rely upon my carrying into France the same zeal for the interest of the United States, and of the common cause, of which I have sought to give proofs during my residence in America.

I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GERARD.

Franklin to Sayre.*

PASSY, *March* 31, 1779.

SIR: I have just received your favor of the 10th instant from Copenhagen. The account you give of the disposition of the Swedish court is very agreeable. I saw in the newspapers that a deputy of the Congress was at Stockholm. Did you obtain the audiences you mention by assuming that character? The information you did not choose to venture by the post from Copenhagen may be safely sent from Amsterdam.

I am not, as you have heard, the sole representative of America in Europe. The commissions of Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. William Lee, and Mr. Izard to different courts still subsist. I am only sole with regard to France; nor have I power to give any employ worth your accepting.

Much has been said by the English about divisions in America. No division of any consequence has arisen there. Petty disputes between

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 344.

particular persons about private interests there are always in every country, but with regard to the great point of independence there is no difference of sentiment in the Congress; and as the Congress are the annual choice of the people, it is easy to judge of their sentiments by those of their representatives.

The taking of Savannah makes a noise in England, and helps to keep up their spirits; but I apprehend before the summer is over they will find the possession of that capital of Georgia of as little consequence as their former possessions of Boston and Philadelphia; and that the distempers of that unwholesome part of the country will very much weaken if not ruin that army.

The principal difficulty at present in America consists in the depreciation of their currency, owing to the over quantities issued and the diminished demand for it in commerce. But as the Congress has taken measures for sinking it expeditiously, and the several governments are taxing vigorously for that purpose, there is a prospect of its recovering a proper value. In the mean time, though an evil to particulars, there is some advantage to the public in the depreciation, as large nominal values are more easily paid in taxes and the debt by that means more easily extinguished.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

Franklin to William Lee.*

PASSY, *April* 2, 1779.

SIR: Before I apply for the arms you desire, I wish to be informed whether your brother did not apply for them at the same time he applied for the cannon he obtained, or since, in consequence of the letter you mention to have sent us in January last, and whether they were refused or promised.

Since I had the honor of seeing you, I have received an application from the government of Maryland for a similar quantity of arms and military stores, which I am requested to obtain in the same manner, and these, with the orders of Congress, will make so vast a quantity, that I apprehend greater difficulties in obtaining them. I should be glad, therefore, if a part could be obtained elsewhere, that the quantity now to be applied for might be diminished. On this occasion permit me to mention that the D'Acostas have presented a memorial to me setting forth that they had provided arms, etc., to a great amount in consequence of a contract made with you through your brother, and that for no other reason but because they were not finished at the time agreed, there having been a delay of a month, which they say was not their fault, but inevitable, he had refused to take them. Upon this

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 345.

they desire that I would procure justice to be done them, or that I would approve of their sending the goods and endeavor to have the contract complied with on the part of Virginia. I declined having anything to do with the affair, but I wish you to consider whether it would not be prudent to moderate this little difference with those people, and take the advantage of sending those arms, which have been proved good, and I suppose still lie at Nantes ready to be shipped immediately, rather than wait the success of a doubtful application.

I have, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 2, 1779.

SIR: I am without an answer to the letter I did myself the honor of writing to you the 30th ultimo. As I shall be obliged to leave Philadelphia in a few days at furthest, I have again to solicit a decisive reply to my last. Justice to my fortune as well as character requires it, and I can by no means bring myself to suppose that Congress will ever refuse the doing justice either to the character or fortune of any free citizen of these States, much less that they will any longer delay it to one in their service and under their immediate protection, and who has for many months past been soliciting for justice, as well to his fortune as character.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and attachment, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Congress—Action as to Ministers Abroad.†

APRIL 3, 1779.

On motion of Mr. Penn, seconded by Mr. Fell,

Resolved unanimously, That Congress will take into consideration the report of the committee on foreign affairs on Tuesday next.

According to order the report was taken into consideration on Tuesday, the 6th, resumed again on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday following, and after debate, Congress agreed to the first and second articles.

Franklin to Adams.‡

PASSY, *April* 3, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter you did me the honor to write me of the 24th past. I am glad you have been at Brest, as your presence there has contributed to expedite the operations of Captain Landais in refitting

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 136.

† MSS. Dep. of State; secret journals of Congress.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 347; 7 John Adams' Works, 89,

his ship. I think with you that more has been made of the conspiracy* than was necessary, but that it would have been well if some of the most guilty could have received a proper punishment. As that was impracticable under our present naval code, I hope you will on your return obtain an amendment of it. I approve of clothing the midshipmen and petty officers agreeably to their request to you, and hope you have ordered it without waiting to hear from me; and I now desire that whatever else you may judge for the good of the service, our funds and circumstances considered, you would in my behalf give directions for, as the great distance makes it inconvenient to send to me on every occasion, and I can confide in your prudence that you will allow no expense that is unnecessary.

My gout continues to disable me from walking longer than formerly; but on Tuesday, the 23d past, I thought myself able to go through the ceremony, and accordingly went to court,† had my audience of the king in the new character, presented my letter of credence, and was received very graciously, after which I went the rounds with the other foreign ministers in visiting all the royal family. The fatigue, however, was a little too much for my feet, and disabled me for near another week. Upon the whole, I can assure you that I do not think the good will of this court to the good cause of America is at all diminished by the late little reverses in the fortune of war; and I hope Spain, who has now forty-nine ships of the line and thirty-one frigates ready for service, will soon, by declaring, turn the scale.

Remember me affectionately to Master Johnny, and believe me, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

A. Lee to Committee of Foreign Correspondence.‡

PARIS, *April* 6, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have received intelligence, which I think may be trusted, that it is just determined in the British cabinet to send over immediate orders for an expedition through the sound up Connecticut river.

They are to land at Wethersfield and proceed by land to New Haven

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* Mr. Adams was on board the *Alliance* awaiting her sailing. Mr. Sparks prints his cordial answer to this letter, which letter he does not seem to have seen.—Note by Mr. Bigelow.

This refers to a conspiracy alleged to have been formed on the passage out from Boston. See Mr. Adams' certificate to Captain Landais, under date of Mar. 8, 1780.—Note by Mr. Adams.

† Franklin had been prevented till now being presented at court in his new character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.—Note by Mr. Bigelow.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State.

Bay, where they are to embark, after having plundered, burned, and destroyed all in their way.*

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

MOUNT PLEASANT, *April* 6, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor of sending you the abstract of news which I have just received from Martinique. It is not very interesting, but it will at least make known the present state of things. I send at the same time a paper relative to a financial operation which has been performed in France. I request you to send it back to me again, and to accept the sentiments of respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.

GERARD.

ABSTRACT OF SEVERAL LETTERS DATED MARTINIQUE, FEBRUARY 25.

The king's vessels *Robuste*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by the Count de Grasse, commander of the squadron; *Magnifique*, of seventy-four, by M. de Branche; *Dauphin Royal* of seventy, by M. de Mitton; and *Vengeur*, of sixty-four, by M. de Retz, having sailed from Brest the 14th of January, arrived at Fort Royal the 20th of this month. They had on board the second field regiment, eight hundred and fifty recruits and a company of miners.

MARCH 6.

We learn that Admiral Byron has on his part also received a re-enforcement, but we do not know the force of it. He has not yet undertaken any operation. He has only twice sailed out with some ships, but he returned the day after. It is true that he has not troops enough to make conquests and to preserve them. Sickness continues to make great ravages among those that are at St. Lucia.

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* This information, so far as it implied that the expedition up the Connecticut river was the main movement of the coming British campaign, was calculated to mislead, that object being the devastation of the south. The diversion to Connecticut (of which each campaign had a sample) was not till July 5, after a similar excursion up the North river. The British troops, two thousand six hundred in number, landed at New Haven (not Wethersfield), and then proceeded in their work of devastation through Fairfield and Norwalk. They were recalled on July 13 for the operations carried on in the south and against Washington in the Jerseys. Marshall, in narrating the British campaign of 1779, speaks as follows: "When the pacific propositions made (by Britain) in 1778 were rejected, the resolution seems to have been taken to change materially the object of their military operations; and, maintaining possession of the islands of New York, to direct their arms against the southern states, on which, it was believed, a considerable impression might be made."—1 Marshall's Washington, 292. The raid of July into Connecticut is not even noticed as part of their scheme.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev, Corr., 584.

MARCH 9.

The convoy from France, so much wished for, has just arrived, attended by many vessels.

The islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew, which the English had taken from us, have just been retaken, without much exertion, by three of our frigates, and an end put to the triumph which our enemies had reaped from this easy conquest.

M. de Kersin, the lieutenant of the ship, took two prizes last week; one a merchant store-ship called *Eliza*, armed with twenty-eight twelve-pounders. Her crew consisted of one hundred and forty men, and her cargo of provisions and sails to the value of twenty-five thousand livres. The store-ship was sheathed with copper. The other is a privateer of eighteen guns, and with a crew of seventy-six men. Some American privateers have sent here two prizes, coming from Halifax, loaded with fish and boards. The *Minerva* has also carried to Cape François another English frigate of twenty-four guns. The ability of the captain saved her from the danger of being taken by a ship of war and three frigates, by which she had been surprised in a calm.

MARTINIQUE, *March* 14.

We learn from France that news has been received by Portuguese vessels returned from India that the English commenced hostilities against the French in the month of April. A ship of war and a frigate attacked at that time the *Brilliant*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by M. de Tronjoly, who repelled the attack. We learn also that they are making great exertions for the repair and arming of a force of forty-five privateers, which the royal navy has taken from the English, and that the greater part of these vessels will in a short time be ready to sail.

BALTIMORE, *April* 2.

The captain of a sloop, which has arrived in twenty-two days from Martinique reports that sickness had made dreadful ravages in the English army and fleet at St. Lucia; that the two squadrons are supposed to be nearly equal in force; that the French frigates are constantly at sea, often engaging with the English; that one of the former has taken the frigate *Liverpool*, of twenty-six guns; that in other respects the situation of the French is entirely satisfactory to them; and that they appear to be unconcerned with regard to the success of the operations which Admiral Byron intends to undertake.

Franklin to Adams. *

PASSY, *April* 6, 1779.

SIR: I did myself the honor of writing to you a few days since. Last night I received yours of the 31st instant. I am glad to hear the ship is so far in order. As to the discontents you find among the officers and people, it is impossible for me at this distance to judge of them or of the means of removing them. I must therefore, as in my last, refer to your judgment whatever you may think for the good of the service, considering our circumstances and funds, and I desire you would give orders accordingly. If the officers are dissatisfied with the purser who is now here, I fancy, but do not speak from knowledge, that he is not solicitous about continuing in his place, and would have no objection to being permitted to stay as long as he pleases in Paris.

I can not at all interfere with regard to the disposition of the exchanged prisoners by ordering them to go on board one ship or another

* MSS. Dep. of State.

They are free men as soon as they land in France, and may enlist with which captain they please.

I shall by this post give the orders you desire to M. Schweighauser and Captain Landais relating to your passage and sea stores, though I did not think them necessary.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Franklin to Johnson.*

PASSY, *April* 8, 1779.

SIR: Mr. Wm. Lee has lately been here from Frankfort. He had desired me to make such an application in behalf of the State of Virginia as you request in behalf of Maryland. Messrs. d'Acosta & Co. had complained to me that they had provided what Mr. Lee wanted in pursuance of a contract with Mr. A. Lee, who had refused to take the goods off his hands. I proposed to Mr. W. Lee to accommodate this little difference and take those goods, now lying ready at Nantes to be shipped, rather than wait the event of an uncertain application to government. He absolutely refuses, and says you may take them for Maryland, if you please. Pray let me know as soon as may be whether it will not suit you to agree for them with those gentlemen.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Franklin to Jonathan Williams.†

PASSY, *April* 8, 1779.

DEAR JONATHAN: Too much business, too much interruption by friendly visits, and a little remaining indisposition have occasioned the delay in answering your late letters.

You desire a line "relative to the complexion of affairs." If you mean our affairs at this court, they wear as good a complexion as ever they did.

I do not know what to advise concerning M. Monthieu's proposition. Follow your own judgment. If you doubt, set down all the reasons, pro and con, in opposite columns on a sheet of paper, and when you have considered them two or three days perform an operation similar to that in some questions of algebra; observe what reasons or motives in each column are equal in weight, one to one, one to two, two to three, or the like, and when you have struck out from both sides all the equalities, you will see in which column remains the balance. It is for want of having all the motives for and against an important action present in or before the mind at the same time that people hesitate and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 348. †*Ibid.*, 349.

change their determinations backwards and forwards day after day, a different sets of reasons are recollected or forgot, and if they conclud and act upon the last set, it is perhaps not because those were the best but because they happened to be present in the mind, and the bette absent. This kind of *moral algebra* I have often practised in impor tant and dubious concerns, and though it can not be mathematicall exact, I have found it extremely useful. By the way, if you do no learn it, I apprehend you will never be married.

There is in one account of the copper an article *des mines de St. Bel* 63,400. I suppose it was the word *mines*, not *rosette*, that was trans lated *ore*.

Let me know, if you can, what answer the gentleman receives fron London on his inquiries concerning a supposed letter.

I send you herewith the paper you desire respecting the settlemen of your accounts. I send also an attested copy of Mr. Lee's reason for not passing them. In answer to my letter requesting him to furnis the gentlemen who are to examine them with such further objection as he may have against them, he writes me that "I must excuse him now that it is no longer his indispensable duty, from concerning him self with a business which is in much abler hands. If Congress," h adds, "should call upon me for further reasons than those that I hav already given, it will then be my duty to act, and I will obey." I ca not conceive the reason for not giving his further reasons, if he ha any, on the present occasion, when they would be so proper; but h refused, and I can not compel him.*

I shall file the letters and papers you sent me with your accounts. have received back those you enclosed in yours of March 27, relatin to M. Monthieu's contract. I have received also Messrs. Hornec & Fizeaux's invoice, and will return it by next post with the orde you desire.

I have no objection to your mentioning the fact relative to the cer sure of M. Montheiu's accounts.

I am, ever, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Joseph Wharton, Matthew Ridley, Joshua Johnson, Matthe Mease, John Ross, Jon. Nesbitt, —— Cummings, Joseph Gridley, and I. I Sweighauser, American merchants, now at Nantes.†

PASSY, *April* 8, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: Great objections having been made by the honorabl Mr. A. Lee to the accounts of Mr. Jonathan Williams, late agent for th commissioners at Nantes, which are therefore yet unsettled, and as, no

* See, further, as to this reference, Franklin to Williams, Mar. 13, 1779; to A. Le Mar. 13, Mar. 27, Apr. 8, 1779.

†MSS. Dep. of State. Joseph Wharton, who was brother of Samuel Wharto and uncle to Thomas Wharton, first revolutionary governor of Pennsylvania, wa

being conversant in mercantile business I can not well judge of them, and therefore, as well as for other reasons, I did not and can not undertake to examine them myself, and they may be better examined at Nantes, where the business was transacted, than either here or in America, I beg the favor of you, gentlemen, that you would for the sake of justice and of the public good take that trouble upon you, and make report to me thereupon; which I do hereby agree shall be conclusive and final (subject only to the revision of Congress), in case Mr. Williams shall previously sign an engagement to abide thereby. *And hoping you will comply with my request, I have ordered him to lay his accounts fully before you.* If it should not suit you all to attend to this business, I shall be content with the judgment of as many of you as will and can attend to it, the number not being less than three. If an equal number undertake it, and should be divided in their opinions, I request them to join in choosing an umpire, that the matter may be concluded. I did desire Mr. Lee, if he had any further objections, to furnish you with them, but he has in a letter to me declined it.

I have the honor to be, etc.

La Fayette to Adams.*

[Translation.]

ST. GERMAIN, *April* 9, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I beg leave of applying to you in an instance where I am much concerned. The case I shall lay before you and recommend to your care. There is an officer in Paris whom I wish to send over to America on board the *Alliance*, and who I know would be of service in the American army. For that reason, besides this of recommendations, I have a great regard for him. I wish the gentleman may find a passage in the frigate. Dr. Franklin can not officially send an officer, but

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head of a Philadelphia importing house, and from his long residence in Europe, as representative of that house, was frequently consulted by Franklin. Matthew Ridley was son-in-law of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, and was in business in France, and much relied on by both Adams and Franklin. Joshua Johnson was then an American merchant at Nantes, and became afterwards America's consul at London, where his daughter married John Quincy Adams. Schweighauser was Williams' successor in one branch of his agency. There is no report from these referees in the Department of State; but from what we can gather from the correspondence Williams urged a hearing, but Arthur Lee declined even to specify the errors on which his charge of misconduct rested. There was therefore no formal hearing, but in its place a general expression of sentiment as to Williams' fidelity and capacity. He continued to represent the legation in 1780-'82. This letter is given in 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 325, under date of Mar. 13, 1779, with a variation in the names of the parties, caused, probably by removals. See Franklin to A. Lee, Mar. 13, 1779; Franklin to Williams, Mar. 13, 1779; Franklin to A. Lee, Mar. 27, 1779. For further action of the referees, see Franklin to Williams, July 8, 1779.

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 583, with verbal changes.

I beg you would take him along with you, as I take upon myself the charge of presenting him to Congress. All the marks of kindness I ever met with from them, and the knowledge which the strictest friendship has given me of General Washington's sentiments, make me as certain as possible that my officer will meet with the best reception in Philadelphia and in the army, who know I am acquainted with what may be convenient to them.

It is with a great concern that I hear of discontents between Captain Landais and his officers, and I flatter myself that you will again establish harmony and concord among them. I will take the opportunity of this frigate to write over to my friends in America.

The articles alluded to in your letter from Passy I have been very busy about, but I did not meet with great success till now, and what is done is not equal to what I could wish. It is true, our circumstances are rather narrow at this moment; and I believe that the ministers are willing to do what they think possible or advantageous, but we do not always agree in opinion. I hope, however, America will have more and more occasions of knowing the true attachment of this nation for her.

With great impatience I wait for your answer, that I may send the officer to Nantes. I hope you will not refuse your patronage on this occasion, and I may answer Congress will have no objection to take a gentleman whom I send them. You will, my dear sir, in settling his passage, much oblige your humble servant,

LA FAYETTE.

Congress—Action as to Ministers abroad—One Plenipotentiary needed at each Court.*

APRIL 15, 1779.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee, consisting of Mr. Whipple, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellery, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Duane, Mr. Fell, Mr. Searle, Mr. McKean, Mr. Paca, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. Burke, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Langworthy, being a member of each State, appointed to take into consideration the foreign affairs of these United States, and also the conduct of the late and present commissioners of these States, wherein the committee report.

"1. That it appears to them that Dr. Franklin is plenipotentiary of these States at the court of France; Dr. A. Lee commissioner for the court of Spain; Mr. William Lee commissioner for the courts of Vienna and Berlin; Mr. R. Izard commissioner for the court of Tuscany; that Mr. J. Adams was appointed one of the commissioners at the court of France in the place of Mr. Deane, who had been appointed a joint commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Dr. A. Lee, but that the said commission of Mr. Adams is superseded by the plenipotentiary commission to Dr. Franklin.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress.

"2. That it is the opinion of the committee that ministers plenipotentiary for these States are only necessary for the present at the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

"3. That in the course of their examination and inquiry they find many complaints against the said commissioners and the political and commercial agency of Mr. Deane, which complaints, with the evidence in support thereof, are herewith delivered, and to which the committee beg leave to refer.

"4. That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the said commissioners, which may be highly prejudicial to the honor and interests of these United States.

"5. That the appointments of the said commissioners be vacated, and that new appointments be made.

"6. That there be but one plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States at a foreign court.

"7. That no plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States, while he acts as such, shall exercise any other public office.

"8. That no person be appointed plenipotentiary, minister, or commissioner for these United States, who is not a citizen thereof, and who has not a fixed and permanent interest therein.

"9. That fit and proper persons be appointed to settle and adjust Mr. Deane's public accounts, and the public accounts of all other persons who have transacted the commercial affairs of these States in France.

"10. That each of the plenipotentiaries, ministers, and commissioners who now is, or has been, or may be, appointed be allowed at the rate of $—— per annum."

The house having on former days, when the report was under debate, agreed to the first and second articles thereof, and having also read the third article and the papers therein referred to, a motion was this day made by Mr. G. Morris, and seconded by Mr. Drayton,

That the members of this house who may have any papers or evidence in their possession relative to the said report do lay the same upon the table.

On the question put, resolved in the affirmative.

Congress proceeded to consider the fourth article in the report, when a motion was made by Mr. Smith, and seconded by Mr. Carmichael, to strike out the words "which may be."*

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Apr. 20, 1779.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 17, 1779.

SIR: I ask liberty to refer to the last two letters which I did myself the honor to write to you on the 30th ultimo and 2d instant, and which remain unanswered. In them I mentioned the situation to which I was brought by my being detained in this city, the difficulties and distresses of which have been ever since daily increasing.

I will not take up the time of Congress by entering into a detail of circumstances (many of the honorable members are not unacquainted with them) but inform Congress that I am under the necessity of going out of town early in next week, and considering myself at the orders of Congress, pray to be informed if they have any commands for me which render it necessary that I defer any longer to leave Philadelphia. My own family and private affairs, as well as those of one intrusted to my care, have long suffered by my absence; they must suffer to the last degree if longer neglected.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

SILAS DEANE.

Franklin to Sartine.†

PASSY, *April* 18, 1779.

SIR: By letters I am daily receiving I find there are in various prisons of France a number of American sailors who, having been forced into the English service and since taken, remain confined with those of that nation, but are very desirous of serving their own country in any of our ships of war; and to that end request I would obtain their discharge from their present confinement. To prevent giving your excellency the frequent trouble of particular applications and orders upon every occasion, I beg leave to submit it to your consideration whether it would not be well to give a general order to those who have the care of the prisons, to examine in each of them those who pretend to be Americans and who desire to enter our service; and such as are found to answer that description be sent immediately to L'Orient and ship with Captain Jones or in the *Alliance*.

I am, with sincere respect, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 137.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

Arthur Lee to Secret Committee.*

APRIL 20, 1779.

Three months before Mr. Deane's arrival Mr. Beaumarchais settled with me in London the sending these supplies of money and munitions of war by the cape under the firm of Hortalez & Co., and that I should apprize Congress of it, which I did by Mr. Story and other opportunities, as the gentlemen of the secret committee know. The very dispatches by Mr. Carmichael which Mr. Deane stands charged with having opened, and most certainly detained, gave also, if my memory does not much deceive me,† the same intelligence. Mr. Beaumarchais, return to Paris he wrote me several times concerning these supplies, mentioning the difficulties which are in the execution from the timidity of the court, but that he was putting it into mercantile train which would soon overcome all difficulties. I did not fail to press the dispatch of them, and proposed, too, the sending some ships of war to protect our coast, exactly similar to what we were afterward instructed by Congress to obtain.

I do not state this to assume any merit to myself for these supplies. I had none. Mr. Beaumarchais sought me out in London. He found me by means of Mr. Wilkes, and communicated to me what I was to convey to Congress: that the sum of two hundred thousand louis d'ors from this court was ready for our support. It was therefore no address of mine that procured this aid. I was only the instrument of conveying this intelligence. As far as I know the merit is due to Mr. Beaumarchais. I never refused it to him. But I objected to his making demands directly contrary to what he had repeatedly assured me and not only desired, but urged me to report to Congress. I did so, and I never retract one iota of that information.

When the business was thus settled and in this train Mr. Deane arrived.

Congress.—Action as to Ministers Abroad.‡

APRIL 20, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on foreign affairs (the resolutions being given *supra* under date of March 27 and April 15, 1779), and on the question shall the words (in the fourth resolution) "which may be" stand part of the report, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	

* Report No. 220, Twentieth Congress, first session, vol. 3, p. 54.

† My situation in London prevented me from keeping copies of any dispatches, which might have been evidence against my life.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress, the latter being imperfect.

Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No,	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. M. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

A division was then called for by Mr. Gerry, so that a question be taken on these words of the fourth article, viz:

"That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the said commissioners."

A motion was made by Mr. Duane, seconded by Mr. Gerry, to amend the clause by striking out the word "said" and in lieu thereof inserting "late and present."

Question put; passed in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Muhlenberg, before the words "late and present" to insert the words "some of."

On the question the States were equally divided, and the amendment lost.

A motion was made by Mr. R. H. Lee, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the consideration of the fourth article be postponed until the fifth article is considered and determined.

Question put. The States were equally divided.

On motion by Mr. Duane, seconded by Mr. Morris,

Resolved, That the names of the commissioners be added and the sense of thehouse taken on each name.

On motion, Shall Dr. Franklin's name be inserted?

Resolved in the affirmative.

On the question, Shall Mr. Silas Deane's name be inserted? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question, Shall Mr. Arthur Lee's name be added? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	

North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question, Shall Mr. Ralph Izard's name be added? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question, Shall Mr. William Lee's name be added? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

Resolved in the affirmative.

The yeas and nays same as above.

On the question, Shall Mr. John Adams' name be added? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Adams	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	

Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the negative.

The clause being amended so as to read "That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the late and present commissioners, namely, Doct. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. Ralph Izard, and Mr. William Lee," and the question ready to be put thereon, the previous question was moved by Mr. Adams, seconded by Mr. Lovell, that the question be not now put. And on the question to agree to the previous question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Hill	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

On the question to agree to the (first) clause as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	Aye.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the second clause, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	0.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop		
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	Aye.	

North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hill	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved:

That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the late and present commissioners, namely, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Silas Deane, Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. Ralph Izard, and Mr. William Lee, highly prejudicial to the honor and interest of these United States.

WEDNESDAY, *April* 21, 1779.

Congress proceeded in the consideration of the report on foreign affairs, and the fifth article being read,

On motion of Mr. Ellery, seconded by Mr. Henry,

Resolved, That the names of the ministers therein referred to be repeated and a question taken on each individually.

APRIL 22, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on foreign affairs, and the fifth article being read, according to the order of yesterday, the first question debated was:

Shall Dr. B. Franklin, minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, be recalled. When the question was about to be put the previous question was moved by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Drayton, and on the question to agree to the previous question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Laurens,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Smith	No.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson	No.	

North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	

So the previous question was lost.

On the question to agree to the main question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. S. Adams ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell ..... No.	
	Mr. Holton ..... No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Collins ..... No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer ..... No.	No.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Duane ..... No.	
	Mr. Morris ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd ..... No.	
	Mr. Lewis ..... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell ..... No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen ..... No.	
	Mr. Atlee ..... No.	
	Mr. Searle ..... No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop ..... No.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean ..... No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Plater ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Paca ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	
	Mr. Henry ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. T. Adams ..... No.	Aye.
	Mr. Smith ..... Aye.	
	Mr. R. H. Lee ..... No.	
	Mr. Griffin ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Nelson ..... Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton ..... No.	

So it passed in the negative.*

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* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Apr. 30, May 3, June 8, June 10, 1779.

In 3 Wells' Adams, 62, it is said that "Franklin, though he had lately been appointed minister plenipotentiary, was included (in the 'dissension' censure), and, on the following day, a motion was made for his recall from that service, the entire delegations of Virginia and North Carolina voting in the affirmative, as did Gerry, Morris, and Paca; but there was a decided majority, including Samuel Adams, against it." Undoubtedly this is in accordance with the recorded vote. At the same time it is difficult to reconcile this vote with the constant support given to Franklin by Gouverneur as well as Robert Morris.

Franklin to Adams.*

PASSY, *April* 21, 1779.

SIR: I have received your two favors of the 13th instant. I am much obliged to you for undertaking the trouble of contenting the officers and people of the *Alliance*. I must now beg leave to make a little addition to that trouble by requesting your attention to the situation of the officers and sailors, late prisoners in England, which Mr. Williams will acquaint you with, and that you would likewise order for them such necessaries and comforts as we can afford. I wish we were able to do all they want and desire, but the scantiness of our funds and the multitude of demands prevent it.

The English papers talk much of their apprehensions about Spain. I hope they have some foundation.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Hartley to Franklin.†

LONDON, *April* 22, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND: The bearer of this and some other papers is a very sensible and worthy gentleman, with whom I had the pleasure of contracting an acquaintance since the commencement of the American troubles, originally upon the business of the American prisoners. It is a satisfaction to me at all times to have found him a friend to the restoration of peace between the two countries. It has likewise been an additional satisfaction and confirmation to me, in my own thoughts upon that subject, to find that his sentiments I think upon most or all of the subjects upon which we have conversed have coincided with mine. We both seem possessed of the opinion that some plan of opening a negotiation upon preliminaries which each side might find to be a sufficient security to itself might be practicable; and then your sentiment, which you gave me in a letter some years ago, might have its free scope and effect, viz: *A little time given for cooling might have excellent effects.*

The sentiments I have opened to you in my late letters for some months past, and which I have reduced in an enclosed paper into a more specific shape, seem to me, upon very repeated reflection, to promise the fairest ground of good expectation. These propositions originate from myself, as a mediator. I have communications with both sides, but certainly no authority to make proposals from either; and perhaps neither side, if I were to make the propositions separately to each (being myself unauthorized), might give me positive consent. Each

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* 7 John Adams' Works, 92; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 351.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 52. See Franklin's answer, under date of May 4, 1779, and comments on these letters in Introduction, §§ 86, 98.

side separately might say No, from what is called political prudence, and yet each side might secretly wish that the offer could be made, with a *done first* from the other party. I think the proposition of a truce for five or seven years, leaving all things in the present dispute in *statu quo*, must be advantageous to all parties, if it were only in consideration that a general satisfactory peace to all parties may come among the *excellent effects of time given for cooling.* We can but fight it out at last. War never comes too late; wisdom may step in between. These matters have stolen upon us, and have arisen to great and formidable consequences from small and unexpected beginnings; but henceforward we should know by experience what to expect. If the rage of war could but be abated for a sufficient length of time for reason and reflection to operate, I think it would never revive. I can not pretend to forecast the result of any negotiation, but I think war would not revive, which is all that I want for my argument. Peace is a *bonum in se* whereas the most favorable events of war are but, relatively, lesser evils; certainly they are evils; *mala in se*, not *bona in se.*

I hope that a cessation of hostilities would produce a renewal of reflection; but even to take the argument at the worst advantage, the two parties are at a cooling distance of three thousand miles asunder. If the flames of war could be but once extinguished, does not the Atlantic ocean contain cold water enough to prevent their bursting out again? I am very strongly of opinion that the two nations of Great Britain and North America would accord to the proposition of a truce for *cooling.* I can not say whether a British ministry would accord to it, because they will not tell me; nor can I say whether an American plenipotentiary would accord to it, because, probably, you will not tell me. I put myself into your hands, however, when I tell you frankly I am of opinion both would accord to it if there could be a *done first* on either side to bind the bargain fast. You have the odds of me in this matter, because you know one-half of the question, and I can not give you any proof on the other side, but only my own presumptive judgment upon observation and upon a course of reasoning in my own thoughts.

But for France: My judgment would be that if the proposition of the proposed preliminaries should be agreeable to America, France would do very unhandsomely to defeat it by their refusal. I likewise think it the interest of France, because their interest leads them to go to a certain point and no further. There is a disparity in the operation of the terms of the alliance on the part of France and on the part of America. The more vigorously France interposes, the better for America; in proportion to their exertions, they create, less or more, a diversion of the British force; this reasoning goes straight forward for America; but it is not so with France. There is a certain point to France beyond which their work would fail and recoil upon themselves; if they were to drive the British ministry totally to abandon the Amer-

ican war, it would become totally a French war. The events of a twelvemonth past seem to bear testimony to this course of reasoning. The disadvantage upon the bargain to America is, that the efficacy of the French alliance to them presupposes their continuance in the war. The demur to France is, that the liberation of their new ally recoils with double weight of the war upon themselves, without any ulterior points of advantage in view as dependent upon that alliance. I think the interest of all parties coincides with the proposition of preliminaries.

The proposed preliminaries appear to me to be just and equitable to all parties; but the great object with me is to come to some preliminaries. I could almost add, whatever those preliminaries might be, provided a suspension of arms for an adequate term of years were one, I think it would be ten thousand to one against any future renewal of the war. It is not necessary to enter at large into the reasons which induce me to think that the British ministry, as well as the American plenipotentiary, would consent to the terms of the proposed preliminaries; for indeed I do not know that I am founded in that opinion with respect to either, but still I believe it of both. But what can a private person do in such a case, wishing to be a mediator for peace, having access to both parties, but equally uncertain of the reception of his mediation on either side? I must hesitate to take any public step, as by a proposition in Parliament or by any other means, to drive the parties to an explanation upon any specific proposals; and yet I am very unwilling to let the session pass without some proposition upon which the parties may meet, if they should be inclined, as I suspect them to be. I have been endeavoring to feel pulses for some months, but all is dumb show. I can not say that I meet with anything discouraging, to my apprehension, either as to equitableness or practicability of the proposition for preliminaries. If I could but simply receive sufficient encouragement that I should not run any hazard of obstructing any other practicable propositions by obtruding mine, I should be very much satisfied to come forward in that case with mine, to furnish a beginning at least, which might lead to peace.

There is nothing that I wish so much as to have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with you, having many things to say to you; but if that can not yet happen, I have only to say that whatever communication you may think proper to make to me, which may lead to peace, you may be assured that I shall be most strenuous in applying it to that end. In all cases of difficulty in human life there must be confidence somewhere to enable us to extricate nations from the evils attendant upon national disputes, as they arise out of national passions, jealousies, and points of honor. I am not sure whether the extreme caution and diffidence of persons in political life be not the cause almost as frequently of the unnecessary protraction of the miseries of war as of the final production of any superior good to any State. Peace now is better than peace a twelvemonth hence, at least by all the lives that

may be lost in the mean while and by all the accumulated miseries that may intervene by that delay. When I speak of the necessity of confidence, I would not have you to think that I trust to all professions, promiscuously, with confidence. My thoughts are free respecting all parties; and for myself, if I thought it necessary for the end of attaining any additional confidence in your esteem to enable me to co-operate the more effectually towards the restoration of peace, there is nothing that I would wish you to be assured of but this—that no fallacious offers of insincerity, nor any pretext for covering secret designs, or for obtaining unfair advantages, shall ever pass through my hands.

Believe me truly to be not only a lover of my country, but a sincere friend to peace and to the rights of mankind; and ever most affectionately, yours,

D. HARTLEY.

OBSERVATIONS BY MR. HARTLEY.

Lord North consented to Mr. Hartley's proposition for endeavoring to procure from the American plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries some opening that they would be willing to commence a parley on propositions of peace between Great Britain and America, and supposed the terms which Mr. Hartley had in view would be something like a tacit cession of independence to America, with a truce for a certain term of years, to serve as a basis for a general treaty of accommodation and final settlement.

This last application (which was made on the 20th of April, 1779) of Mr. Hartley to Lord North, after several previous conferences on the subject, is the ground of the present confidential communication with Dr. Franklin on the part of Mr. Hartley, who states to Dr. Franklin, as he did to Lord North, that an auspicious beginning of a negotiation is *dimidium facti*.

Mr. Hartley's ideas of the probable course of the negotiation would be to the following effect:

(1) Five commissioners (or any three of them) to be appointed on the part of his Britannic majesty to treat, consult, and agree upon the final settlement and pacification of the present troubles upon safe, honorable, and permanent terms, subject to ratification by Parliament.

(2) That any one of the aforesaid commissioners may be empowered to agree, as a preliminary, to a suspension of hostilities by sea and land for a certain term of five or seven years.*

(3) That any one of the aforesaid commissioners be empowered to agree, as a second preliminary, to suspend the operation and effect of any and all acts of Parliament respecting America for a certain term of five or seven years.

(4) That it is expected, as a third preliminary, that America should

* As to this truce, see Introduction, §§ 86, 98.

be released, freed, and unengaged from any treaties with foreign powers which may tend to embarrass or defeat the present negociation.

(5) That a general treaty for negociation shall be set on foot as soon as may be after the agreement of the foregoing preliminaries.

N. B.—A doubt seeming to arise from Lord North relative to the probability of any explanatory communication on the part of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Hartley expressed, he thought it possible that, as a known friend to peace, he might be considered by Dr. Franklin as a depot of any communications which may serve from time to time to facilitate the terms of peace, which therefore prevents this communication from being considered as any direct overture from Lord North to Dr. Franklin, or from Dr. Franklin to Lord North; but as it is merely a mediatorial proposition of Mr. Hartley, as a private person, for the purpose of bringing the parties to a parley.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *April* 22, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I enclose you copies† of a note and letter from me to the Marquis de la Fayette, to show the terms on which it seems to me we are most likely to obtain a loan from either France or Spain. If Congress approve of them, I should be glad of some instructions in conformity to them; if they are not approved of, I should wish to know it, that I may not repeat the proposal.

I can not learn that England means to send out any considerable augmentation of their army with you. They have lately received dispatches relative to the proceedings in Georgia, but it does not appear yet whether they will send a re-enforcement thither from Great Britain, though I think it probable they will.

I have not had a line from you since October last. The peace is not yet signed in Germany. The news of the taking of Pondicherry and other French settlements in India by the English, together with their advantageous situation in the West Indies, has raised their funds, their credit, and their spirits.‡

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 553.

† Missing.

‡ This letter was accompanied by another, dated Apr. 23, and entitled "A memorial respecting the conduct of Mr. Williams," which was afterwards printed under the title of "Observations on certain commercial transactions in France, laid before Congress, by Arthur Lee, Philadelphia, 1780." To these observations is prefixed a preface, which is not attached to the memorial first transmitted to Congress.—SPARKS.

Washington to Jay.*

MIDDLEBROOKE, *April* 23, 1779.

DEAR SIR: In one of your former letters you intimate that a free communication of sentiments will not be displeasing to you. If, under this sanction, I should step beyond the line you would wish to draw, and suggest ideas or ask questions which are improper to be answered, you have only to pass them by in silence. I wish you to be convinced that I do not desire to pry into measures the knowledge of which is not necessary for my government as an executive officer, or the premature discovery of which might be prejudicial to plans in contemplation.

After premising this, I beg leave to ask what are the reasons for keeping the Continental frigates in port? If it is because hands can not be obtained to man them on the present encouragement, some other plan ought to be adopted to make them useful. Had not Congress better lend them to commanders of known bravery and capacity for a limited term, at the expiration of which the vessels, if not taken or lost, to revert to the States, they and their crews in the mean time enjoying the exclusive benefit of all captures they make, but acting either singly or conjointly under the direction of Congress? If this or a similar plan could be fallen upon, comprehending the whole number under some head, a man of ability and authority commissioned to act as commodore or admiral, I think great advantages might result from it. I am not sure but at this moment, by such a collection of the naval force we have, all the British armed vessels and transports at Georgia might be taken or destroyed and their troops ruined. Upon the present system our ships are not only very expensive and totally useless in port, but sometimes require a land force to protect them, as lately happened at New London.

The rumor of the camp is that Monsieur Gerard is about to return to France; some speak confidently of its taking place. If this be a fact, the motives doubtless are powerful, as it would open a wide field for speculation, and give our enemies, whether with or without real cause, at least a handle for misrepresentation and triumph.

Will Congress suffer the Bermudian vessels, which are said to have arrived in Delaware and Chesapeake Bay, to exchange their salt for flour, as is reported to be their intention? Will they not rather order them to depart immediately? Indulging them with a supply of provisions at this time will be injurous to us in two respects: it will deprive us of what we really stand in need of for ourselves, and will contribute to the support of that swarm of privateers which resort to Bermudas, from whence they infest our coast, and, in a manner, annihilate our trade. Besides these considerations, by withholding a supply we throw many additional mouths upon the enemy's magazines, and increase proportionably their distress. They will not and can not let their people starve.

*Jay's Life, 45; 1 Cor. and Pub. Papers of Jay, 207; 7 Ford's Washington, 415.

In the last place, though first in importance, I shall ask is there anything doing, or that can be done, to restore the credit of our currency? The depreciation of it is got to so alarming a point that a wagon load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon load of provisions.

I repeat what I before observed, that I do not wish for your reply to more of these matters than you can touch with strict propriety.

Very truly, I am, sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *April* 23, 1779.

SIR: I have but just received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 20th instant relating to the ship *Alliance*, and I seize this first moment to assure you of my readiness to do with her whatever may be agreeable to his majesty. I shall accordingly write directly to Captain Landais, who is arrived at Nantes with ninety-three English prisoners, to be exchanged there, and shall order him to L'Orient, there to wait for further orders. He will receive some addition to his crew from among the American prisoners brought to be exchanged, but as he will still be far short of the number necessary for such a ship, I trust your excellency will give orders that he may be supplied with as many as will make up his complement.

I am, with respect, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. F.†

Franklin to J. Adams.‡

PASSY, *April* 24, 1779.

SIR: By the enclosed letter from M. de Sartine, expressing his majesty's desire that the *Alliance* should be retained here a little longer, you will see that I am under a kind of necessity of disappointing you in your intentions of making your passage immediately in that vessel, which would be more unpleasing to me but for these considerations: That possibly it may be safe for you to go in a ship where the crew, not being so mixed, can be better depended on; where you will not be incommoded by the misunderstandings subsisting between the officers and their captain; and where you will have the society of the French ambassador, M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, who appears to me a most amiable man and of very sensible and pleasing conversation. I hope this will, in some measure, compensate for the inconvenience of shift-

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† This letter was translated and sent in French.

‡ 7 John Adams' Works, 93; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 362.

ing your stores from one ship to the other. And as I shall order the *Alliance* to L' Orient, where the king's frigate is that carries the ambassador, the removal of your things from one ship to the other will be more easy. You can even go thither in the *Alliance* if you choose it. The ships in the American trade which were at Nantes when I offered them the convoy of the *Alliance* having declined that offer and sailed, as I understand, under another and perhaps safer convoy, makes her immediate departure for America less necessary, and perhaps she may now make a cruise in these seas, for which I understand she will have time; which will be probably more advantageous, and therefore more satisfactory to her people, than a direct return. I hope she may procure us some more prisoners to exchange the rest of our countrymen, and at the same time reimburse us the charges of her refitting, which you know we stand much in need of.

M. Dumas writes me from The Hague of the 19th "Je sçais depuis hier, *de bonne part*, que l'Espagne s'est enfin déclarée. Cela fera un bon effet ici et partout." I hope his intelligence is good, but nothing of it has yet transpired here.

Enclosed I send you a cover which I have just received from Martinique, directed to me, but containing only a letter for you. The cover being unskillfully sealed over, the seal of your letter was so attached to it that I had like to have broken open the one in opening the other. I send you also another letter which came from Spain. I am obliged by your offer of taking charge of my dispatches for America. I shall send them down to you by M. de la Luzerne, who is to set off in a few days.

With great esteem, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 24, 1779.

SIR: Although the undersigned is not invested with any power on the part of his Catholic majesty, he hopes that the Congress of the United States of North America, knowing the closeness of the union subsisting between his Catholic and his most Christian majesty, will not be surprised if the minister of France has the honor to submit to them the representations which two captains of Spanish vessels have made to Don Juan de Miralles. The facts on which these representations rest are contained in the annexed memorial, being taken from the letters of the captains. In a short time the proceedings and the act of appeal relating to one of the Spanish ships whose cargo has been confiscated will be laid before Congress, as well as the papers relating

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 586.

to the second ship, if this suffers the same fate, in order to implore the justice of Congress. Meanwhile it has been thought proper to communicate the facts to Congress, in order that they may be pleased previously to examine this affair, on which we are persuaded that they will be pleased to bestow the greater attention, as it involves the observance of a law generally adopted by commercial nations for the maintenance of the public security upon the sea, as well as of the right of neutrality, which affects the interests of the United States as much and more than those of any other nation, and in order not to give just cause of discontent to a power like Spain, by violating the immunity and dignity of her flag, and by depriving her subjects of their property without cause or pretext.

GERARD.

MEMORIAL RESPECTING TWO SPANISH VESSELS.

[Translation.]

Memorial or relation of the injury sustained by two captains of Spanish merchantmen which had sailed, the one from the river of London, loaded with merchandise for Cadiz, on the account and at the risk of Spanish merchants, and the other from the port of Cadiz, loaded with wines, fruits, cochineal, and other articles of the growth of the Spanish territory, belonging also to Spaniards, bound for London. These two vessels were stopped by two different privateers, carrying the flag of the United States of America, and brought, the one to Newbury and the other to Beverly, and then, on the demand of the owners of the privateer, the cargo of one of them was declared a lawful prize at Boston, the 28th of last March. They were on the point of passing sentence on the other at the same place, and not doubting that it will suffer the same fate as the first, according to the letters written by the said captains from the said port of Boston to Don Juan de Miralles, one of which is without date and the other bearing date of the 3d of this month, he has the honor to impart their contents to his excellency M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of the court of France to the United States of America, requesting him to have the goodness to lay the information before the honorable Congress of the said States, in order to obtain all the satisfaction due to the honor of the flag of his Catholic majesty, his master, in conformity to the tenor of articles fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth of the treaty of alliance and commerce between his most Christian majesty and the said States of America, signed the 6th of February, 1778. He asks also for the punishment of the infringers of the treaty or captors, and requests that the judges may be punished who have unjustly condemned and sentenced as a lawful prize the said cargo; and, provided that the other vessel has met with the same fate, to sentence them to the payment of all the indemnities, expenses, damages, and losses resulting from the injury sustained by the said vessels and the interruption of their voyages, besides the injury which this occasions to the proprietors of the same; and this, seeing that at the time in which they were stopped his majesty the King of Spain was at peace with all the powers of Europe, and consequently had no enemy to fear, whereas it is possible that since that time the state of peace between the court of Spain and other powers may have changed, or will change, before the said Spanish vessels can perform the voyages for which they were designed, and also the decay of the vessels and of the merchandise with which they were loaded, and the great risk offered by a voyage from this continent to any European port, etc., to wit:

Captain Joseph Llanos, by his letter without date (although there can be no doubt that it comes from Boston), says that he sailed from London with his vessel (without

mentioning its name), belonging to Don Philip Aguixxe de San Fadder, loaded with merchandise for Cadiz, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand current piastres, and that in the course of his voyage he was stopped by a privateer schooner of Newbury, called the *Success*, Felix Trask, captain, belonging to Nathaniel Tracy, of said Newbury, and forcibly brought to this place, notwithstanding that he assured the said Captain Trask that the cargo belonged entirely to Spaniards, and that he was convinced of it by the bills of laden found on board; notwithstanding which, that the said cargo has been sentenced as a lawful prize, although the papers exhibit no fraud, as will be seen by the process, which is copied, in order to be presented to the honorable Congress, to which appeal is made.

The captains claim the protection of the honorable Congress, that of his excellency M. Gerard, and that of Don Juan de Miralles; the navigation of the Spanish being very much injured by the privateers of this continent, there being three vessels belonging to this nation in the same situation as the above, brought in by different privateers. These three vessels also propose to appeal to the honorable Congress; and are resolved to defend the rights of the Spanish.

Captain Joachin Garcia de Luca, commander of a Spanish ship with three masts, her crew Spanish, says, in his letter, dated at Boston the 3d of the present month, that he sailed from Cadiz for London, loaded with wines, oils, cochineal, and fruits, on the account and at the risk of Spaniards, and that he was stopped, on the 21st of December, 1778, when pursuing his voyage, by a privateer frigate, with the flag of the United States of America, which brought him to Beverly; that having learned that the owners of the said privateer were desirous that the cargo of the Spanish vessel should be confiscated, he went to Boston, where the court of justice sits, before which he appeared on the 2d of the current month, not knowing at that time but he should meet with the same fate which his friend Don Joseph de Llanos has suffered with regard to his cargo, which was condemned on the 28th of last March.

I, Don Juan de Miralles, truly certify that the above was extracted from the letters which the Spanish captains, Don Joseph de Llanos and Joachin Garcia de Luca, wrote to me, and which I received on the 19th current, at 8 o'clock in the evening.

DON JUAN DE MIRALLES.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 21, 1779.

A. Lee to President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 26, 1779.

SIR: The enclosed copies of letters between a Mr. Petrie and myself will inform Congress that Mr. Deane had no authority for the accusation made against me of having written a letter to England giving information of the treaty being signed. I can pledge my honor to Congress that it is equally groundless with regard to my brother. He will trace the truth to its fountain as fast as his situation will permit.

As this Mr. Petrie is a stockjobber himself, and united with those Americans here who are in the same line, I imagine that the having imputed the intelligence to my brother, will appear upon inquiry to have been originally a trick of these people, such as is very common in the alley, which Mr. Deane has converted into a criminal accusation against me.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

I rely upon the justice of Congress for such a censure of his conduct as it deserves.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your excellency's most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE.*

Jay to Washington.†

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 26, 1779.

DEAR SIR: The questions contained in your favor of the — April instant are as important as the manner of introducing them is delicate.

While the maritime affairs of the continent continue under the direction of a committee they will be exposed to all the consequences of want of system, attention, and knowledge. The marine committee consists of a delegate from each State. It fluctuates, new members constantly coming in and old ones going out. Three or four, indeed, have remained in it from the beginning, and few members understand even the state of our naval affairs, or have time or inclination to attend to them. But why is not this system changed? It is, in my opinion, inconvenient to the family compact.‡ The commercial committee was equally useless. A proposition was made to appoint a commercial agent for the States under certain regulations. Opposition was made. The ostensible objections were various. The true reason was its interfering with a certain commercial agent in Europe and his connections.

You will, if I am not greatly mistaken, find Mr. Gerard disposed to be open and communicative. He has acquired an extensive knowledge of our affairs. I have no reason to believe he will use it to our prejudice. There is as much intrigue in this state-house as in the Vatican, but as little secrecy as in a boarding school. It mortifies me on this occasion to reflect that the rules of Congress on the subject of secrecy, which are far too general and perhaps for that reason more frequently violated, restrain me from saying twenty things to you which have ceased to be private.

The state of our currency is really serious. When or by what means the progress of the depreciation will be prevented is uncertain. The subject is delicate, but the conduct of some men really indicates at least great indifference about it. It will not be many days before

*As to W. Lee's duel with Petrie, see Introduction, § 177.

†2 Jay's Life, 47; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 209.

‡On Feb. 28, 1778, William Lee, an alderman of the city of London, and brother to Arthur and Richard H. Lee, took charge, by order of Congress, of the commercial agency of the United States in France, one of his nephews accompanying him as clerk (see Introduction, § 153); William Lee was also minister to Vienna and Berlin, a nephew was in the commercial agency, and Arthur Lee was still titular minister to Spain.

measures having a great, though not immediate, influence on this subject will be either adopted or rejected. I shall then have an opportunity of being more particular.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *April* 26, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: Since I had the honor of writing you last, on the 22d of April, nothing material has happened. An account of the signing of the peace in Germany is expected here daily.

The reenforcements sent and sending out to the army against you amount to about eight thousand in new Scotch levies and British and German recruits. It is the plan of the British ministry, as far as I can learn, to make great exertions in this campaign both against the United States and the French islands. Their war against you will in all probability be in expeditions against different parts.

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Hezekiah Ford, who has served me faithfully for eight months as secretary. He will give you the best information in his power of the state of affairs here.†

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Deane to Holker.‡

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 26, 1779.

SIR: I was this day surprised to hear that, in a memorial you had presented to Congress, you had said that the suits of clothes furnished by Messrs. Sabbatier & Desprez ought not to cost (or did not cost) more than 32 or 34 livres each, delivered in the ports of France. Permit me to remind you that these clothes were transported from Paris and the other places where they were made up to the seaports at the expense of the commissioners; that they cost something more than 34 livres, exclusive of the transportation, as I am positive the accounts themselves will show. I must therefore presume, if my information is right, that you may be under some mistake as to this matter, and therefore pray you, if you have the copies of these accounts, that you will turn to them, which must convince you of it, or the error is

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 554. Arthur Lee's elaborate attack of Apr. 27, 1779, on Deane and Franklin is in No. 54 of the volumes of revolutionary records, also in No. 83, Vol. 2, in the Department of State; as it is confined to personal criticism, and contains no matter of public interest, it is not included in this note.

† As to Hezekiah Ford's treachery, see *supra*, Introduction, § 150.

‡ 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 143.

with me; for, as I recollect these suits of clothes cost, when delivered on board, nearest 36 livres on an average, and those purchased from Mons. Monthieu a trifle more, and those from M. Coder, which were of a different fashion, considerably more; this occasioned my saying generally, in my narrative to Congress, that the suits cost 32*s.* or 33*s.* sterling, of which difference in our accounts advantage has been taken against me, though I spoke generally, referring to the accounts and contracts themselves to correct me if I erred. You will therefore oblige me by explaining the above, if you have the account, or if you recollect the circumstances of that transaction.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,

SILAS DEANE.

Holker to Deane.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 26, 1779.

SIR: I have this moment received your favor of this date. In my memorial to Congress I said that each complete suit ought not to cost more than 33 or 34 livres (not 32 or 34), delivered in the seaports. I spoke totally from memory, and believe I have made a mistake, by taking the price in Paris or Montpelier for the price at which they would stand at the seaports. Admitting my error, they would cost no more than 36 or 37 livres the suit, according to the best calculation I can make from memory.

I have the honor to remain, most sincerely, etc.,

HOLKER.

Deane to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 26, 1779.

SIR: As I have received no reply to my letters of the 30th ultimo and 2d instant, I take the liberty of applying again to Congress to remind them of my situation. It is now more than twelve months since, in obedience to their orders, I left France to return to my native country. Having employed the short interval between the receiving advice of my recall and my embarking in soliciting essential aid and succor for these States, I entered on my voyage with the pleasing reflection that after a two years' faithful service, in a most difficult and embarrassed negotiation, the issue had been fortunate, equal to my utmost wishes; that the supplies I had procured and sent out had enabled my brave countrymen and fellow citizens to resist and humble the enemy; that the treaty which I had the honor, with my colleagues, to conclude had engaged one of the most powerful and generous princes

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 144.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 137, with verbal changes.

in the world to guaranty the liberties and independence of these States.

The great and seasonable aid sent out by him, with which (after having received the most honorable testimonials of his approbation and even of his esteem, as well as that of his ministers and of my late colleague and friend Dr. Franklin), I had the honor to embark, gave me in prospect the completion of my most sanguine hopes—the total reduction of the British force in North America. Unfortunately the length of our passage defeated the most essential objects of this great and well-concerted enterprise. Extensive and important services were however thereby rendered, on which I need not be particular. Immediately on my landing in America *I repaired with all possible dispatch to Congress to inform them of the state of affairs in Europe*, which I had been advised by their resolution was the business I was ordered to return upon. Between my arrival in this city, on the 13th of July, and my audience before Congress on the 21st of August, I was informed that the minds of some of my countrymen were prejudiced against me, and that insinuations were industriously circulated to affect others; I therefore took the earliest opportunity given me, and after having laid before Congress a general state of foreign affairs and of my proceedings, to request that if anything had been laid to my charge or suggested to my disadvantage I might be made acquainted therewith, for that it was probable that in the difficult, complicated, and embarrassed scenes I had gone through many things might require explanation. I received no reply, and continuing to solicit to have the business I returned upon concluded, I was informed that an honorable member produced in Congress an extract from a letter from a private gentleman respecting a conversation which passed between him and the honorable Mr. Carmichael which implied a censure on my conduct. On the 26th of September Mr. Secretary Thomson acquainted me with the resolution of Congress of that day, to postpone further consideration of my requests *until the examination of William Carmichael.*

What the result of that examination was I never knew, but having waited some days, the urgent necessity for my speedy return pressing on me, I applied again, and repeatedly, that I might finish the business upon which I had been sent for. Days were repeatedly appointed for that purpose, and I must suppose business of more importance prevented. In those letters I laid before Congress the unsettled state in which I had, by my sudden departure, been obliged to leave the accounts and other mercantile transactions of the commissioners, and pointed out the injuries which the public must suffer by a delay of their settlement, as well as the personal inconveniences I must be subjected to whilst they remained unsettled. To these letters I beg leave to refer. In October extracts from letters from Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Izard were, by order of Congress, delivered to me, to which I replied at large on the 12th and 22d of the same month; my letters are

still before Congress, and to them I refer, particularly to that of the 12th, which closes in these words:

"As in commercial transactions there are but two sides to an account, and everything goes to the debit or credit, the folio for profit or loss, so must I solicit that Dr. Franklin and the honorable Mr. Adams may be directed to see the settlement of all those accounts immediately on my return to Paris; and as there has been a charge made by Mr. Lee of profusion, of extravagant contracts, and the like, that those gentlemen be authorized to submit those accounts, with every allegation of the kind, to the adjustment and determination of gentlemen of ability and character on the spot, and that orders may be given that whatever may be found due from the commissioners, or either of them, may be instantly paid into the hands of the banker for Congress, and that, in like manner, said banker may be ordered to pay whatever may be the balance to the person in whose favor the same shall be found. By this means truth will be demonstrated and justice done, which is all I have ever wished for."

In December last I was directed to lay before Congress in writing a narrative of my proceedings whilst their commercial and political agent, etc.* I must ask leave to refer to that narrative at large, as many of the honorable members then in Congress are now absent, and the representatives of several of the States entirely changed. On a reference it will be found that I again solicited for as early a decision as possible on my conduct, that the most thorough examination might be made, and to demonstrate what my commercial conduct had been whilst the agent of these States, that my accounts might be put in the way of being settled without delay, that the part I had acted and the station I had been in could not be considered as a neutral or indifferent one, and that approbation or censure was my due, etc. When I was favored with that audience, I flattered myself that the delays I had met with had given ample time for the most full and perfect scrutiny into every part of my conduct, and that if any charges were to be brought against any part of my conduct I should then be informed of them. I therefore again requested to know if there were any. I was informed of none. Soon after I was told that a committee was appointed to examine into and report on foreign affairs. I previously informed Congress that I had no copies of the letters wrote to them by the commissioners from Paris; that Dr. Franklin took the care of them, and that, my having no apprehension of being questioned on them, I had not taken duplicates with me, therefore requested that I might have copies of them, that I might explain anything which might at first sight appear dubious or contradictory.

* For Deane's Narrative, see *Silas Deane in France* (Philadelphia, 1855), 17. At page 151 of the same publication is given a letter of Arthur Lee to the President of Congress, dated February 10, 1779, in reply to Deane's Letter to the American People, dated December 5, 1778.

I afterwards applied to the members of the honorable committee, desiring that if in the course of their examination anything should appear doubtful, or such as might support a charge against any part of my conduct, I might be heard before any report should be made. I did not receive copies of the letters, nor was I ever called upon by the committee, who, I am informed, have made their report, as to which I am wholly uninformed. Soon after this report was delivered to Congress, having been persecuted in the public papers for several months in the most scandalous, virulent, and licentious manner, and accused before the public of crimes of the blackest complexion, I again addressed myself to Congress, and, as their servant, claimed their protection, and that I might be heard in the most public manner, or in any other way they thought proper. This letter of the 30th of March remains unanswered, and I now pray the contents of it may be considered. The part I acted as political agent and commissioner for Congress is well known, and may be judged of with certainty at this time, and the settlement of mine and the commissioners' accounts (which I have repeatedly solicited) will demonstrate what my commercial conduct has been. If, in the commercial, I have not acted with prudence and integrity; if I have neglected to supply these States with stores to the utmost of my power, and have either wasted or embezzled the public moneys, the interest of the public requires that speedy justice be done, and the settlement of the commissioners' accounts will at once acquit or condemn me. If, in my political department, I have in any instance neglected or betrayed the interests of my country; if I have conducted weakly or wickedly, or both, the public ought to know it, and I ought to be punished. If, on the contrary, I sacrificed all private considerations, and put my life, as well as fortune, to the hazard to procure relief and assistance for these States from abroad; if, unsupported by remittances from hence, without credit or friends, and a stranger to the language and manners of the country I was sent to negotiate in, I surmounted every obstacle, and in a few months obtained and sent out large supplies; if I was assiduous and indefatigable for the space of near two years in France in the commercial as well as political affairs of these States, at times even to my personal danger; if, so far from having embezzled the public moneys, I neglected my private fortune, and received nothing but my necessary expenses whilst transacting this business; if a principal share of the political negotiations fell on me; and if, jointly with my colleagues, I brought them to a happy and honorable issue and individually acquired the confidence and esteem of his most Christian majesty and his ministers, as well as of the nation in general; and if, at my private solicitations (in part) after my recall, a strong fleet and armament were sent out to the relief of these States;—if these are facts, which they certainly are, and the greater part of them long since fully ascertained and the others ascertainable by the settlement of the commissioners' accounts (which I have from the first requested), I flatter myself justice will be done by Congress, and that the artifices of interested and

wicked men will not prevail to delay it, and thereby injure the public and their servant more essentially than injustice itself would do.

I therefore, with the sensibility of an innocent yet injured man, and with the firmness of a free, independent citizen, ask for justice, fully confident that Congress will not refuse or delay it. I owe too much to those great personages who generously patronized and protected me in Europe, to my countrymen, and to myself to suffer my character and conduct to remain longer under any uncertainty. When the part I acted abroad in the service of these States, my recall, the circumstances of my return, my reception, and the delays I have since met with, are reviewed, I think my case will be found peculiar.

Permit me, then, to repeat that my services have been in two departments—political and commercial. Everything respecting the first is already well known; the closing of the accounts will demonstrate what the latter has been. On the first, Congress is now able to judge; justice to the public, as well as to myself, calls for their determination. If there are charges against me in either of the characters I have supported, I must consider myself entitled to know what they are and to be permitted to answer.

I can not close this letter without complaining to Congress of the abuse I have met with in the public papers from a writer who was lately their confidential servant, and who has abused their confidence to deceive and impose on the free citizens of these States and to injure me in the public opinion; also of the partial and injurious manner in which I have been treated by others who, deeply interested by family and other connections to support my enemies, represent my conduct, and the letters written by the commissioners and myself as inconsistent and contradictory, whilst I remain deprived of any opportunity to explain them. My utmost ambition and wishes have ever been to serve these States, and to merit the title of their faithful and approved servant; nothing can deprive me of the consciousness of having served faithfully and with integrity. If my country have no further service for me, my first object, as well as my duty, must be to justify my conduct, and to rescue my reputation and character from the injury and abuse of wicked men; and to do this I again ask of Congress, what I consider as my right, their decision on my conduct as their servant; and if any part thereof is questioned, I may be permitted to explain and vindicate the same, which I have often said, and again repeat, the settlement of the commissioners' accounts will enable me to do, even to mathematical demonstration. Any further delay in my case must have all the consequences of a refusal and as I have ever relied with confidence on the justice of Congress, and long waited their decision, I flatter myself it will no longer be postponed. I shall leave Philadelphia in the course of this week on my private affairs, and wish to do it as early as possible.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 27, 1779.

SIR: I heard yesterday, by accident, that an honorable gentleman in Congress had made a calculation from the general account which I gave in my narrative of the price of the clothes I purchased in France and that given by M. Holker in a memorial of his, and had drawn consequences very injurious to me therefrom. In my narrative, I informed Congress that the clothes cost 32*s.* or 33*s.* sterling complete, delivered on board. This was nearly the average price, and of that and not of the particular, I spoke. Thirty-two shillings sterling is equal to 36 livres 11 sols 5 deniers. The clothes bought of Messrs. Sabbatier & Desprez cost 36 livres, nearest, delivered on board; those of Mons. Monthieu a few sols more; those by Mr. Williams, the same, nearly as I recollect; and about a thousand suits of M. Coder, of a different fashion, more than 40 livres each. I have before related to Congress that Mr. Lee himself approved of these purchases, having been present at the contracting for a part of them—those of M. Coder in particular—and had signed the settlement of the accounts and orders or drafts for the money.

Surprised at the calculation made and the injurious inferences drawn therefrom, I wrote to M. Holker the enclosed letter, and received his answer thereto, a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing. Thirty-seven livres being equal to 32*s.* 4½*d.* sterling, it is evident that the calculation made is wrong, even if I had fixed the price positively at 32*s.* or 33*s.* sterling.

I will not trouble Congress at present with any further observations on the subject, but am, with much respect, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Franklin to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *April* 28, 1779.

SIR: Enclosed I send your excellency a letter I have just received from Mr. Wm. Bingham, agent of the Congress at Martinique, complaining of the proceedings of the judge of the admiralty there, relating to an English privateer brought thither by some American seamen, who have not only been deprived of their prize, but are thrown into prison.

The King of England having given encouragement to all seamen in the service of the United States or in the service of their merchants to seize the vessels they were employed in and bring them to England, promising to divide the value of such vessels and cargoes among the seamen who should effect such seizure—which encouragement produced

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 143.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

very mischievous effects and occasioned the loss of many vessels belonging to the subjects of the States and bound for France—the Congress, after remonstrating in vain against so irregular a practice as that of enticing servants to betray their trust, found it necessary to make reprisals in the same way, and accordingly passed an act promising the same rewards to those seamen who should seize and bring in any English ship they might be on board of. This privateer was taken in consequence; and as I look upon that act of Congress to be in the nature of a general commission, I apprehend that the capture was duly made, and that the captors have a just title to the prize. I therefore request your excellency's protection in behalf of those poor American seamen, and that an order may be sent to discharge them from their imprisonment and deliver to them the value of the prize in question.

With great respect I am, etc.

Franklin.—Instructions to John Paul Jones, Commander of the American Squadron in the Service of the United States, now in the Port of L'Orient.*

First. His majesty having been pleased to grant some troops for a particular expedition, proposed to annoy our common enemy, in which the sea force under your command might have an opportunity of distinguishing itself, you are to receive on board the ships of war and the other vessels destined for that purpose the troops that shall present themselves to you, afford them such accommodation as may be most proper for preserving their health, and convey them to such port or place as their commander shall desire to land them at.

Second. When the troops are landed, you are to aid by all means in your power their operations, as they will be instructed in like manner to aid and support those you may make with your ships, that so, by this concurrence and union of your different forces, all that such a compounded strength is capable of may be effected.

Third. You are, during the expedition, never to depart from the troops so as not to be able to protect them in case of a repulse; and in all events you are to endeavor to effect their complete reëmbarkation on board the ships and transports under your command when the expedition shall be ended.

Fourth. You are to bring to France all the English seamen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you have already made such progress in, of delivering, by an exchange, the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the jails of Great Britain.

Fifth. As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners which the fortune of war may throw into your hands, lest resentment of the more than

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 56; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 366.

barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans should occasion a retaliation, and an imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided for the sake of humanity and for the honor of our country.

Sixth. In the same view, although the English have burnt wantonly many defenseless towns in America, you are not to follow this example unless where a reasonable ransom is refused, in which case your own generous feelings, as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that sick and ancient persons, women, and children, may be first removed.

Done at Passy the 28th day of April, 1779.

B. FRANKLIN,
Minister Plenipotentiary
from the United States to the Court of France.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

THE HAGUE, *April* 29, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: In all this month nothing has passed remarkable here, unless it be the memorial presented by the English ambassador. But in this interval I have taken part in a secret operation, which has confided the credit and secrets of America to a house at Amsterdam truly patriotic and not suspected of collusion with the enemy. Dr. Franklin is fully apprised of it all.

Here is an extract from a letter to him:

The States of the Province of Holland have assembled here this morning. It is only an ordinary session; and our friend said to me pleasantly, "*We have only come to hold the fair.*" He foresees also that the resolution of the States-General, as to convoy, will not be such as to engage France to revoke or mitigate her last edict of navigation. One of the first houses of Amsterdam, and whose predilection for England is known, has sold £60,000 of English funds. This has revived the idea of a declaration from Spain, and has depressed the English funds at Amsterdam from 3 to 4 per cent. There is a shower of pamphlets here, both in French and Dutch, against the last memoir of Sir Joseph Yorke.

For a long time, gentlemen, we have heard nothing here of American affairs but through the wicked channel of your enemies, who do not cease to paint the Americans as a people disunited and discordant. These eternal repetitions, and their pretended success in Georgia, do not fail to disquiet your friends and to embarrass all my endeavors.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr, 261.

Congress—Action as to Ministers abroad.*

[See *supra*, March 27, April 15, April 20, 1779.]

APRIL 30, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on foreign affairs; and the question under debate being stated, viz: *Shall Arthur Lee, esq., commissioner of the United States at the court of Madrid, be recalled,*

Mr. Paca arose and informed the house that he had important information on the subject of the said report, which he would communicate agreeably to the order of the house. He then proceeded to lay on the table a paper signed by himself and Mr. W. H. Drayton, containing intelligence respecting Arthur Lee, esq., which was read.

PACA AND DRAYTON—STATEMENT TO CONGRESS APRIL 30, 1779, AS TO ARTHUR LEE.†

The undersigned, members of the Congress of the United States of North America, have the honor to inform the said Congress—

That upon good grounds having been led to believe that the conduct of Arthur Lee, esq., late one of the commissioners representing these United States at the court of Versailles, and now sole commissioner to represent the said States at the court of Madrid, was disgustful to those courts, unconciliatory to their subjects, and prejudicial to the honor and interest of the said States, they were astonished to hear an assertion made in Congress on the 15th instant by an honorable member from Massachusetts Bay, as from the highest authority in America, that the said commissioner is possessed of the confidence of the court of Versailles, and since another assertion by another honorable member from the same State, that the said commissioner is the most proper person to represent the said States at the court of Madrid, assertions which, being made in the debates upon foreign affairs, were made to influence Congress to continue the said Arthur Lee, esq., as the public minister of the said United States to the court of Madrid at the expected negotiations for a general pacification under the mediation of that court.

That the undersigned, impressed with a conviction that in such an important conjuncture the minister to represent the said States at the court of Madrid ought not to be disagreeable to that court, nor to the court of Versailles, in faithful alliance with these States, and that the interest of the said States demanded that it should be precisely ascertained whether or not the said commissioner was disagreeable to the said courts, for certain information upon this point they have, from the necessity of the case, been compelled to apply to the minister plenipotentiary of France, residing near Congress, as the highest source of information in America.

That, in consequence of such application, the minister plenipotentiary produced to the undersigned an original letter to him from the Count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs at the court of Versailles, dated the 29th of October, 1778, in which, after having stated the intelligence which has been communicated to Congress by the minister plenipotentiary in February last, and after having assigned some reasons for not having communicated that intelligence to the American commissioners in Paris, the Count de Vergennes concludes in these terms: "Je vous avouerai d'ailleurs que je crains M. Lee, ses entours"—Besides, I confess to you that I fear Mr. Lee and those about him.

That the minister plenipotentiary added that this consideration induced the court of Versailles to keep secret from the said commissioners the intended sailing of the

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress.

† Lee MSS., Harvard library.

Count d'Estaing for America until his fleet was ready to put to sea; that the said commissioner, by his conduct on several occasions, created the highest disgust in the court of Versailles against him; that the court of Madrid, in the closest connection with that of Versailles, entertained the same sentiments respecting the said commissioner, not only on account of his conduct on those occasions, but because of his imprudent conduct in Spain; and, in a word, the minister plenipotentiary expressly declared that he has every reason to think that neither of those courts have that confidence in the said commissioner which is necessary to give success to the negotiations of a foreign minister.

The undersigned, having received such decisive information from the minister of France, with liberty to communicate it to Congress, think it is their indispensable duty to the United States and to themselves to lay the same explicitly before this, the supreme council of America; to the end that they may not be misled to continue the said commissioner as the representative of these United States at a court in the highest manner disgusted at his conduct, and at which, of consequence, his negotiations must be unsuccessful. But if, unfortunately, it shall be disregarded, they will have the consolation to reflect that in giving this information they discharged their duty to the United States; and that, having given it, they can not justly be held responsible for the consequences of a measure but too likely to prove unconciliatory abroad, ruinous to the public finances at home, and an impediment to a speedy and honorable pacification securing the independence of the United States of North America.

WM. PACA.
WM. HY. DRAYTON.

(Indorsed:) Information of Mr. Paca and Mr. Wm. Hy. Drayton respecting Mr. Arthur Lee, laid on the table and read April 30, 1779.

After debate the house adjourned.*

Deane to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 30, 1779.

SIR: In my letter of Monday last I mentioned my intention to leave town in the course of the week. I am now waiting for no other purpose but to know if Congess will take notice of the requests I have so often troubled them with. The circumstances under which I left France, in obedience to their orders, and with a view of promoting their service in the greatest and most essential manner (it is well known), rendered it impossible to have the accounts of the commissioners and my own, connected immediately with theirs, settled and closed, so that the vouchers could be procured and brought out with me. But a few days passed between the knowledge of my recall and of my actual setting out on my return.

One condition of sending out the Toulon fleet and of my embarking in it was that the most profound secrecy should be observed and the greatest dispatch made. The king's ministers did not think fit to communicate this secret to my colleague, Mr. Lee, nor did they leave me

* See *infra*, May 3, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 145, with verbal changes.

at liberty to do it. I had as little grounds for confidence in that gentleman as the ministers had; and it is evident from their letters and declarations that they never had any. Yet such is my peculiar situation that I find myself blamed and censured by many in Congress, as well as out, for not having performed an impossibility, and am represented as a defaulter, and as having misapplied or embezzled the public moneys, at once to prevent my future usefulness to my country and to the ruin of my private fortune and character. Thus situated, I can but appeal once more to the justice of Congress, and remind them that I brought with me and delivered them (it is now more than seven months since), an account from under the banker's hands of all the moneys received and paid out by him and to whom paid; that in my letter of the 12th of October I explained to Congress for what purposes those payments were made, and in my answers to Mr. Lee's objections to these contracts that I proved him to have been acquainted with them, and that he signed himself the orders for the money for the greater part of them. I am informed by several honorable gentlemen in Congress that many of the members, from their absence at the time, or from their taking their seats since the delivering in of that account and my letter of the 12th of October, are to this moment uninformed of either. This obliges me to refer to them at this time; and though I have not the vouchers to support every article, yet I will cheerfully put my reputation as a merchant, as an honest man, and as a frugal servant of the public, on the examination of those accounts, the circumstances under which they were taken at the same time to be considered.

That account commences in February, 1777, and ends the 27th day of March, 1778, three days before my leaving Paris. It will show that the whole amount of the moneys received by the commissioners was 3,753,250 livres, and their expenditures 4,046,988 livres 7 sols; and by the general state of the account delivered the 12th of October it appears for what those expenditures were made. After deducting the sums paid for large contracts for supplies, etc., which are particularized, there will be left 219,250 livres 1 sol 11 deniers, equal to £9,644 8*s.* 7½*d.* sterling, for the commissioners' expenses for almost fifteen months and for lesser purchases and for a variety of services not possible to be particularized without the accounts at large. I might with safety rest this whole sum on the score of the commissioners' expenses for this space of time and support it on Mr. Lee's letter to Congress, in which he says that Mr. Adams and himself were fully convinced that they could not live at Paris under £3,000 sterling (or about 70,000 livres) each annually. Had the commissioners expended at that rate from February, 1777, to March, 1778, the whole of the sum would be no more than a sufficiency to supply their expenses; but this was not the case. The commissioners, in the whole, received out of it the sum of 115,480 livres 5 sols 6 deniers for their expenses and private disbursements, as will appear by the account enclosed. Of this Dr. Franklin received 27,841 livres, Mr. Lee 52,039 livres 5 sols 9 deniers, and myself 35,600

livres. It is true, at the same time, that Mr. Lee had in his hands the whole of the money received from Spain, which he disposed of without the interference of the other commissioners.

I appeal to the honorable gentlemen in Congress then present, and perfectly well acquainted with our mode and style of living, to inform Congress on which of the commissioners the greatest expense of providing for and entertaining the Americans who visited them at Paris, or who escaped from prison in England and applied for relief, fell. I lay this general state before Congress, to convince them how very far I was from being prodigal of the public moneys, and that the accounts delivered, general as they are, are sufficient to exculpate me from every charge of peculation or extravagance. My future reputation and fortune depend much on my mercantile character in these transactions, and I rely on the justice of Congress to prevent its being any longer undeservedly sported with, vilified, and abused.

Under the load of calumny and abuse I have for some months sustained I have had this consolation, that the services I had rendered my country had been long since sensibly felt by them and that they would one day be acknowledged; but, when returning to the character of a private citizen in the mercantile line, I can not sit down easy under imputations injurious to my character.

I have long since requested to have these accounts examined into on the spot, where only a full and minute investigation can be made, and that they should be settled as justice required. I now repeat my request, and that previous thereto the accounts laid before Congress be examined, from which alone it will appear if there be any ground even for suspicion, and that I may be permitted to obviate, if in my power, here any objections that may be made. The mode in which the moneys were received for the commissioners' use at Paris, the source from whence they came, with other circumstances relative, are such that I have not thought it consistent with the interest, the policy, or even the delicacy of Congress or others to lay the case at large before my countrymen, though I found myself injured in their opinion by the abuse constantly thrown out against me in the papers and from my silence on the subject. I have ever been and still remain confident that a general examination of the accounts, even in the state they are, must prove satisfactory to Congress, and that a minute investigation will show me to have merited their approbation, and not their censure. My first duty is to satisfy Congress, in whose determinations the public will undoubtedly acquiesce; and to them, therefore, I have constantly made my application on this subject.

I will make no apology for troubling them so long at this time; my situation is, I trust, a sufficient one. I have only to add, that having delayed to leave the town beyond the time I proposed in my last, I hope for an early answer, and have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and attachment, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Account of moneys paid by Mr. Grand to Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee for their particular use, and charged by him as paid immediately to them.

	Livres.
To Benjamin Franklin—	
14th July, 1777	4,800 0 0
25th September	4,001 0 0
15th November	8,000 0 0
29th December	2,400 0 0
2d March	3,600 0 0
25th March	4,800 0 0
	27,601 0 0
10th March	340 0 0
	27,841 0 0
To Silas Deane—	
1st July, 1777	2,400 0 0
29th August	4,800 0 0
16th September	4,800 0 0
7th October	2,400 0 0
20th November	2,700 0 0
11th December	2,400 0 0
21st December	2,400 0 0
13th January	4,000 0 0
12th February	2,500 0 0
17th March	4,800 0 0
24th March	2,400 0 0
	35,600 0 0
To Arthur Lee—	
August	2,400 0 0
8th October	4,800 0 0
12th November	2,400 0 0
December	2,400 0 0
23d November	22,519 5 6
23d December	2,400 0 0
January	720 0 0
11th January	4,800 0 0
January	2,400 0 0
16th February	2,400 0 0
6th March	4,800 0 0
	52,309 5 6
	35,600 0 0
	27,841 0 0
	115,480 5 6

Congress—Action as to Ministers abroad.*

[See *supra*, April 15, 20, 30, 1779.]

MAY 3, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on foreign affairs, and the question under debate being stated, viz, Shall Mr. Arthur Lee be recalled?

Mr. Carmichael arose and informed the house, "That as the committee appointed by Congress to examine into the state of their foreign

*MSS. Dep of State; printed secret journals of Congress.

affairs have thought proper to refer to him for information on the charges reported by them against some of the public servants abroad, and as some gentlemen have expressed a desire he should reduce to writing the information he gave the house in his place when those charges were read, he was induced to indulge their wishes, as well to show more explicitly the reasons which determined his voice on the decision of a question on which he thinks the honor and interest of the United States highly depends." He then proceeded to lay on the table a paper signed by him, which, with sundry papers therein referred to, was read.*

On the question, Shall Mr. Arthur Lee be recalled, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.	No.
	Mr. Scudder	No.	
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. R. H. Lee excused		
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So the States were equally divided.†

* This paper can not be found in the Department, but in a letter from Carmichael to Franklin, dated at Madrid, Apr. 22, 1780, he states that the substance of his communication to Congress was that "Lee has rendered himself disagreeable to the court and individuals of the French nation, and even suspected by the former, and that I derived my knowledge of this from those who were connected with the court, and named the Messrs. Grands on this occasion. This and much more M. Gerard and M. Holker confirmed by papers delivered either to Congress or members of that body."—Franklin Papers, Dep. of State.

† See *infra*, June 8, 1779.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *May* 3, 1779.

SIR: When I last had the honor of waiting upon your excellency I mentioned certain applications from the States of Virginia and Maryland for arms, ammunition, and clothing, which I am desired by their agents here to solicit. I should sooner have presented your excellency a note of the particulars, which I now enclose, but that treaties have been attempted with private persons to furnish the articles wanted. Those treaties not succeeding, I am obliged at length to request your excellency would take the trouble of considering the application, and favor it if you shall think it reasonable.

The respective States propose and promise to pay for what is supplied each of them as soon as the war is over; but as their letters are dated near a year since, and possibly a part of their wants may have been supplied by the Congress, and as the agents have desired me to engage for the payment, I should imagine that if his majesty should think fit to grant such aids they would be best granted to the Congress, who will take care to supply particular States and be accountable for the whole. In which case it would be well to double the quantity of clothing and small arms, as the Congress have ordered great quantities, which we are not able to purchase for want of money. And could any part of these supplies be ready to go with the new minister, I submit it to your excellency's consideration whether it would not be well to put them under his care, and if all could not be ready to let him bear the promise of the rest, as this might be the means of making his arrival the more welcome and more generally pleasing and facilitate his negotiations.

I am, with great respect, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

Franklin to Arthur Lee.†

PASSY, *May* 3, 1779.

SIR: I did write to the gentlemen at Nantes concerned in fitting out the vessels for America, offering them the *Alliance* as a convoy, and ordered her to Nantes accordingly. They did not choose to accept that offer, knowing as I suppose her weakness, but sailed for Brest, to go with the French convoy, without awaiting her arrival, and would probably have been gone long before she could have been fitted for sea if contrary winds had not prevented. I wish your information were true that she is manned and fit for such service. It must be from some person who is unacquainted with the facts; perhaps Mr. Ford. I must suppose the merchants are satisfied with the convoy they have put

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† 8 Sparks' Franklin, 340; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 377.

their ships under, as I do not learn that they have applied for one more suitable. I would readily have solicited such an application if I had understood it to be necessary, being equally desirous with you of their arriving safe and sensible of the importance of it. But I have not received a line from any of them to any such purpose; and Captain Landais has assured me that my supposition of his having men enough to fight his ship on occasion in going home, though not enough to man prizes on a cruise, was a great mistake in my informer. He then wanted one hundred and fifty men, and I have not since heard of her having recruited more than forty, with the exchanged Americans from England. Mr. Ford may probably be accommodated in the same frigate that will take Mr. Adams.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I am glad to hear from you that the supplies necessary for Virginia are shipped.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 3, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has learnt by dispatches from his court, under date of the 25th of December, that the negotiation which has been the subject of the overtures which the said minister has had the honor to make to the Congress of the United States of North America for nearly three months continues, and that his said court earnestly desires that Congress would be pleased to take prompt measures to take part in the said negotiation as soon as circumstances shall have brought it to its proper state of advancement, which may happen at any moment.

GERARD.

Franklin to Hartley.†

PASSY, *May* 4, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your several favors, viz. one of April the 10th, one of the 20th, and two of the 22d, all on the same day, but by different conveyances.‡

I need not repeat what we have each of us so often repeated, the wish for peace. I will begin by frankly assuring you that though I think a direct, immediate peace the best mode of present accommodation to Britain as well as for America, yet if that *is not* at this time

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 589.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 58; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 382.

‡ See *supra*, under date of Apr. 22, 1779.

practicable, and a truce is practicable, I should not be against a truce; but this is merely on motives of *general humanity*, to obviate the evils men devilishly inflict on men in time of war, and to lessen as much as possible the similarity of earth and hell; for, with regard to particular advantages respecting the States I am connected with, I am persuaded it is theirs to continue the war till England shall be reduced to that perfect impotence of mischief which alone can prevail with her to let other nations enjoy "*peace, liberty, and safety.*" I think, however, that a *short* truce, which must, therefore, be an *armed* truce, and put all parties to an almost equal expense with a continued war, is by no means desirable.

But this proposition of a truce, if made at all, should be made to France at the same time it is made to America. They have each of them too much honor, as well as too much sense, to listen separately to any propositions which tend to separate them from each other.

I will now give you my thoughts on your ideas of a negotiation in the order you have placed them. If you will number them in your copy you will readily see to which my observations refer, and I may therefore be more concise.

To the first. I do not see the necessity or use of five commissioners. A number of talkers lengthens discussions, and often embarrasses instead of aiding a settlement. Their different particular views, private interests, and jealousies of each other are likewise so many rubs in the way, and it sometimes happens that a number can not agree to what each privately thinks reasonable and would have agreed to, or perhaps proposed, if alone. But this as the parties please.

To the second. The term of twenty-one years would be better for all sides. The suspension of hostilities should be expressed to be between all parties at war, and that the British troops and ships of war now in any of the United States be withdrawn.

To the third. This seems needless, and is a thing that may be done or omitted, as you please; America has no concern about those acts of Parliament.

To the fourth. The reason of proposing this is not understood, nor the use of it, nor what inducement there can be for us to agree to it. When you come to treat with both your enemies you may negociate away as much of these engagements as you can; but powers who have made a firm, solid league, evidently useful to both, can never be prevailed with to dissolve it for the vague expectation of another *in nubibus*, nor even on the certainty that another will be proposed, without knowing what are to be its articles. America has no desire of being free from her engagements to France. The chief is that of continuing the war in conjunction with her and not making a separate peace; and this is an obligation not in the power of America to dissolve, being an obligation of *gratitude and justice* towards a nation which is engaged in war on her account and for her protection, and would be forever binding, whether such an article existed or not in the treaty; and though it did

not exist, an honest American would cut off his right hand rather than sign an agreement with England contrary to the spirit of it.

To the fifth. As soon as you please.

If you had mentioned France in your proposed suspension of arms I should have immediately shown it to the minister and have endeavored to support that idea. As it stands, I am in doubt whether I shall communicate your paper or not, though by your writing it is so fair it seems as if you intended it. If I do, I shall acquaint you with the result.

The bill of which you send me a copy was an excellent one at the time, and might have had great and good effects if, instead of telling us haughtily that our humble petition should receive no answer, the ministry had received and enacted that bill into a law. It might have erected a wall of brass round England if such a measure had been adopted, when Friar Bacon's brazen head cried out TIME IS! But the wisdom of it was not seen till after the fatal cry of TIME'S PAST!*

I am, my dear friend, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

MAY 4, 1779.

The minister of France delivered to the President a letter from the King of France with the following note.

"The custom in Holland for sending to the States-General the letters by which the king notifies them of marriages or births is to give them to the president of the week, who then goes to the house of the ambassador or minister of the king to compliment him in the name of the States-General upon the event which forms the subject of letters of notification."

GERARD.

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 6, 1779.

SIR: The anxiety of the undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, for the maintenance of the most perfect harmony, and the care which he has been in the habit of taking from the commencement of the alliance to establish such a confidence as can alone maintain it and conduce to its prosperity, do not allow him to conceal from the Congress

*As to truce, see Introduction, §§ 53, 88.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 590.

‡ *Ibid.*, 591.

of the United States the perplexity under which he labors with regard to informing his court of the delays which the negotiation, commenced in the month of February last, meet with. It must be allowed that no affair so important and so pressing has ever experienced so much delay; and the undersigned declares that he can see no reason for warning France and Spain against the sinister interpretations with which attempts are made to inspire them in regard to this conduct. The zeal and the good will of the petitioner do not suggest to him any other expedient than that of requesting Congress to approve of his having the honor of imparting to them, as he now does, his perplexity and embarrassment.

He adds that the court of France has received intelligence that England was resolved to send a considerable re-enforcement of troops to the continent of North America, and to carry on the war there with all possible vigor, in order to proceed to the conquest of America at the same time by force and by intrigue. The king, in consequence of his attention to whatever may concern the security and the happiness of his allies, has ordered his minister plenipotentiary to communicate this intelligence to the Congress of the United States. The undersigned has the honor to perform this commission by the present note. He believes that he should add that his majesty, adhering scrupulously to the spirit and principles of the alliance, which has the independence of the United States as an essential object, is always resolved to assist America by all the means that the resources of his kingdom and the general state of affairs will permit him successively to devote to this grand object, without being turned from it by the idea of any conquest for himself.

It is in consequence of these same dispositions and of this same disinterestedness that his majesty, although he has made no engagement to furnish supplies of money to the United States, and although the active and direct war which he is carrying on against the common enemy absorbs his resources and ought to exempt him from all accessory and entirely voluntary expenses, is desirous to contribute to the re-establishment of the American finances, so far as his own necessities allow him to do so. He has thought that he should partly fulfil this object by securing the payment of the interest on the loans which have been stipulated to be paid in France, presuming that the credit of one of the public funds of the States would effectually contribute to the support of the others and to the success of the measures which the wisdom of Congress may adopt on this subject. A society of bankers, established under the authority of the king, has consequently taken upon itself to make the necessary advances, in the form of a loan made to America. The undersigned has not yet received the exact details of this arrangement, but he will have the honor of communicating them so soon as he shall receive them.

The confidence which the king places in the reciprocal attachment

of the United States of America to the alliance can alone induce him to determine upon proceedings which are useful only to America, burdensome to France, and destitute of all advantage for her. His majesty hopes to receive reciprocal proofs of these sentiments and feelings, but he neither demands nor expects anything for himself on the part of Congress. He only desires that the States should employ all the resources at their disposal in order to provide for their own security and tranquillity.

GERARD.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *May* 8, 1779.

SIR: I have received the honor of your excellency's letter of the 3d instant. I am very sensible of the king's goodness in granting liberty to the Americans who have been taken prisoners in the English service, as by that means his majesty lessens the number of prisoners that may be exchanged for his own subjects; and I think we ought, whenever we can, show our gratitude by procuring liberty for such of his subjects as may be in the same circumstances. We had in America, by the last accounts, many more prisoners of the enemy than they had of our people; and I will write to the Congress to advise the obtaining by an exchange the discharge of such French prisoners as may be confined in New York, that I have no doubt of its being done whenever the cartel shall take place there.

Captain Jones informs me that among the English prisoners brought from Senegal there are sixteen Americans, who, having been taken by the English in the unfortunate attack of Quebec, January 1, 1777, had been sent as slaves to Africa, and that they have petitioned to obtain their discharge, in order to serve under him and have an opportunity of taking satisfaction for the cruel treatment they have received. He has applied to the commandant for them, but has received for answer that, the garrison having surrendered conditionally, the troops in it should be sent to England; it is not in his power to give them up without orders from the court. Your excellency can best judge if this matter is practicable either by our replacing them with as many English or by any other means.

Captain Jones also writes to me that the officer mentioned in the enclosed memorial has been very useful in disciplining his marines, and that he wishes if possible to have him upon the cruise agreeable to his petition, which is therefore submitted to your excellency's consideration.

I am, with great respect.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

Proceedings of Congress as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, March 24, 1779.]

MAY 8, 1779.

According to order Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole; and the proposition under debate when the subject was last before Congress (see page 202) being read, to wit:

"That the right of fishing on the coasts and banks of North America be reserved to the United States as fully as they enjoyed the same when subject to the King of Great Britain, excepting always what shall have been excepted by the treaty of Paris between France and the United States, the whole to be explained by the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris with Great Britain and of Paris with the United States of North America."

A substitute was moved by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Burke, in the words following:

Whereas this Congress did, on the 4th day of July, 1776, declare the several colonies by them represented to be free and independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain was and ought to be totally dissolved, and that as free and independent States they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States might of right do, and for the support of that declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, did mutually pledge to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor; And whereas this Congress did resolve, on the 22d day of April, 1778, that the said States could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the said States; And whereas this Congress, in a letter of the 17th day of June, 1778, from their President to the British commissioners, signed by their unanimous consent, did declare themselves inclined to peace, and that they would be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting when the King of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; And whereas it is agreed in the treaty of alliance between the most Christian king and the United States that neither of the parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained, and it is mutually engaged that the said parties should not lay down their arms until the independence of the United States should have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that should terminate the war; And whereas his most

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

Christian majesty therein guaranties on his part to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as of commerce; And whereas, from information lately received, it is probable that a treaty of peace may soon be set on foot on the preliminary acknowledgment of the independence of these States; And whereas, considering the exhausted situation of the said States, the derangement of their finances, and the defect of their resources, it is highly expedient to put a stop to the present destructive war: Therefore,

Resolved: That this Congress will agree to a treaty of peace with Great Britain, provided the absolute and unlimited liberty, sovereignty, and independence of these United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce, shall be thereby acknowledged and assured, and provided that no terms or articles shall be therein contained which are inconsistent with or repugnant to the treaties already subsisting between the most Christian king and these United States.

An objection was made to this as being out of order; and on the question, Is this substitute in order? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Morris,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.	No.
	Mr. Scudder	No.	
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	0.
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Burke	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it passed in the negative.*

* For subsequent proceedings see *infra*, May 12, 1779.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 9, 1779.

SIR: When the Congress of the United States did me the honor to ask my concurrence in inducing the Count d'Estaing to assist Georgia, I asserted that this vice-admiral, in conformity with the intentions of the king, would do all that circumstances should permit. I proposed at the same time the means of proceeding in the execution of this plan; but Congress observed an entire silence, and did not deign to inform me of their resolution. It was only through a public channel that I learned that the plan was abandoned; but my zeal having led me to write previously to the Count d'Estaing, and having received the answer of this vice-admiral, I do not think, sir, that the interest of the alliance and of the United States allows me to act according to the presumed negative resolution of Congress, and I request you, consequently, to submit to that body the annexed memorial.†

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem, sir, your humble and most obedient servant,

GERARD.

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 9, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France having thought it his duty to take upon himself to inform the Count d'Estaing of the desire which Congress had expressed to him that the king's squadron should come to the assistance of Georgia, this vice-admiral has just replied that the superiority of the enemy in the islands had not till this time permitted him to leave those latitudes; but that, in consequence of the intentions of his majesty, which are to grant to the United States, his allies, all the assistance compatible with the security of his own possessions and with the general position of affairs, he proposes to sail immediately to the southern coasts of the States, and to exert himself for the deliverance of Georgia and the preservation of the Carolinas; from thence the king's squadron will sail to the mouth of the Delaware, and its further operations will depend upon the agreement that shall be made between Congress and the commander of his majesty's forces, and will be calculated for the greatest advantage of the United States.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 594.

† This memorial is missing.

‡ 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 592.

The undersigned has no doubt that this new proof of his majesty's generous and disinterested friendship strengthens the confidence with which these engagements and his conduct must have inspired the governments and people of America. Facts so evident will serve, on the other hand, to confound those ill-disposed men who, by silent and clandestine insinuations, destitute of all proof and of all probability, directed solely by private views, and evidently opposed to the honor and interest of the confederated Republic, seek to sow distrusts and jealousies, of which the common enemy alone can reap the advantage.

The undersigned must add to the details above given that it is impossible for the Count d'Estaing to carry provisions from Martinique sufficient for the campaign which he proposes to make in the seas of North America. He hopes that Congress will be pleased to give the most precise and effectual orders for their being got in readiness and placed on the coast, so that the squadron may easily take them on board. The undersigned minister hopes that Congress will be pleased to inform him successively of what shall be done on this subject, since the said minister must be personally responsible for these measures, the failure of which would expose to the greatest misfortunes the forces which the king has destined to bring direct and immediate assistance to the United States, although his engagements, which he will always scrupulously fulfill, do not impose this duty on him.

GERARD.

Franklin to John Adams.*

PASSY, *May* 10, 1779.

SIR: I received the honor of yours of the 29th past from Nantes. I hope you are before this time safely arrived at L'Orient. M. de la Luzerne is making diligent preparation for his departure, and you will soon see him. He and the secretary of the embassy are both very agreeable and sensible men, in whose conversation you will have a great deal of pleasure in your passage. What port the ships will be ordered to I have not yet learned. I suppose that may partly be left to the captain's discretion, as the winds may happen to serve. It must certainly be most agreeable to you to be landed in Boston, as that will give you an earlier sight of your family; but as you propose going immediately to Congress, being landed in Philadelphia will have some little advantage, as it saves half your journey. I shall take care to procure the order to the captain from M. Sartine which you desire, though I should suppose showing the original letter of that minister, which you have, would be sufficient.

No public dispatches are arrived here since you left us.

The anniversary of the signing of the treaty was observed with great

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 385.

festivity by the Congress at Philadelphia. From Holland I have just received the resolution of the States-General of the 26th to convoy their trade, notwithstanding Sir Joseph Yorke's memorial, and to fit out directly thirty-two ships of war for that purpose, which is good news, and may have consequences.

I have, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Washington to Jay.*

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOKE, *May* 10, 1779.

I seize a moment of leisure to thank you, my dear sir, for your obliging favors of the 21st and 26th of April. My friendship for you will always make me take pleasure in cultivating the esteem and confidence of which you so politely assure me.

You give an affecting summary of the causes of the national evils we feel and the still greater we have reason to apprehend. To me it appears that our affairs are in a very delicate situation; and what is not the least to be lamented is, that many people think they are in a very flourishing way; and seem in a great measure insensible to the danger with which we are threatened. If Britain should be able to make a vigorous campaign in America this summer, in the present depreciation of our money, scantiness of supplies, want of virtue and want of exertion, 'tis hard to say what may be the consequence.

It is a melancholy consideration that any concerned in the conduct of public affairs should discover an indifference to the state of our currency. Nothing, in my opinion, can be more manifest, than that if something effectual be not done to restore its credit, it will in a short time either cease to circulate altogether, or circulate so feebly as to be utterly incapable of drawing out the resources of the country. This is nearly the case now.

With every sentiment, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Proceedings of Congress as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, May 8, 1779.]

MAY 12, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration under debate on the 8th instant; and the proposition being read, "That the right of fishing," etc.

A substitute was moved by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Duane, in the words following, to wit:

"That the ministers of these United States be instructed, on a negotia-

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* 2 Jay's Life, 49; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 210.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

tion for peace, to obtain for these United States an explicit acknowledgment of a common right to fish everywhere on the high seas and as near the coasts of the territories which shall remain in possession of Great Britain as is permitted to any other nation; provided always, that all exclusive rights to fishing of the allies of these United States shall not be affected by any such acknowledgment. And in case such acknowledgment shall be refused and our allies can be prevailed on to assist in the prosecution of the war, no peace be agreed to on the part of these United States. But in case our allies shall not agree to assist in prosecuting the war, the said ministers be instructed to consent to a peace without such acknowledgment, provided that the claim of these United States to such rights of fishing shall in no event be given up."

After some debate another substitute in lieu of the whole was moved by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Smith, in the words following:

"That if the court of Great Britain shall immediately acknowledge the independence of the United States of America, then that an equal share of the fisheries with Great Britain, as far as the same can be obtained consistently with the treaty of Paris between France and the United States, be required and insisted on; but if Great Britain shall continue to prosecute the present iniquitous and destructive war, then that eventual engagements be taken to exclude her from the fisheries and divide the same equally between France, Spain, and America."

A motion was made by Mr. Lee, seconded by Mr. Sherman, to strike out the words "that if the court of Great Britain shall immediately acknowledge the independence of the United States of America, then"

The question, Shall those words stand? passed in the negative, and the words were struck out.

Another amendment was moved by Mr. R. H. Lee, seconded by Mr. Gerry, to strike out the words "as far as the same can be obtained."

MAY 13, 1779.

The subject resumed; and, on motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Sherman,

Resolved, That the words "can be obtained" be struck out, and in their room the word "is" inserted, and that the word "consistently" be changed into "consistent."

The substitute being amended to read:

"That an equal share of the fisheries with Great Britain, as far as the same is consistent with the treaty of Paris between France and the United States, be required and insisted on, but that if," etc., to the end.

A motion was made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Lee, to amend the first part as far as the words "insisted on" by substituting in lieu thereof the words following:

"That a common right with Great Britain to the fisheries on the coasts and banks of North America be required and insisted on, preserv-

ing inviolate the treaty of Paris between France and these United States."

To which it was moved by Mr. Duane, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to add "provided our allies can be prevailed on to prosecute the war, but in no event shall the right or claim of these States to the said fisheries be yielded up or impaired."

A question being taken, Is this addition in order?

Resolved in the affirmative.

An amendment to the proviso was moved by Mr. Dickinson, seconded by Mr. Penn, instead of the words "can be prevailed on to prosecute the war" to insert "shall be in circumstances to prosecute the war with effect."

A question being taken, Is this amendment in order?

Resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. R. H. Lee	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it passed in the negative.*

* For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, May 27, 1779.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 12, 1779.

SIR: I returned last evening, and now send you the New York papers of the 3d and 5th instant. You will much oblige me by informing me what resolutions Congress have come to on my letters of the 26th, 27th, and 30th ultimo, as well as on the petitions I have repeatedly made to them for the settlement of the business on which I was ordered to return to America. If nothing has been done, I pray to be informed when I may depend on a decisive answer from Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect,

SILAS DEANE.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

THE HAGUE, *May* 15, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have already had the honor of informing you many times that some of my frequent letters to Passy are of a nature not to be communicated to you, even in abridgment, through the risk that my packets run of being intercepted; such are particularly divers letters written to Dr. Franklin from the 25th of January to the 29th of April. There is a cabal of Genevan and Swiss bankers, as well in France as at Amsterdam, friendly to your enemies, which does as much injury as it can under the mask of friendship. It was my duty to unmask some of them to Dr. Franklin, and to make known to him a safe anti-English patriotic house, having the confidence of the magistracy of Amsterdam. The ministry in France know it.

Upon the last petitions of the merchants of Dort, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Friesland, the States-General, after having previously deliberated and advised and then considered the affair, adopted on Monday the 26th of April the resolution to equip for the service of the current year, 1779, thirty-two vessels of war, as follows:

	Guns.	Men.	Total guns.	Total men.
4 vessels	60	350	240	1,400
1 vessel	60	340	60	340
1 vessel	60	290	60	290
8 vessels	50	300	400	2,400
2 frigates	40	250	80	500
8 frigates	36	230	288	1,840
7 frigates	20	150	140	1,050
1 snow	12	100	12	100
32 vessels and frigates			1,280	7,920

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr, 149.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 262.

Of these thirty-two vessels and frigates, the college of admiralty of Meuse will furnish—

	Guns.	Men.	Total guns.	Total men.
1 vessel	60	350	60	350
1 vessel	50	300	50	300
3 frigates	36	230	108	690
1 frigate	20	150	20	150
1 snow	12	100	12	100
7 vessels and frigates	.....	.....	250	1,590

The college of Amsterdam—

	Guns.	Men.	Total guns.	Total men.
2 vessels	60	350	120	700
4 vessels	50	300	200	1,200
2 frigates	40	250	80	500
2 frigates	36	230	72	460
2 frigates	20	150	40	300
12 vessels and frigates	.....	.....	512	3,160

The college of Zealand—

	Guns.	Men.
1 vessel	60	350
1 vessel	60	290
1 vessel	50	300
1 frigate	36	230
1 frigate	20	150
5 vessels and frigates	226	1,320

The college of West Friesland and the quarter of the north—

	Guns.	Men.	Total guns.	Total men.
1 frigate	36	230	36	230
2 frigates	20	150	40	300
3 vessels and frigates	.....	.....	75	530

The college of Friesland—

	Guns.	Men.	Total guns.	Total men.
1 vessel	60	340	60	340
2 vessels	50	300	100	600
1 frigate	36	230	36	230
1 frigate	20	150	20	150
5 vessels and frigates	.....	.....	216	1,320

The expense of this enrollment of seven thousand nine hundred and twenty men amounts, at 36 florins a head, by the month, to two

hundred and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty florins each month, and for fourteen months to three millions nine hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred and eighty florins, of which the moiety (or one million nine hundred and nine-five thousand eight hundred and forty florins) is taken from the appropriation *de la petition de guerre* of the 3d of November of the past year, and the other moiety from the appropriation *des droits augmentés d'entrée et de gabelle.*

The payments will be made to the respective colleges of admiralty on the usual footing, to wit: the quarter of the whole charge of each vessel when the vessel shall be equipped, the half when the vessel shall have served twelve months after the enlistment of the crew, and fourteen months if it is a vessel continued in the service after having been equipped for former service. The resolution enjoins on the admiralty to hasten the equipments, to the end that every month there may be a convoy for the ports of France and England; for Lisbon and the Mediterranean as often as wanted; and for the West Indies twice a year.

I got a knowledge of this resolution the 1st of May, in the evening. The next day I apprised the French ambassador, who would not believe it at first. I gave him a copy and sent a translation to Passy. The secrecy with which they adopted it and kept it unknown many days shows that they wished to prevent its publicity; and as it is yet a little deceptive as to ship timber, which is neither named nor excepted, it will not be, probably, communicated to the French ambassador. It is important as serving to support the province of Holland against the other provinces, all devoted to the court.

On the 11th of May the body of merchants of Amsterdam presented an address to the admiralty to hasten the convoy in consequence of the above resolve of the 26th of April, on the faith of which they had already made their speculations and taken their measures, especially as to ship timber.

On the 14th I learned that, the admiralty not having answered satisfactorily the above address of the merchants of Amsterdam, the latter had prepared an address to their high mightinesses, to remonstrate more strongly than ever. On the other side the excitement and murmurs increasing at Rotterdam, whence the merchants threaten to withdraw and establish themselves at Amsterdam, the deputies of Rotterdam have made a proposition to the provincial assembly that they shall finally adopt, in concert with the other provinces, or, in case of their default with Holland alone, a decided resolution and measures to put an end to all these differences, and to prevent the total ruin of the city of Rotterdam. The proposition has been committed.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Address of H. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

MAY 15, 1779.

Mr. President, the motion which was made yesterday by one of the honorable delegates from Virginia for reading a presumed copy of a letter said to have been written by me and printed in the garrison of the enemy on New York Island, and for calling upon me to declare whether I had written such a letter, appeared to me to be irregular, unprecedented, and full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honor and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States; thence arose those cautions and admonitions which a sense of duty prompted me to offer to the house while the subject was under debate, and I rejoice in that wisdom which was displayed by the House in overruling the attempt. Sir, had the gentleman who made the motion called on me and in proper terms inquired whether the printed letter was a copy of the original address from me to Governor Houston, I would have given him all the satisfaction that could have been desired by any man of true honor.

And now, sir—as—if I have been guilty of aught criminal or have inadvertently expressed anything amiss in my correspondence as a private citizen with Mr. Houston, I would rather receive a censure or a reproof from Congress than be charged with a want of candor or commit my conduct to the whispers of malice—I take the liberty of informing Congress that I did on the 27th August last write a private letter to Governor Houston.

If the house shall judge it proper to determine by a vote that they may of right demand a copy of that private letter, and shall in consequence of such vote call on me; or if Congress shall be pleased by a vote to direct their President in writing to request me to lay before them a copy of the letter, I will in either case produce a genuine and true copy, reserving to myself in the mean time the privilege of voting as I certainly should vote if I were not a party concerned.

I confide in the candor of the House to order this address to be entered on the journal, and if the House shall be pleased to call for or request a copy of my letter, I shall expect that will also be entered on the journal.†

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† The letter above referred to was written by Laurens to Governor Houston, of Georgia, and during the invasion of that State was found among his papers and published in New York. In this letter the writer expressed himself with a degree of severity, which even his own opinion, when not under the immediate influence of chagrin, would not entirely justify, and has reflected on the integrity and patriotism of members without particularizing the individuals he designed to censure.—1 Marshall's Washington, 290.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 19, 1779.

SIR: I take the liberty of addressing to you a note of Don Juan de Miralles concerning the Spanish ships carried into New England, and beg you to lay it before Congress, and to represent to them that there is reason to fear, if the appeal which the council of Boston has reserved to itself should be decided before any measures be taken by Congress, the ships and merchandise will be sold, to the irreparable loss of the Spaniards.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GERARD.

MEMORIAL.

[Translation.]

Don Juan de Miralles, who under date of the 21st of April last had the honor to present a memorial to his excellency M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of the court of France to the United States of America, to inform him of the proceedings of different privateers, with the flag of the said United States, against three vessels lawfully provided with the Spanish flag, which had sailed, one of them from London for Cadiz and the two others from Cadiz for England, loaded with merchandise belonging, as well as the said vessels, to subjects of his Catholic majesty, his master, which have been carried into different ports of New England, under the jurisdiction of the province of Massachusetts, and that the respective indictments have been drawn against them before the court of admiralty of the city of Boston, where the cargo of one of the said vessels which sailed from London has been condemned, to the profit of the owners and crew of the privateer which captured her; another of the said vessels, which sailed from Cadiz, has also been condemned, and there is no doubt that the third has suffered or will suffer the same fate.

Don Joseph de Llanos, captain of the vessel which sailed from London, and Don Joachin Garcia de Luca, of the other which sailed from Cadiz, which, as has been said, have been condemned, have sent me an express, with copies of the said proceedings, which I have had the honor, in concurrence with the said M. Gerard and in his presence, to deliver to his excellency the President of the honorable Congress, who was so kind as to receive them, and to offer to lay them before the honorable Congress, in order that it may take into consideration an affair of so great consequence, and be pleased to order what is just, as well as it regards the interest of the proprietors of the vessels and cargoes, as the honor due to every neutral flag, and particularly to that of his Catholic majesty.

Having learnt that considering that the said court of Boston has not agreed to grant to the said condemned captains the appeal which they have made from their sentences to the said honorable Congress, and which has only been referred to the supreme court of the said province of Massachusetts, they are to judge the said indictment definitively, in the last resort, and that there is no doubt that the first sentences pronounced by the court of admiralty of Boston will be confirmed, the said Don Juan de Miralles earnestly requests his excellency the said M. Gerard that he would be pleased to interpose his influence and his mediation with the said honorable Congress,

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 594.

in order that it may have the goodness to pass a resolution ordering the said supreme court of Massachusetts, and every other tribunal, to suspend every proceeding and determination with regard to the aforesaid three Spanish vessels and their cargoes until the said honorable Congress shall have decided definitively on this affair, and that this may be done soon, so that the order which it may be pleased to give may arrive at Boston before the said 5th of June next, which is the time at which the said causes are to be judged definitively and in the last resort.

JUAN DE MIRALLES.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 18, 1779.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

PARIS, *May* 21, 1779.

GENLEMEN: It is now more than six months since I was honored with a line from you. I wrote you last on the 26th of April; since that time a solemn treaty of peace has been concluded, by the mediation of France, between the Porte and court of Petersburg. Though this may appear to leave Russia at liberty to assist Great Britian, I do not think you have any thing in reality to apprehend from that quarter.

It is probable the German powers will soon be at peace, though it is not yet signed at Teschin. The effect of this will be to furnish Great Britain with a number of German troops, such as the free companies, which are levied by different leaders in all German wars and are dismissed when they end. These having once pursued the military life will the more readily engage, especially when tempted with good pay and promises of plunder. The King of Prussia and the Elector of Saxony are from interest inclined to our cause; but there are so many intermediate considerations, which retard an open declaration, that it is not possible to say when that will take place.

The house of Austria is in its politics inclined to England, and the empress is personally so. The emperor I think has different sentiments, but he is not the sovereign. The grand duke, though much our friend, must follow the steps of his mother.

Spain, Portugal, and Naples are in perfect harmony. The first is more able to reduce Great Britain to terms of peace, by a full acknowledgment of our independency and sovereignty, than any power in Europe. Her ministers are able, her credit great, her treasury well supplied, her finances well administered, her commerce increasing, her fleet amounting to fifty sail of the line and a proportionable number of frigates fit for immediate service. In a word, she is in a state to begin at a moment's warning a powerful war and continue it for three years without borrowing a sol. She has made a noble motion to conclude what is stipulated in the treaty of alliance, and as I have not received one word of answer to my letters to Congress of the 10th of February and 4th of April, 1778, it is not easy for me to know how to act. I wish

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* For proceedings of Congress upon this memorial see *infra*, May 22, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 554, with verbal changes.

always to receive the instructions of my constituents, that I may pursue them to the best of my ability.

The States-General have at length resolved to grant convoys to their merchant ships, and support their commerce against the pretensions of England. Sweden and Denmark have determined the same; and all these governments are augmenting their naval force, so as to support these resolutions. I imagine this will, by degrees, let in the commerce of America, to which these powers will give every protection they can short of open hostilities, and Great Britain will be obliged to wink at it.

In England the discontents in the army and navy are little short of disaffection. The ministers are pursued with unremitting acrimony, and supported by the king with proportionable perseverance. The examination of the sea and land officers before the House of Commons, in the inquiry now making into the conduct of the Howes, with the correspondence between the ministers and generals, proves very satisfactorily that both ministers and generals exerted their utmost in the war against us; and that it did not fail from their fault, but from the impracticability of the attempt. General Grey gave a very decided opinion that the war can never succeed. Captain Hammond spoke highly of the behavior and utility of our row galleys and fire flats. The new recruiting scheme in England is very unproductive; they have not yet raised six thousand of the fifteen thousand they expected. Their expense is enormous, and the produce of their taxes, though they are increased in number, greatly deficient. Scotland is irritated by the countenance given to the Roman Catholics, and their highland levies have twice mutinied, so that there is little probability of that country, however hostile, supplying any more troops.

Ireland is nearly in the state we were in six years ago. The people are supplying themselves with arms, meeting and exercising without the government venturing to interpose. They have entered into a non-importation agreement, and their spirit is in a train towards independency, which nothing but the most wise and healing measures will stop. General Clinton has thrice demanded his recall, and Lord Cornwallis will probably command in his place.

On the contrary, there is not the smallest abatement of the hostile intentions against us in the king and his ministers. Nor will a change, if the king should be forced to it, make any difference, but that probably those intentions would be carried into execution with more wisdom. Our alliance with France has united all parties in the resolution of prosecuting the war against us to the last extremity. Almost the whole of the French commerce having fallen a prey to their privateers has really enriched the nation and rendered the war popular. Their late successes, especially in India, have given them credit for this year and resources for the next great and unexpected; the peace in Germany will supply them with men. Lord Shelburne's plan is, and he will make a point of it should he come in, to prevail upon Prince Ferdinand to

take the command in America, trusting that his abilities, with the confidence and graciousness of his character among the British as well as the German soldiery, will overcome all difficulties.

But what they rely upon most is the derangement of our finances, the depreciation of our paper, the divisions and discontents excited among us by the bad ambition of some, the criminal intrigue of others, and the unbounded avarice of many. They flatter themselves that what has happened in all countries and at all times will be our fate; that public defaulters will, by the weight of their acquisitions, obtain an ascendancy which will either bring us to ruin by the prevalence of evil or betray us to our former domination, in order to keep possession with impunity of what they have acquired. If by these instruments they can loosen the ties which, by knitting the people and their leaders together, have hitherto rendered them invincible, and withdraw their confidence from those who have originally planned and have ably conducted them through this wonderful revolution, they hope to effect what they hitherto have attempted in vain; to subjugate those *Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles, non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ.* As far as I can learn, there is no probability of this court's supplying any money; but of this you will be better informed by your minister.

This letter I expect will go by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who succeeds M. Gerard. M. de la Luzerne's family is among the best and most honorable of this country. He has been minister to the court of Munich, and is a gentleman of honor and ability, insomuch that the court of Versailles seems to me in nothing to have shown its wisdom more than in sending at this important moment a minister whose conduct is likely to correspond with his rank and character, and who will not descend to anything that may either dishonor himself or disturb us. The secretary to the embassy, M. de Marbois, is also a gentleman respectable for his character and abilities.

The sums of public money which I have received for my expenses (my two journeys included) from the bankers Sollier & Grand, from the 16th of December, 1776, to the 20th of April, 1779, amounts to 119,018 livres 17 sols. I observe that Mr. Deane, in a summary laid before Congress on the 12th of October, 1778, lumps a sum received by the commissioners for their expenses, etc., from Mr. Grand, only to the 30th of April, 1778, and states it at 244,285 livres 15 11. But as I have no concern with what Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane received, I desire that the accounts of the bankers, and not that of Mr. Deane, may answer for me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

MAY 22.

P. S.—The treaty of peace in Germany was signed on the 13th. From some intelligence I have just received, though not from authority,

I am inclined to believe we shall soon be satisfied with the conduct of Spain. Be pleased to enclose my letters à Monsieur le Marquis de Malsherbe, ministre d'état, Paris.

Congress—Action as to Captures on High Seas.*

MAY 22, 1779.

The committee consisting of Mr. Burke, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Lovell, to whom was referred the letter from the minister plenipotentiary of France, with the note from Don Juan de Miralles, dated May 18, 1779, brought in a report; whereupon,

Resolved, The resolutions of Congress passed on the 6th day of March last, relative to the control of Congress by appeal in the last resort over all jurisdictions for deciding the legality of captures on the high seas, be immediately transmitted to the several States; and that they be respectfully requested to take effectual measures for conforming therewith.

Resolved, That the following letter be written to the minister plenipotentiary of France and signed by the President:

SIR: Congress having taken into consideration your letter of the 19th of this month, I am directed to assure you that as soon as the matter shall in due course come before them, they will attend very particularly to the cases of the vessels stated in the note from Don Juan de Miralles to have been sailing under the flag of his Catholic majesty, and captured by armed vessels under the flag of the United States, and that they will cause the law of nations to be most strictly observed; that if it shall be found after due trial that the owners of the captured vessels have suffered damage from the misapprehension or violation of the rights of war and neutrality, Congress will cause reparation to be made in such manner as to do ample justice and vindicate the honor of the Spanish flag.

That Congress have every possible disposition to cultivate the most perfect harmony with his Catholic majesty, and to encourage the most liberal and friendly intercourse between his subjects and the citizens of these United States; but they can not consistently with the powers intrusted to them and the rights of the States and of individuals, in any case, suspend or interrupt the ordinary course of justice.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress, the letter being imperfect.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 22, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, not having been hitherto informed by Congress of the result of their deliberations upon the important overtures which have formed for more than three months the constant subject of his representations, has reason to presume that the resolutions relative to them have not yet been passed. Delays so long and so unnatural in a matter so clear, and in a juncture which requires so much celerity, and which so essentially concerns the United States, have rendered the undersigned apprehensive lest some doubt had arisen either as to the main point of the matter, or as to the manner of proceeding, or as to the dispositions and views of the king; and as the said minister is instructed to conceal from Congress nothing that can be useful to the interests of the United States, he asks permission to submit to them the summary of the most essential things which seemed to him to deserve attention in the further course of its deliberations.

It is well known that the direct and essential object of the alliance which subsists between his most Christian majesty and the United States is to *maintain effectually the liberty, the sovereignty, and the independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said States, as well with respect to government as to commerce*, and consequently the territorial rights belonging to sovereignty. To this object all the efforts and proceedings of the king are constantly tending. It is in order to attain it, and to procure for the people of America the power of this valuable independence, and the cessation of the evils and dangers under which an active and obstinate war makes them groan, that his majesty has undertaken a difficult and expensive war against England, without any view of personal interest, and even with the refusal of the advantages which the United States appeared ready to grant him. He has already given brilliant proofs that his friendship does not confine itself to the mere fulfillment of his engagements. He is in fact disposed to give to the United States all the assistance compatible with the situation of his

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 597, in some points varying official translation.

own affairs and with the general state of things, and he regards the interests of the United States as his own in everything that relates to the object of the alliance and that is conformable to the invariable principles on which his reciprocal connections with the United States are founded. It is in consequence of his intention to execute literally the treaty of alliance that he has not lost a moment in informing Congress of the overtures relative to the projected pacification, in entreating them to take without delay that part in this negotiation which the dignity and interests of the United States require. He has moreover repeated to Congress the promise that he would not treat with the common enemy without making it a primary and essential condition that the independence of the United States should be acknowledged, conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of alliance. His majesty has at the same time ordered his minister plenipotentiary to lay before Congress some considerations relative to the state of affairs, and particularly to observe to them that the alliance, unless victorious, can not dictate terms to the common enemy. The undersigned has executed these orders, either verbally or in writing.

It is evident, then, that his majesty desires only the tranquillity and prosperity of America upon the foundation of an honorable and firm peace, conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of alliance. He rejects every idea of conquest and acquisition of territory for himself. In order promptly to attain this advantageous object, and to fulfill his engagements, he is disposed to carry on the war with vigor, if the common enemy refuses the pacific system which his majesty has announced to the whole world, and which the United States adopted on signing the alliance. But in case that the perseverance of the court of London, in the desire to subdue or to conquer America, should prolong the calamities of the war, his majesty will consider himself at liberty to concert with the United States all the further measures adapted to this new order of things, and conformably to the mutual interests of the allies and of the common cause. It is thus that the king fulfills, and proposes to fulfill, the duties resulting from articles 1 and 8 of the treaty of alliance, by urging, on one side, the United States to participate in the negotiation which can conduct to the conclusion of a truce and to a peace by making common cause with said States, and, on the other side, by enabling the two allies mutually to assist each other by their good offices, their counsels and their forces, as circumstances may require; in fine, by showing his perseverance, conformably to article 8, in the resolution not to lay down arms until independence shall have been formally or tacitly acknowledged. But as this last stipulation limits his majesty's engagements on this subject to the very time of this acknowledgment, if England immediately agrees to this essential condition his most Christian majesty will have fulfilled all his positive and direct engagements in relation to the conclusion of peace.

It follows from these observations,

First. That the king has engaged to procure for the United States, by means of arms, the acknowledgment of their independence, and that his majesty is faithful to fulfill this obligation, and even disposed to lend them assistance to which he is not obliged by the treaty.

Second. That he has made no other engagements than those expressed in the stipulations of the treaty.

Third. That the United States have neither title nor right to require anything more, and that if they wish to persuade him to further engagements, it can only be voluntary on his part, and by uniting *reciprocal counsels*, conformably to the expressions of article 1 of the treaty, and as is proper for *good and faithful allies*. Even in this case it is impossible to foresee the state of things and minds in Europe, or to judge what measures the important care of maintaining his reputation and the system of equity and moderation which he has made the fundamental principle of his reign may require on his majesty's part. These considerations seem particularly due to an ally when he has contracted gratuitous obligations without any reciprocal advantages.

Fourth. By uniting the expressions of articles 11 and 12, it will be seen that the success of the war being alone able to fix the fate of empires, it has been found impossible, on concluding the treaty of alliance, to determine the possessions that the United States may obtain on making peace; that, consequently, the engagement of France can only be conditional and eventual on this subject; that she is not now held to any particular engagement in relation to these possessions, whether real or pretended; and that this obligation will not commence till the time in which the possessions of the United States shall be fixed by the cessation of the war.

Fifth. In fine, it is indispensable to add to these considerations that, when any doubt arises as to the expressions, the extent, and the application of the stipulations of a treaty, the laws of reason and of universal justice, as well as the rules of good and faithful alliance, decide that an ally has no right to interpret it arbitrarily and partially; that the attempt would at the same time offend the dignity and destroy the confidence of his ally; that neither of them can in fact arrogate to himself the superiority in connections which ought to be equal and reciprocal; that it is only by a friendly explanation, by a formal agreement, that these doubts can be removed and the exact meaning of treaties determined; that, in short, this method would become still more indispensable, if it should happen that the pretensions of one of the parties were founded only upon far-fetched inductions, subject to discussion and contradiction, and would tend to alter the essential and fundamental system of an alliance.

The minister plenipotentiary of France is fully confident that the Congress of the United States, knowing the laws of proceedings and the respect which sovereigns mutually owe to each other, will observe

them in their conduct towards his most Christian majesty; but the important, critical, and pressing juncture in which the affairs of the alliance stand at the present moment imposes on the undersigned minister the sacred duty of contributing, as much as lies in his power, to hasten the resolutions of Congress, to prevent all mistakes and every subject of misunderstanding, to preserve the most perfect harmony and uniformity of views and sentiments concerning the accomplishment of the advantageous stipulations of the alliance, and thus to deceive the expectation of the common enemy, who henceforth founds his principal hopes on the divisions which he is intent upon fomenting. In fine, one of the objects of this memorial is to prove, solemnly, the faithful and friendly conduct of the king in this juncture, his majesty hoping that the knowledge of this conduct will confirm the governments and people of America in the sentiments of confidence which the proceedings of his said majesty have already inspired. It is only by thus placing before the eyes of Congress the indubitable principles expressed above that the minister plenipotentiary of France thought that he could fulfill his duties to the king, his master, and to the alliance, and protect from all reproach his zeal for the common cause between France and America.

If he has deceived himself in his conjectures as to the immediate and apparent utility of his mode of proceeding, he begs Congress to accept his excuses for having consumed time of so much value, and he flatters himself that, knowing his attachment to the alliance and to the United States, it will attribute his conduct to these sentiments alone.

GERARD.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 22, 1779.

SIR: As this will probably be the last time I shall trouble Congress with my addresses to them, I hope to be indulged in briefly laying before them the following observations on my case and situation:

From the moment that the contest between these States and Great Britain became serious I have taken and pursued a decided and active part in favor of the liberties of my country, have cheerfully sacrificed my fortune and exposed my life for an object much dearer to me than either—the peace, liberty, and safety of these States. The part I took in the first and succeeding Congress is well known to many of the honorable members now present, as well as to my countrymen and fellow-citizens in general, who must do me the justice to say that I let slip no opportunity, either in Congress or out, which offered for serving America and distressing its enemies.

In January, 1776, when I was about returning to my family and pri-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 149, with verbal changes.

vate concerns, which had suffered much by my absence, I was applied to by the committee of Congress to go to France to negotiate the political as well as commercial affairs of America in that kingdom. The advantages proposed to me in the latter were considerable, and without any probability of difficulty, embarassment, or risk, further than the dangers of the voyage, which were indeed great at that time. In the former it was very different, but the difficulties which presented, great as they were, had no consideration with me in the situation in which our affairs then were. My subsequent conduct, from my arrival in France, until I left that kingdom, fully demonstrates that private interest and personal safety never had any weight with me when the service of my country called upon me. In my narrative I have been so particular on the situation I found myself in on my arrival in Europe, the embarrassments and difficulties I constantly labored under and had to encounter, and in the many letters I have written to Congress since my return, requesting my conduct might be examined in the strictest and most public manner, I have so often represented to them what my situation and line of conduct had ever been, that I am under no necessity of saying anything on the subject at present.

On the 4th March, 1778, after having succeeded in procuring supplies for these States, which fell almost solely on me, and having jointly with my colleagues concluded the treaty of the 6th of February, which secured and guarantied the independence of these States, when I found myself for the first time after my leaving America free from those distressing embarrassments and difficulties I had been constantly under, and at liberty to pursue openly the great objects in view and which I had for some time contemplated for the service of these States, I received the resolution of Congress of the 8th of December, ordering me to return immediately to America, to inform Congress of the *state of foreign affairs in Europe.* I did not hesitate a moment as to the part I should take, but immediately set myself on improving this circumstance and others, which then fortunately coincided, to the greatest possible advantage of these States—the publication of the treaty, until that time ordered to be kept a profound secret, and the sending out the Toulon fleet, in which I embarked early in April.

I submit to the consideration of Congress whether, from the 4th of March to the 30th, the day I left Paris, I could possibly have been better employed, and whether I could have justified myself, or been even excused by others, had I neglected these objects, and delayed to pay the most immediate attention to the order of Congress for the mere purpose of collecting in and adjusting accounts from the different parts of France; accounts which could not be collected and closed under several months, and in the settlement of which my colleagues were equally interested with myself?

I say I submit this to the consideration of Congress, nor do I fear publicly to submit it to the world, or even to those enemies whom I am so unfortunate as to have in it. The voice of my friend and colleague

Dr. Franklin, with that of my other noble friends and patrons in France, to me was, "Lose not (said they) a moment on any object, either public or private; the fleet at Toulon will be ready by the time you arrive there; by no means let it wait a moment for you; you may sail early in April and be in America in the course of the month of May; you may finish the information you have to give Congress immediately, and return to France by the time the accounts you have been concerned in can be got ready for settlement." It can not be supposed that I wanted to be urged to take the part I did; on the contrary, I exerted myself to the utmost in my power to get away as early and as secretly as possible, being convinced that the plan was well laid, happy to find the ministry had come so readily into it, and sensible how much depended on dispatch. Never was there a more glorious pospect before us than at that time, nor ever were my hopes and expectations raised higher on any occasion.

Having been honored with the particular confidence, and I may say friendship, of the minister, and knowing that the relief of my country and the defeat of its enemies depended solely on our seasonable arrival, I suffered no private considerations to detain me for a single moment. I was not insensible that I had enemies in America; I knew well that I had them in France in Mr. William and Mr. Arthur Lee, and I was well acquainted with their connections in America; but conscious of the part I had acted and of the services I had rendered and was then doing for my country, which services were not in words but in facts, the most honorable testimonials of which, given by the highest and first characters in Europe and America, I had in my hands, I had nothing to apprehend. Though, permit me to assure you, that had I at the time foreseen all that has happened, and that even my life, as well as reputation, were to be sacrificed on my return to the interested views of my enemies, I should not have hesitated a moment on taking the part I actually did take at the time. On my arrival early in July I repaired immediately to Congress, and informed them I waited their orders.

It was late in August before I had the honor of an audience. Many circumstances, as well as direct information, convinced me of what I before suspected, that ill offices had been done me and my conduct misrepresented When I was first heard before Congress I therefore requested that if anything had been alleged against any part of my conduct or character as a public agent and commissioner of Congress I might be made acquainted therewith and have an opportunity for an explanation. I received no answer, and consequently had a right to conclude no charge had been made against me. I was told by many of the honorable members that they knew of none, nor had they heard of any. Conversing at that time with an honorable friend of mine, I mentioned to him my expectation of returning to France early in the fall; on which he told me I must not expect it, for that my enemies had

determined to throw such obstacles and difficulties in my way as most probably would detain me here much longer than I thought for. I asked him how it was possible, when the business I was ordered home upon was so very simple and so easily finished, and when the unclosed state in which I had been obliged to leave many public transactions in Europe made my returning as early as possible of consequence to the public, as well as to myself, and especially when nothing had, nor I presumed could, be alleged against me. He answered that it was the design of those who wished to sacrifice me to the family interests and emoluments of my enemies to wear me out by delays, and, without any direct charges, to ruin me in the opinion of my countrymen by insinuations, hints, and innuendoes; that though I might with confidence rely on the justice of Congress, yet measures would be taken to delay it on one pretense or other in a way that would prove prejudicial, if not ruinous to me. Though I could by no means bring myself to think my friend's suspicions well founded at the time, yet they made me more attentive to what was passing, and my observations served to confirm them.

The many fruitless applications I made for near five months to obtain an audience of Congress, and to have the business I came out upon closed, are well known to Congress, and the inferences I drew from the silent neglects which my requests met with may be easily conceived. In this situation I determined to lay my case before my countrymen and fellow-citizens, to whom I considered myself ultimately accountable, though immediately so to their representatives in Congress. In consequence of this determination I published my address in the beginning of December. On the 5th Congress resolved to hear me; on the 7th I attended, and was ordered to *report in writing my agency of their affairs in Europe as soon as may be, etc.* In obedience to their commands, I delivered them a brief and faithful narrative of my transactions from the time of my leaving America, and flattered myself that, from the time which had elapsed from my recall, which was more than twelve months and more than five from the time of my return and attendance, that the fullest examination must have been made into every part of my conduct, and that I could not fail of obtaining an early decision. Confident in the justice of Congress, I forbore to address the public further whilst my cause was before Congress, and whilst I daily expected their determination. From these considerations I silently submitted to the torrent of abuse, misrepresentation, and calumny which almost daily poured forth against me in the public papers.

I considered myself as the servant of Congress and entitled to their protection; to them I constantly appealed, not for favors—I asked none—but for justice. It is now five months since I laid my narrative before Congress, and on being informed that a committee was appointed to examine and report on foreign affairs, and that my narrative was re-

ferred to them, I applied repeatedly to several of the honorable members, and requested that, if in the course of their examination they met with anything in the letters and documents before them respecting my conduct which required explanation, they would call upon me and acquaint me therewith. I was not noticed to attend them on the subject, and though I am informed their report has been for several weeks before Congress, I am unacquainted with its contents, as well as with the letters and documents on which it has been made.

Since I had the honor of laying my narrative before Congress I have repeatedly solicited for the decision of Congress, but am to this hour without the honor of any reply to the many letters I have written; it would be tedious, and perhaps unnecessary, to repeat the substance of them; it would take some time to refer to the dates only; they are before Congress, and to them I appeal whether they speak the language of a man conscious of having defrauded and injured the public, or that of an innocent but greatly injured free citizen. I have had the honor of acting in the character of political as well as commercial agent for these States; I have repeatedly observed that every thing relating to the former is already ascertained or ascertainable at this time, and I freely rest my merits in that department on facts and on the testimony of those great personages who best know what my conduct was, and who have generously, and without solicitation from me, publicly declared their approbation of it. With respect to my commercial, I have appealed, and again appeal, to that mode of trial which will prove to a mathematical certainty whether I have embezzled or misapplied the public moneys, or whether, for more than three years' faithful services, I have received any thing more than my private expenses. I have for more than ten months past been constantly soliciting to have the accounts of the commissioners settled, on the issue of which I freely put my reputation and everything dear in life. My solicitations have been unsuccessful, whilst my enemies, taking the base and disingenuous advantage of the circumstances before mentioned of my leaving France, raise a cry against me, and say, Where are his accounts? Why did he not bring them out? If they were not settled, why did he not tarry and settle them? I must confess, that when I reflect that these very men owe their present political as well as personal safety to the measures I then took, I am at a loss which prevails most in my mind, indignation or contempt.

I trust Congress will indulge me, and the rather as I hope not to be obliged to trouble them again soon, whilst I ask every unprejudiced and disinterested member of that honorable body coolly to review the scenes I have passed through, and to place himself in the different situations I have been in at different periods since my engaging in this great and important contest, and consider me, after having at the earliest period adopted and invariably pursued the most decisive and determined part; after having for more than four years devoted my

whole time and abilities to the service of my country, more than three of which have been in the immediate service of Congress; after having, under every disadvantage and embarrassment, successfully solicited for and procured most essential aid and supplies for these States; after having been principal actor in concluding an alliance every way honorable and advantageous to these States, and then returning to my native country with honorable testimonials of my character and conduct from his most Christian majesty and his ministers, as well as from my friend and colleague and the French nation in general, and with an armament which promised, on its sailing, complete and decisive victory over the enemies of these States, and which, notwithstanding its misfortunes, relieved them (this capital in particular) from the deepest distress and the most imminent danger; after this, to be obliged to waste ten months in fruitless attendance and solicitation for justice to my fortune and character, and at last, worn out with the most mortifying delays and contemptuous neglect, driven unrewarded and unthanked to collect the little which remains of the scattered wrecks of my fortune, and to retire loaded with the most outrageous and unmerited reproaches into obscurity, poverty, and exile;—I ask every member of that honorable body, even those the most unfavorably disposed towards me, to put themselves for a few moments in my case, which I have by no means colored beyond the real life, and then pass sentence.

The loss of interest has little weight with me, nor the loss of time, infinitely more precious, if by either the honor, safety, and prosperity of these States are promoted. In the present case I am deprived even of this consolation, having seen, to my inexpressible grief, the essential interests of these States sacrificed by the very measures which have occasioned the delay of justice to me. I still glory in the character of a free American citizen, and when I fear to speak in the style of one, I shall deservedly forfeit the most honorable of all titles. It was just and proper that my first applications should be made to the representatives of my fellow-citizens; I have made them in the most decent and urgent manner, and repeatedly. They have been treated with the most mortifying silent neglect, even whilst everything dear in life to me, and more so than life itself—my reputation—was suffering. I thank God I have sufficient fortitude to part with everything in life, and life itself, in the service of my country without repining; but no consideration whatever shall induce me silently to suffer my reputation and character to be abused and vilified whilst I have the power either to act or speak. For ten months past I have presented myself and my case before Congress, such as could by no means be considered in a neutral point of light, but decidedly meriting their approbation or censure. I have not been able to obtain either. Justice, therefore, to my countrymen and fellow-citizens, to myself, and those great and generous personages who protected and patronized me and the cause I was charged with abroad, requires me that I justify myself before the world, by laying before them a faith-

ful and exact account of all my public transactions from the first, and of the treatment I have met with.

In doing this (if laid under the necessity) I shall on no occasion transgress against the strictest rules of truth and decency, nor be wanting in that respect which I have ever paid, and shall ever pay, to Congress as the representative body of my fellow-citizens. At the same time I shall, with proper firmness and dignity becoming a free but injured citizen, expose to public view those, whether in Congress or out, who, to promote partial, interested, and family views, have from the first systematically labored to prevent Congress from deciding on my conduct as the servant of the public, though the interest of these States called for their decision. I flatter myself I shall not be laid under the necessity of further application, but that Congress will relieve me from the unmerited distress I labor under by closing this long protracted affair, or at least by immediately taking such measures as will without delay do justice to my services.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful esteem and attachment, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 24, 1779.

SIR: I avail myself of the first respite which my sickness allows me to congratulate you, as well as Congress, upon the resolution which I am assured they have taken in relation to their finances. The execution of the system which appeared connected with this first operation of a tax will show to your friends and your enemies the extent of your resources, your firmness, and your ability to make a suitable and efficacious use of them. The eagerness with which the people seemed to expect an arrangement of this kind gives beforehand the proof of their favorable dispositions and of their good will. This state of things, sir, can not but strengthen the very friendly intentions of the king, my master, by the confidence with which your own efforts, and the displaying of the resources of America will inspire him in your dispositions. It will only remain for you to show vigor in your military operations in order to destroy the hope entertained by the common enemy of conquering America; then everything will inspire us with the hope of soon seeing the happy day dawn in which America will enjoy independence, together with the advantages and delights of peace. Congress has received all the possible assurances of the king

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 601, in some points varying official translation.

my master's desire to hasten that moment, and he is convinced that Congress will place no obstacle in the way.

I have the honor to be, with respectful esteem, sir, your humble and most obedient servant,

GERARD.

MAY 24.—Information being given to Congress of some outrages and wanton barbarities committed on subjects of France by the enemy on their landing in Virginia, the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas it has been represented to Congress that the enemy, at the time of and since their landing in Virginia, have perpetrated the most unnecessary, wanton, and outrageous barbarities on divers of the citizens of that State, as well as on several of the subjects of his most Christian majesty residing therein, deliberately putting many of them to death in cold blood after they had surrendered, abusing women, and desolating the country with fire:

Resolved, That the governor of Virginia be requested to cause diligent inquiry to be made into the truth of the above representations, and to transmit to Congress the evidence he may collect on the subject.

Resolved, That Congress will retaliate for cruelties and violations of the laws of nations committed in these States against the subjects of his most Christian majesty, in like manner and measure as if committed against citizens of the said States, and that the protection of Congress shall be on all occasions equally extended to both.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 25, 1779.

SIR: I have received with the most lively satisfaction the letter with which you honored me on the 24th of this month, as well as the resolutions of Congress of the same date which accompanied it, and which relate to the atrocious actions committed by the enemy's troops in Virginia, which violate equally the laws of war established between civilized nations and the first principles of humanity, and attack the foundations of all human society.

The whole world can not but be convinced of the justice of the necessary measures to which the conduct of the common enemy compels Congress to have recourse in order, if possible, to put an end to such horrible excesses.

I must confine myself here, sir, to requesting you to place before Congress this assurance of the sensibility with which the king, my

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 602.

master, and the whole French nation will receive the strong proof of friendship, union, and identity of feelings and interests which the United States give in declaring that they will make no distinction in this respect between their own subjects and those of their ally. This will give the common enemy a new evidence of the inviolability of the alliance which unites the two nations, and will afford the French, who have already given so many proofs of their individual attachment to the sentiments of the alliance, and of their zeal for the United States, a new motive of encouragement. By thus increasing more and more the connections and the mutual confidence, the means of braving the effects of the ambition and the revenge of the common enemy will be increased.

I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem, sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

GERARD.

Franklin to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PASSY, *May* 26, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: The Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived here the 11th of February, brought me yours of October 28th, and the new commission, credentials, and instructions which the Congress have honored me with. I have not since had an opportunity of writing that I could trust, for I see, by several instances, the orders given to private captains to throw their dispatches into the sea when likely to be taken are sometimes neglected, and sometimes so badly executed that the letters are recovered by the enemy, and much inconvenience has attended their interception. You mention that you should speedily have opportunities of forwarding duplicates and triplicates of the papers; none of them has ever come to hand, nor have I received any other line from you of later date.

I immediately acquainted the minister of foreign affairs with my appointment, and communicated to him, as usual, a copy of my credential letter, on which a day was named for my reception. A fit of the gout prevented my attendance at that time and for some weeks after, but as soon as I was able to go through the ceremony I went to Versailles and was presented to the king, and received in all the forms. I delivered the letter of Congress into his majesty's own hands, who in the most gracious manner expressed his satisfaction. And I have since constantly attended the levee every Tuesday, with the other foreign ministers, and have taken every proper occasion of repeating the assurances I am instructed to give of the grateful sentiments of Congress and their determined resolution to fulfill religiously their engagements.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 60, with verbal changes; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 385.

Much pains are constantly taken by the enemy to weaken the confidence of this court in their new allies, by representing our people as weary of the war and of the government of Congress; which body, too, they represent as distracted by dissensions, etc.; but all this has very little effect; and when on some occasions it has seemed to make a little impression, and create some apprehensions, I have not found it difficult to remove them. And it is my firm opinion that, notwithstanding the great losses suffered by the commerce of this kingdom since the commencement of the war, the disposition of the court to continue it (till its purpose of establishing our independence is completed) is not the least changed, nor their regard for us diminished.

The end of that part of the instructions which relates to American seamen taken by the French in English ships had already been obtained, Captain Jones having had for some time an order from court, directed to the keepers of the prisoners, requiring them to deliver to him such Americans as should be found in their hands, that they might be at liberty to serve under his command. Most of them have accordingly been delivered to him, if not all. The minister of the marine, having entertained a high opinion of him from his conduct and bravery in taking the *Drake*, was desirous of employing him in the command of a particular enterprise, and to that end requested us to spare him, which we did, and sent the *Ranger* home under the command of his lieutenant. Various accidents have hitherto postponed his equipment, but he now has the command of a fifty-gun ship, with some frigates, all under American commissions and colors, fitted out at the king's expense, and will sail, it is said, about the 1st of June.

The Marquis de la Fayette was, with some land troops, to have gone with him; but I now understand the marquis is not to go, the plan being a little changed. The *Alliance* being weakly manned at first, and the captain judging it necessary to be freed from thirty-eight of his men who had been concerned in a conspiracy, and unwilling to take French seamen, I thought it best to send him directly home, as his ship might be of some protection to the vessels then about sailing to America, and Mr. Adams, who was desirous of returning soon, might be accommodated with a passage in a swift-sailing vessel. I accordingly offered her as a convoy to the trade at Nantes; but the gentlemen concerned did not think fit to wait for getting ready, as a French convoy offered for at least part of the voyage; and the minister requesting she might be added to Captain Jones' little squadron, and offering to give a passage to Mr. Adams in the frigate with the new ambassador and to complete the *Alliance's* complement of men, I thought it best to continue her a little longer in Europe, hoping she may, in the projected cruise, by her extraordinary swiftness, be a means of taking prisoners enough to redeem the rest of our countrymen now in the English jails. With this view, as well as to oblige the minister, I ordered her to join Captain Jones at L'Orient and obey his orders, where she is now accordingly.

There have been great misunderstandings between the officers of that ship and their captain, and great discontents among the latter for want of clothes and money. I have been obliged to make great advances to appease those discontents, and I now hope the authority and prudence of Captain Jones will be able to remove, or at least to prevent, the ill effects of those misunderstandings. The conspirators are detained in prison, and will remain there, subject to such directions as Congress may think fit to give concerning them. The courts here would not, because they properly could not, undertake to try them; and we had not captains enough to make a court-martial for the purpose. The sending them to America, with evidence to convict them, will be a great trouble and expense; and perhaps their offense can not be so clearly made out as to justify a punishment sufficient to deter by its exemplary severity. Possibly the best use that can be made of them is to give them in exchange for as many Americans in the cartel now operating here. The perfidious conduct of the English and Scotch sailors in our service a good deal discourages the idea of taking them out of those prisons in order to employ them.

This cartel is at length brought about by the indefatigable endeavors of an old friend of mine, and a long-declared-one to America, Mr. Hartley, member of Parliament for Hull. The ship employed has already brought us one cargo from the prison at Plymouth. The number was intended for a hundred, but proved ninety-seven, and she is returned with as many in exchange, to bring us a second number from the prison at Portsmouth. This is to continue till all are exchanged. The Americans are chiefly engaged with Captains Jones and Landais. This exchange is the more remarkable, as our people were all committed as for high treason.

Agreeable to the seventh instruction, I have earnestly recommended the reduction of Halifax and Quebec. The Marquis de la Fayette joined me warmly in the application for this purpose, and I hope we shall in due time see some good effects from it. I have also in various ways and through different channels laid before the ministry the distressed state of our finances in America. There seems a great willingness in all of them to help us, except in the controller, Monsieur Necker, who is said not to be well disposed towards us, and is supposed to embarrass every measure proposed to relieve us by grants of money. It is certain that, under the resolution, perhaps too hastily declared, of the king's imposing no new taxes on his subjects for this year the court has great difficulties in defraying present expense, the vast exertions to put the navy in a condition to equal that of England having cost immense sums.

There is also a prevailing opinion that the most effectual service to us is to be expected from rendering their marine superior to that of England. The king has, however, to encourage our loan in Holland, been so good as to engage under his hand, to be security for our pay-

ment of the interest of 3,000,000 of livres, but that loan has not yet amounted to more than about 80,000 florins. Dr. Price, whose assistance was requested by Congress, has declined that service, as you will see by the copy of his letter inclosed. To me it seems that the measure recommended by the wisdom of Congress for diminishing the quantity of paper by taxes of large nominal sums must have very salutary effects.

As to your finances here, it is fit that you should know the state of them. When the commissioners of Congress made the proposition of paying the interest at Paris of the money borrowed in America they understood the loan to be of $5,000,000. They obtained from Government sums more than sufficient for the interest of such a sum. That sum has been increased, and if they could otherwise have provided for it, they have been from time to time drained by a number of unforeseen expenses of which the Congress had no knowledge, and of others occasioned by their orders and drafts; and the cargoes sent to the commissioners by the committee have some of them been treacherously run away with by the seamen or taken by the enemy, or, when arrived, have been hitherto applied toward the payment of debts, the tobaccos to the Farmers-General according to contract, and the rice and indigo to Messrs. Hortalez & Co., from whom, by the way, we have not yet been able to procure any account.

I have lately employed an accountant, the son of our banker, to form complete books of our accounts, to be sent to Congress. They are not yet ready. When they are, I shall send them by the first safe opportunity. In the mean time I may just mention some particulars of our disbursements. Great quantities of clothing, arms, ammunition, and naval stores, sent from time to time; payment of bills from Mr. Bingham, 100,000 livres; Congress bills in favor of Haywood & Co., above 200,000; advanced to Mr. Ross, about £20,000 sterling; paid Congress drafts in favor of returned officers, 93,080 livres; to our prisoners in England, and after their escape, to help them home, and to other Americans here in distress, a great sum, I can not at present say how much; supplies to Mr. Hodge for fitting out Captain Cunningham, very considerable; for the freight of ships to carry over the supplies, great sums; to Mr. William Lee and Mr. Izard £5,500 sterling, and for fitting the frigates *Raleigh*, *Alfred*, *Boston*, *Providence*, *Alliance*, *Ranger*, etc., I imagine not less than 60,000 or 70,000 livres each, taken one with another; and for maintenance of the English prisoners, I believe, when I get in all the accounts, I shall find 100,000 livres not sufficient, having already paid above 65,000 on that article. And now the drafts of the treasurer of the loans, coming very fast upon me, the anxiety I have suffered, and the distress of mind lest I should not be able to pay them, has for a long time been very great indeed.

To apply again to this court for money for a particular purpose, which they had already, over and over again, provided for and furnished us,

was extremely awkward; I therefore repeated the *general* applications, which we had made when together, for aids of money, and received the general answers that the expense of government for the navy was so great that at present it was exceedingly difficult to furnish the necessary supplies. That France, by sending a fleet to America, obliged the enemy to divide their forces, and left them so weak on the continent as to aid us by lessening our expense, if it could not by giving us money, etc., and I was asked if we did not receive money from Spain? I know, indeed, of some money received from thence, and I have heard of more, but know not how much; Mr. Arthur Lee, as minister for Spain, having taken to himself all the management of that affair, and will account to Congress. I only understand that there is none of it left to assist in paying Congress bills. I at length obtained, as above mentioned, the king's *bon* for payment of the interest of three millions, if I could borrow it in Holland or elsewhere; but though two eminent houses in Amsterdam have undertaken it, and had hopes of success, they have both lately written to me that the great demands of money for Germany and for England had raised interest above our limits, and that the successes of the English in Georgia and St. Lucia and in destroying the French trade, with the supposed division in Congress, all much magnified by the British minister, and the pressing application to borrow by several of our States separately, had made the moneyed people doubtful of our stability, as well as our ability to repay what might be lent us, and that it was necessary to wait a more favorable moment for proceeding with our loan.

In this situation I have been applied to by Mr. William Lee, and lately, through our banker, by Mr. Izard, for more money for their expenses, and I am told there is much anger against me for declining to furnish them, and that I am charged with *disobeying an order of Congress*,* and with cruelly attempting to distress gentlemen who are in the service of their country. They have, indeed, produced to me a resolve of Congress *empowering them to draw* on the commissioners in France for their expenses at foreign courts; and doubtless Congress, when that resolve was made, intended to enable us to pay those drafts; but as that has not been done, and the gentlemen (except Mr. Lee, for a few weeks) have not incurred any expense at foreign courts, and if they had, the 5,500 guineas received by them in about nine months seemed an ample provision for it, and as both of them might command money from England, I do not conceive that I *disobeyed an order* of Congress, and that if I did, the circumstances will excuse it; and I could have no intention to distress them, because I must know it is out of my power, as their private fortunes and credit will enable them at all times to pay their own expenses.

In short, the dreadful consequences of ruin to our public credit, both

* See Mr. Izard's letter, *supra*, January 28, 1779.

in America and Europe, that must attend protesting a single Congress draft for interest, after our funds were out, would have weighed with me against the payment of more money to those gentlemen, if the demand had otherwise been well founded. I am, however, in the judgment of Congress; and if I have done amiss, must submit dutifully to their censure. Thanks to God, I have this last week got over the difficulty so far as relates to the bills, which will all be punctually paid; but if the navy board sends more ships here to be fitted, or the Congress continue to draw for the payment of other debts, the ships will be disappointed, and I shall probably be made a bankrupt, unless funds are at the same time sent over to discharge such demands.

With regard to the fitting out of ships, receiving and disposing of cargoes, and purchasing of supplies, I beg leave to mention that, besides my being wholly unacquainted with such business, the distance I am from the ports renders my having anything to do with it extremely inconvenient. Commercial agents have, indeed, been appointed by Mr. William Lee; but they and the captains are continually writing for my opinion or orders or leave to do this or that, by which much time is lost to them, and much of mine taken up to little purpose from my ignorance. I see clearly, however, that many of the captains are exorbitant in their demands; and, in some cases, I think those demands are too easily complied with by the agents—perhaps because the commissions are in proportion to the expense. I wish, therefore, the Congress would appoint the consuls they have a right to appoint by the treaty, and put into their hands all that sort of employment. I have in my desk, I suppose, not less than fifty applications from different ports praying the appointment, and offering to serve gratis for the honor of it and the advantages it gives in trade; but I should imagine that, if consuls are appointed, they will be of our own people from America, who, if they should make fortunes abroad, might return with them to their country.

The commissions demanded by the agents seem to me in some cases very high. For instance, Mr. Schweighauser, in a late account, charges 5 per cent. on the simple delivery of the tobaccos to the officer of the Farmers-General in the port, and by that means makes the commission on the delivery of the two last cargoes amount to about £630 sterling. As there was no sale in the case, he has, in order to calculate the commission, valued the tobacco at 90 livres the hundred-weight; whereas it was by our contract with the Farmers to be delivered at about 40 livres. I got a friend, who was going upon 'change, to inquire among the merchants what was the custom in such cases of delivery. I send enclosed the result he has given me of his inquiries. In consequence, I have refused to pay the commission of 5 per cent. on this article; and I know not why it was, as is said, agreed with him at the time of his appointment that he should have 5 per cent. on his transactions if the custom is only 2 per cent., as by my information.

I have mentioned above the applications of separate States to borrow money in Europe, on which I beg leave to remark that, when the general Congress are endeavoring to obtain a loan, these separate attempts interfere and are extremely inconvenient; especially where some of the agents are empowered to offer a higher interest, and some have powers in that respect unlimited. We have likewise lately had applications from three several States to this court to be furnished with great quantities of arms, ammunition, and clothing, or with money upon credit to buy them, and from one State to be supplied with naval stores and ships of war. These agents, finding that they had not interest to obtain such grants, have severally applied to me, and seem to think it my duty, as minister for the United States, to support and enforce their particular demands. I have endeavored to do so; but I find the ministers do not like these separate applications, and seem to think that they should properly come only through Congress, to whom the several States in such cases ought first to make known their wants, and then the Congress could instruct their minister accordingly. This would save the king's ministers a good deal of trouble and the several States the expense of these particular agents; concerning whom I would add a little remark, that we have in America too readily, in various instances, given faith to the pretensions of strangers from Europe, and who offer their services as persons who have powerful friends and great interest in their own country, and by that means obtain contracts, orders, or commissions to procure what we want, and who, when they come here, are totally unknown, and have no other credit but what such commissions give them; or, if known, the commissions do not add so much to their credit as they diminish that of their employers.

I have received two letters from a Frenchman, settled in one of the ports of Barbary, offering himself to act as our minister with the emperor, with whom he pretended to be intimate, and acquainting me that his imperial majesty wondered we had never sent to thank him for being the first power on this side of the Atlantic that had acknowledged our independence and opened his ports to us; advising that we should send the emperor a present. On inquiry at the office in whose department Africa is included I learned the character of this man to be such that it was not safe to have any correspondence with him, and therefore I did not answer his letters. I suppose Congress has received the memorial we presented to this court respecting the Barbary States and requesting the king's good offices with them, agreeable to the treaty, and also the answer, expressing the king's readiness to perform those good offices whenever the Congress should send us instructions and make provision for the necessary presents;* or, if those papers have not yet got to hand, they will be found among the copies carried over by Mr. Adams, and therefore I only mention them by way of remem-

* See Commissioners to Vergennes, Aug. 28, 1778; Sartine to Vergennes, Sept. 21, 1778; Vergennes to Commissioners, Sept. 27, 1778.

brance. Whenever a treaty with the emperor is intended I suppose some of our naval stores will be an acceptable present, and the expectation of continued supplies of such stores a powerful motive for entering into and continuing a friendship.

I should send you copies of several other memorials and public papers; but as Mr. Adams goes in the same ship, and has the whole of our transactions during his time, it is not so necessary by this vessel. The disposition of this nation in general continues friendly toward us and our cause; and I do not see the least diminution of it, except among the West India merchants and planters, whose losses have rendered them a little discontented. Spain has been long acting as a mediator, but arming all the time most vigorously. Her naval force is now very great indeed, and as her last proposition of a long truce—in which America should be included and treated as independent in fact, though not expressly acknowledged as such—has been lately rejected by England, it is now thought that her open junction with France in the war is not far distant.

The commissioners here have a power in general terms to treat of peace, friendship, and commerce with European states; but I apprehend this is scarce explicit enough to authorize me to treat of such a truce, if the proposition should again come upon the *tapis*. I therefore wish the Congress to consider of it, and give such powers as may be necessary to whom they may think proper, that, if a favorable opportunity of making an advantageous treaty should offer, it may not be missed.

Admiral Arbuthnot, who was going to America with a large convoy and some troops, has been detained by a little attempt upon Jersey; and contrary winds, since that affair was over, have detained him further till within these few days.

Since I began writing this letter I have received a packet from the committee by way of Eustatia and Holland, sent by Mr. Lovell, containing his letters of December the 8th, January the 29th, and February the 8th, with one from the President, dated January the 3d. Several papers are mentioned as sent with them and by other opportunities but none are come to hand except the resolution to postpone the attempt on Canada; and these are the first dispatches received here since the date of those sent by the Marquis de la Fayette. I have just received a letter from Mr. Bingham, acquainting me that the ship *Deane* and the *General Gates* are just arrived at Martinique, and apply to him to be careened, refitted, and procure a fresh supply of provisions; and that, though he has no orders, he must draw upon me for the expense. I think it right to acquaint you thus early that I shall be obliged to protest his bills.

I have just obtained from his majesty orders to the government of Guadaloupe to make reasonable reparation to Captain Giddens, of Newbury, for the loss of his vessel, sunk in mistake by a battery of that

island. Great preparations are making here, with much activity in all the seaports, taking up transports and building small vessels proper for the landing of troops, etc., so that many think an invasion of England or Ireland is intended. The intention, whatever it is, may change; but the opinion of such an intention, which seems to prevail in England, may tend to keep their troops and ships at home.

General and Lord Howe, Generals Cornwallis and Grey, Colonel Montresor and Captain Hammond, and others, have formally given it as their opinion in Parliament that the conquest of America is impracticable. This week, as we hear, John Maxwell, Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, John Patterson, Theophilus Morris, Enoch Story, and Jabez Fisher are to be examined to prove the contrary. One would think the first set were likely to be the best judges.

Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to the Congress, and assure them of my most faithful services.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

THURSDAY, *May* 27, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the subject under debate on the 12th and 13th instant; and after debating the substitute as amended on the 13th, it was agreed by unanimous consent that all substitutes and amendments to the third article agreed to the 22d of March last be withdrawn.

On motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Laurens,

Resolved, That the said third article be repealed.

On motion of Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton,

Resolved, That in no case by any treaty of peace the common right of fishing be given up.†

Gerard to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 27, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, in consequence of the sentiment and the views which have prompted his previous representations, has the honor to observe to the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that independently of the

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* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing and completing printed journals.

† For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, June 3, 1779.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 603, varying in some points official translation.

principal and direct interest of the confederated Republic in the overtures of pacification which the undersigned has been ordered to make to Congress, the general good of the alliance urges with all possible earnestness the hastening of the resolution of the said States. It is, in fact, only by enabling the court of Spain to bring its mediation to its critical and decisive point that it can be hoped that this power, convinced of the injustice of the views and of the ambition of England, will join the alliance, acknowledge the independence of the United States, and take an active part in the war. On the contrary, by delaying, without communicating to the parties interested the motives which induce them to it, the States will be in danger of fatiguing this power, which keeps on foot the forces of the whole monarchy, principally with a view to give respectability to a mediation which appears to be neglected; they incur the risk of cooling the good will of his catholic majesty, and perhaps of alienating him as much by delays as if resolutions contrary to the system which he has appeared disposed to favor by his mediation should give him lawful reasons for changing his conduct.

The alliance will thus be deprived of a decisive support, which the goodness of its cause, the wisdom of its conduct, and the close union subsisting between France and Spain seemed to promise it. Moreover, the suspension of the said resolutions operates equally in another point of view in manner the most disadvantageous for the alliance in general and for France in particular. On the one side, in fact, the expectation of the resolutions of Congress necessarily infuses into plans and measures an uncertainty injurious to the common good, and if the Count d'Estaing does not carry into execution the plan of coming upon the American coast, it can only be attributed to this cause. On the other hand, the season is already so far advanced that this same uncertainty, by destroying the hope of seeing Spain declare herself during the course of the present campaign, leaves France alone exposed to the efforts of the principal body of the enemy's forces.

The wisdom of Congress and the faithful attachment which they show on every occasion in a manner as conspicuous as it is satisfactory to the alliance, and the respect which they have always expressed for Spain do not permit a doubt as to the attention which they will be pleased to give to considerations of such importance. The present memorial is the last tribute that the zeal of the minister plenipotentiary of France will allow him to consecrate to the duty of facilitating and accelerating as much as lies in his power the deliberations of Congress by suggesting considerations which might have such an influence.

GERARD.

A. Lee to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 31, 1779.

SIR: I beg the favor of your excellency to lay my respects before Congress, with a repetition of my most earnest request to be recalled.

I should most willingly continue to sacrifice, as I have hitherto done, my private interests to the public good; but I am satisfied that the dissensions raised concerning me will be continued by a continuance of my commission, and will be of more injury to the public than I can be of service; and as the public good was the sole motive of my accepting the commission, the same reason now induces me to desire most earnestly to resign it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to ———.†

JUNE 1, 1779.

The refusal of the director-general to accede to the proposition of Mr. Franklin and his pressing needs determine him, that he may have nothing wherewithal to reproach himself if the events follow which he apprehends, to renew his appeal to the administration. To avoid them, therefore, he asks one million as a loan. Although this sum will not suffice for his necessities, he hopes that before it will be all used he will receive other supplies, either from America or by borrowing, for which he has authority, and for which he has caused to be printed the promissory notes of the thirteen States, reimbursable in ten years at Paris, with annual interest. He offers these notes at par, and if the administration fails to realize on them before they fall due, he engages to take them up with the first funds which he shall have available for that purpose.

Although by this arrangement the operation appears more like an investment than a benefaction, Mr. Franklin will none the less appreciate the service which will be rendered, and which, he may add, the interest of the two nations makes a necessity to-day, if they would not expose themselves to lose the fruit of their union.

B. FRANKLIN.‡

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 558.

† 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 406.

‡ It does not appear to whom this note was addressed, but probably to M. Vergennes. It is copied from the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères*, at Paris, from which copy it is translated. The copy is indorsed as follows: "Inclosing blank promissory note, with coupons."—Note by Mr. BIGELOW.

Franklin to Bache.*

PASSY, *June* 2, 1779.

I am very easy about the efforts Messrs. L——† and ——‡ are using, as you tell me, to injure me on that side of the water. I trust in the justice of the Congress that they will listen to no accusations against me that I have not been first acquainted with and had an opportunity of answering. I know those gentlemen have plenty of ill-will to me, though I have never done to either of them the smallest injury or given the least just cause of offense. But my too great reputation and the general good will this people have for me and the respect they show me, and even the compliments they make me, all grieve those unhappy gentlemen; unhappy indeed in their tempers, and in the dark, uncomfortable passions of jealousy, anger, suspicion, envy, and malice. It is enough for good minds to be affected at other people's misfortunes, but they that are vexed at everybody's good luck can never be happy. I take no other revenge of such enemies than to let them remain in the miserable situation in which their malignant natures have placed them, by endeavoring to support an estimable character, and thus, by continuing the reputation the world has hitherto indulged me with, I shall continue them in their present state of damnation, and I am not disposed to reverse my conduct for the alleviation of their torments.

I am surprised to hear that my grandson, Temple Franklin, being with me should be an objection against me, and that there is a cabal for removing him. Methinks it is rather some merit that I have rescued a valuable young man from the danger of being a tory, and fixed him in honest, republican, whig principles; as I think, from the integrity of his disposition, his industry, his early sagacity, and uncommon abilities for business, he may in time become of great service to his country. It is enough that I have lost my *son;* would they add my *grandson?* An old man of seventy, I undertook a winter voyage at the command of Congress, and for the public service, with no other attendant to take care of me. I am continued here in a foreign country, where, if I am sick, his filial attention comforts me, and if I die, I have a child to close my eyes and take care of my remains. His dutiful behavior towards me and his diligence and fidelity in business are both pleasing and useful to me. His conduct as my private secretary has been unexceptionable, and I am confident the Congress will never think of separating us.

I have had a great deal of pleasure in Ben.,§ too. He is a good, honest lad, and will make, I think, a valuable man. He had made as much proficiency in his learning as the boarding-school he was at could well afford him; and after some consideration where to find a better for him, I at length fixed on sending him to Geneva. I had a good opportunity

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 414; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 371.
† A. Lee. ‡ Izard. § Bache's eldest son.

by a gentleman of that city, who had a place for him in his chaise, and has a son about the same age at the same school. He promised to take care of him, and inclosed I send you the letters I have since received relating to him and from him. He went very cheerfully, and I understand is very happy. I miss his company on Sundays at dinner. But if I live, and I can find a little leisure, I shall make the journey next spring to see him, and to see at the same time *the old thirteen United States* of Switzerland.

Thanks be to God, I continue well and hearty. Undoubtedly I grow older, but I think the last ten years have made no great difference. I have sometimes the gout, but they say that is not so much a disease as a remedy. God bless you.

I am, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Carroll.*

PASSY, *June* 2, 1779.

DEAR SIR: This will be delivered to you by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who succeeds M. Gerard. He is a gentleman of most amiable character here, and a sincere well wisher to America. As such I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities. You must have heard much of M. de Malesherbes, son of the chancellor Lamoignon, and late president of the *cour des aides*, famous for his eloquent, free, and strong remonstrances to the late king. This gentleman is his nephew.

Correspondence between friends in America and Europe is now miserably cut to pieces by the captures of vessels. When one writes and the letters do not get to hand, or if they get to hand the answers miscarry, by degrees we may come to forget one another. But I shall never forget the pleasure I had in your company on our journey to Canada. Please to remember me when you write to your other *compagnons de voyage*, and believe me ever, with sincere esteem and affection, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Postscript to Mr. Carroll's letter:

In looking over a letter you favored me with, dated August 12, 1777, and which gave me great satisfaction at the time, I find one passage which I did not then answer. It relates to the sending over artificers of various kinds. You can have no conception of the numbers that apply to me with that view, and who would go over if I could assist them by obtaining a passage for them without expense. If this should be thought useful, and Congress could afford the charge, and could confide in my judgment of the persons and knowledge of the arts wanted among us, I am persuaded I could send you over many people who would be valuable acquisitions to our country.

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* 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 416.

Franklin to Horatio Gates.*

PASSY, *June* 2, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your obliging letter by the Chevalier de Raymondis, who appears extremely sensible of the civilities he received at Boston and very desirous of being serviceable to the American cause. His wound is not yet right, as he tells me there is a part of the bone still to be cut off. But he is otherwise well and cheerful, and has a great respect for you.

The pride of England was never so humbled by anything as by your capitulation of Saratoga. They have not yet got over it, though a little elevated this spring by their success against the French commerce. But the growing apprehension of having Spain too upon their hands has lately brought them down to an humble seriousness that begins to appear even in ministerial discourses and the papers of ministerial writers. All the happy effects of that transaction for America are not generally known. I may some time or other acquaint the world with some of them. When shall we meet again in cheerful converse, talk over our adventures, and finish with a quiet game of chess?

The little dissensions between particular States in America are much magnified in England, and they once had great hopes from them. I consider them, with you, as the effects of apparent security, which do not affect the grand points of independence and adherence to treaties, and which will vanish at a renewed appearance of danger. This court continues heartily our friend, and the whole nation are warm in our favor excepting only a few West Indians and merchants in that trade, whose losses make them a little uneasy.

With sincere and great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Lovell.†

PASSY, *June* 2, 1779.

SIR: I received a few days since, via Eustatia and Holland, the triplicates of your several favors of December the 8th, January the 29th, and February the 8th. The preceding copies of the same dates never came to hand. I thank you very much for the newspapers, though the disputes I see in them give me pain. You observe rightly that the want of good conveyances obstructs much the punctuality of your correspondence. The number of long letters I have written to America has almost discouraged me from writing, except by such an opportunity as this. You may judge of the uncertainty of letters getting to hand when I tell you that, though you mention the having sent me quadruplicates of my credentials, only those by the Marquis de la Fayette have yet appeared.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 409.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 69; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 407.

I am glad to understand that you are taking measures to restore the value of your money by taxing largely to reduce the quantity. I believe no financier in the world can put you upon a more effectual method. The English have had a little flow of spirits lately from their success against the trade of France and the news of the imagined conquest of Georgia; but the growing apprehension of a war with Spain also begins to sober them, and, like people who have been drunk with drams, they now seem to have both the head and heart ache. The late letters from thence are in a more humble style, and some printed papers by the last post, known to be ministerial, appear intended to prepare the minds of the people for propositions of peace. But these ebbs and flows are common with them, and the duration of neither is to be relied on.

As I do not find by any of yours that a long letter of mine to you in July last has come to hand, I send you herewith a copy of it (though now a little stale), as it serves to show my continued good opinion of a gentleman who, by the papers you have sent me, seems to be hardly used. I have never meddled with the dispute between him and Mr. Lee, but the suspicion of having a good-will to him has drawn upon me a great deal of ill-will from his antagonist. The Congress have wisely enjoined the ministers in Europe to agree with one another. I had always resolved to have no quarrel, and have therefore made it a constant rule to answer no angry, affronting, or abusive letters, of which I have received many, and long ones, from Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, who, I understand and see indeed by the papers, have been writing liberally, or rather illiberally, against me, to prevent, as one of them says here, any impressions my writings against them might occasion to their prejudice, but I have never before mentioned them in any of my letters.

Our scheme here for packet boats did not continue.* I wish Congress could fall on some method of sending some little light vessels once a month to keep up a correspondence more regular. Even the receiving of letters of a certain date, though otherwise of no importance, might serve to refute the false news of our adversaries on both sides of the water, which have sometimes too long their intended effect before the truth arrives. I see that frequently little pilot boats, of twenty-five or thirty tons burden, arrive safe from Virginia. The expense of such would not be great.

I beg leave to recommend earnestly to your civilities M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, who goes over to succeed M. Gerard as the king's minister to the Congress. He bears here a most amiable character, has great connections, and is a hearty friend to the American cause.

With great esteem, I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

* For this scheme see Agreement for Packets, following letter of March 12, 1777, from Commissioners to Committee of Secret Correspondence, *supra*.

Franklin to the Marine Committee of Congress.*

JUNE 2, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I received the honor of yours by the Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived safe and well in the *Alliance* frigate, which you were pleased to put under my orders.

There has been a conspiracy on board to seize and run away with the ship to England. Thirty-eight of the crew concerned in the plot were brought in under confinement, and the captain was much embarrassed with them and suspicious of many more. We could not try them here for want of officers sufficient to make a court-martial. The French admiralty could not take cognizance of their offense. The captain objected to carrying them back, as both troublesome and dangerous. In fine, we got leave to land and confine them in a French prison, where they continue till further orders.

Captain Landais desired much to have his ship sheathed here with copper, but having neither orders nor money in my hands for that purpose, I was obliged to refuse it. There was a great misunderstanding between him and his officers, and a great discontent among the officers themselves, who were in want of clothing and money; the ship, too, though new, wanted great repairs, all her iron work being bad. The agent, Mr. Schweighauser, required my orders about everything, and I had letters from him, from the officers, or from the captain by almost every post. My total unacquaintance with such business made it very perplexing to me. I have got it through at last, and I hear the officers are more contented, but I hope to have no more such affairs on my hands. Being informed by the officer who came up from the captain with the dispatches that he had not hands sufficient to man prizes if she should be sent on a cruise; that the captain did not care to supply the deficiency with Frenchmen; that if she were again at Boston, now that her character for a swift sailer, and that of the captain for a good officer, were established, of which the seamen were before doubtful, there was the greatest probability that she would be fully manned immediately; and as Mr. Adams wished for an opportunity of going home, and I heard that some ships were bound to North America from Nantes, to whom the convoy of a frigate quite to the American coast might be convenient, I determined to send her back directly and accordingly offered her as a convoy to the trade. But as M. de la Motte Picquet was about to sail from Brest with a squadron before our frigate could be fitted, and as he offered to take care of all outward-bound ships who should join him at Brest, the offer I made was not accepted. All the American ships went from Nantes to join his fleet. She was, however, still to go with Mr. Adams, but receiving the inclosed letter from M. de Sartine, minister of the marine, who at the same time offered to man her completely if I complied with his request, I thought it right to oblige him,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 410.

as the inconvenience would be only a little longer delay to Mr. Adams in getting home, and by her extremely swift sailing, of which they relate wonders, she might in the proposed cruise take prisoners enough to redeem by the now established cartel the rest of our unfortunate countrymen still in the English prisons. I accordingly acquainted M. de Sartine that I would, agreeable to his desire, order her to L'Orient, where she now is a part of Captain Jones' little squadron, which is ready to sail, if not already sailed, on the intended expedition.

After all this was thus arranged Mr. Arthur Lee wrote to me to urge the sending her with the merchant ships, and to carry over some dispatches of his and Mr. Izard's that were of great importance, but as those ships were by this time sailed, and the French frigate with the new minister and Mr. Adams was to sail in a week or two and might carry the dispatches, the contents of which I was not acquainted with, I did not see the necessity of retracting the promise I had made to the minister and thereby deranging the expedition.

As our ships of war that arrive here require an amazing expense to outfit them and the prizes they bring in often occasion lawsuits and all the embarrassment and solicitation and vexation attending suits in this country, I must beg the committee would be so good as to order the several navy boards to send no more to be outfitted here without sending effects to defray the expense, and that if our armed ships should be still ordered to cruise in these seas, a consul or consuls may be appointed in the several seaports, who will thereby be more at hand to transact maritime business expeditiously, will understand it better, relieve your minister at this court from a great deal of trouble, and leave him at liberty to attend affairs of more general importance.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, May 27, 1779.]

JUNE 3, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on the communication from the minister of France, and

A motion was made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Sherman, in the words following, viz:

To obviate any disputes which may arise respecting the fisheries, it shall be stipulated in the treaty of peace that the citizens of these States and the subjects of the King of Great Britain be allowed the free and peaceable use and exercise of their common right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland and other banks and coasts of North

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

America as fully and freely as they did or might have done during their political connection.

Whereupon it was moved by Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. Laurens, to strike out the words "and the subjects of the King of Great Britain."

Question: Shall those words stand?

Passed in the negative.

A motion was made by Mr. Sherman, seconded by Mr. Spencer, to strike out the words "as fully and freely as they did or might have done during their political connection."

Question: Shall those words stand?

Passed in the negative.

It was then moved by Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. Laurens, to strike out the words "and coasts;" and on the question, Shall these words stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry:

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.	No.
	Mr. Scudder	No.	
	Mr. Fell	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative, and the words were struck out.

A motion was made by Mr. Ellery, seconded by Mr. Witherspoon, after "other banks" to insert "and in the seas;" which being amended to read "and seas,"

On the question, Shall the words "and seas" be inserted? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

The motion being amended to read:

"To obviate any disputes which may arise respecting the fisheries, i shall be stipulated in the treaty of peace that the citizens of these State shall be allowed the free and peaceable use and exercise of their com mon right of fishing of [f] the banks of Newfoundland and other bank of North America."

When the house was ready for the question, the previous questio was moved by Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. Scudder. And o the question to agree to the previous question, the yeas and nays beiu required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	

New York	Mr. Jay — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane — Aye.	
	Mr. Morris — Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd — Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis — No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Scudder — Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong — No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen — No.	
	Mr. Atlee — Aye.	
	Mr. Searle — No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg — Aye.	
	Mr. McLene — No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop — Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson — Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carmichael — Aye.	
	Mr. Henry — Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer — Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin — Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming — Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke — Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe — Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens — No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton — Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative, and the main question was set aside.

Franklin to Mrs. Bache.*

PASSY, *June* 3, 1779.

DEAR SALLY: I have before me your letters of October 22 and January 17. They are the only ones I received from you in the course of eighteen months. If you knew how happy your letters make me, and considered how many miscarry, I think you would write oftener.

I am much obliged to the Miss Cliftons for the kind care they took of my house and furniture. Present my thankful acknowledgments to them, and tell them I wish them all sorts of happiness.

The clay medallion of me you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set in the lids of snuff boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts, and prints (of which copies upon copies are spread everywhere), have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do anything that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. It is said by learned etymologists that the name *doll*, for the images children play with, is derived from the word idol. From the number of *dolls* now made of him he may be truly said, *in that sense*, to be *i-doll-ized* in this country.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 417.

I think you did right to stay out of town till the summer was over for the sake of your child's health. I hope you will get out again this summer during the hot months, for I begin to love the dear little creature from your description of her.

I was charmed with the account you gave me of your industry, the tablecloths of your own spinning, etc.; but the latter part of the paragraph, that you had sent for linen from France because weaving and flax were grown dear, alas! that dissolved the charm; and your sending for long black pins and lace and *feathers!* disgusted me as much as if you had put salt in my strawberries. The spinning, I see, is laid aside, and you are to be dressed for the ball! You seem not to know, my dear daughter, that, of all the dear things in this world, idleness is the dearest, except mischief.

The project you mention of removing Temple from me was an unkind one. To deprive an old man, sent to serve his country in a foreign one, of the comfort of a child to attend him, to assist him in health and take care of him in sickness, would be cruel if it was practicable. In this case it could not be done; for as the pretended suspicions of him are groundless, and his behavior in every respect unexceptionable, I should not part with the child but with the employment. But I am confident that whatever may be proposed by weak or malicious people, the Congress is too wise and too good to think of treating me in that manner.

Ben., if I should live long enough to want it, is like to be another comfort to me. As I intend him for a Presbyterian as well as a republican, I have sent him to finish his education at Geneva. He is much grown, in very good health, draws a little, as you will see by the enclosed, learns Latin, writing, arithmetic, and dancing, and speaks French better than English. He made a translation of your last letter to him, so that some of your works may now appear in a foreign language. He has not been long from me. I send the accounts I have of him, and shall put him in mind of writing to you. I can not propose to you to part with your own dear Will. I must one of these days go back to see him, happy to be once more all together; but futurities are uncertain. Teach him, however, in the mean time, to direct his worship more properly, for the deity of Hercules is now quite out of fashion.

The present you mention as sent by me was rather that of a merchant at Bordeaux, for he would never give me any account of it, and neither Temple nor I know anything of the particulars.

When I began to read your account of the high prices of goods—"a pair of gloves, $7; a yard of common gauze, $24, and that it now required a fortune to maintain a family in a very plain way"—I expected you would conclude with telling me that everybody, as well as yourself, was grown frugal and industrious, and I could scarcely believe my eyes in reading forward that "there never was so much pleasure and dressing going on," and that you yourself wanted black pins and feathers

from France to appear, I suppose, in the mode. This leads me to imagine that perhaps it is not so much that the goods are grown dear, or that the money is grown cheap, as everything else will do when excessively plenty, and that people are still as easy nearly in their circumstances as when a pair of gloves might be had for half a crown. The war, indeed, may in some degree raise the prices of goods, and the high taxes which are necessary to support the war may make our frugality necessary; and as I am always preaching that doctrine, I can not in conscience or in decency encourage the contrary by my example in furnishing my children with foolish modes and luxuries. I therefore send all the articles you desire that are useful and necessary, and omit the rest; for, as you say you should "have great pride in wearing anything I send and showing it as your father's taste," I must avoid giving you an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace; and feathers, my dear girl, may be had in America from every cock's tail.

If you happen again to see General Washington, assure him of my very great and sincere respect, and tell him that all the old generals here amuse themselves in studying the accounts of his operations and approve highly of his conduct.

Present my affectionate regards to all friends that inquire after me, particularly Mr. Duffield and family, and write oftener, my dear child, to your loving father,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to the Council of Massachusetts Bay.*

PASSY, *June* 4, 1779.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: The commissioners at this court received the letter you did them the honor of writing to them recommending the Marquis de La Fayette. I immediately sent it to be perused by the minister, who desires to have a copy of it. He was very favorably received by his majesty, and has had given him a regiment of dragoons. He retains the warmest zeal for the American cause and affection for the people, and has been continually moving something or other with the ministry for the advantage of America ever since his arrival. The Chevalier de Ramondis, too, retains the most grateful sense of the attention paid him by your government during his illness under the loss of his arm. Several other officers speak highly in favor of our country on account of the civilities they received there, which has a very good effect here, and evinces the wisdom of the conduct you are accustomed to pursue with regard to strangers of merit. I thought it right to acquaint you with these circumstances, and I do it with more pleasure,

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 424.

as it gives me an opportunity of assuring you of the great respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—If the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who is going to America to succeed M. Gerard as minister from this court, should happen to put into Boston, you will find him every way deserving the civilities he may receive, independent of his public character. He is much esteemed and respected here, has great connections, and is a hearty friend to the cause of liberty and America.

A. Lee to J. Adams.*

PARIS, *June* 5, 1779.

DEAR SIR: By advices from America since my last to you my enemies are determined to impeach my attachment to our country and her cause *per fas et per nefas*. This makes it necessary for me to request of you your opinion on that point, from the knowledge you have had of my conduct while we acted together in commission. The calumnies of wicked men can only be refuted by the testimony of those who are honest and competent, and it is necessary for me to desire this of you, lest any accident, which God forbid, should befall you on the voyage.

Late letters from Charleston say they are all in good spirits there. No other news.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, with the greatest esteem, your most obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

A. Lee to Count d'Aranda.†

PARIS, *June* 7, 1779.

Mr. Lee has the honor to present his respects to his excellency the ambassador of Spain, and begs him to be pleased to transmit the letter accompanying this to his court.

TO COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.‡

PARIS, *June* 6, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor of enclosing to your excellency a memorial which the opportunities I have had of knowing the temper and circumstances of Great Britain make me presume to submit to your consideration.

The earnest desire I have of rendering some service to Spain, and

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 94.

† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 558.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 559.

the common interest that must subsist in the success of the war, should it happen, are the motives, and I hope will be the apology, for what I offer.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

MEMORIAL TO THE COURT OF SPAIN.

PARIS, *June* 6, 1779.

It is experience that teaches wisdom. The misfortunes of our friends carry this good with them, that they are a warning to us.

The present war between France and England has been conducted chiefly by the privateers of the latter. They have made a prey of almost the whole commerce of France. This, while it really enriched England, rendered the war popular. It has deeply wounded France in the loss of her sailors as well as of her property.

The cause of this misfortune is manifest. France permitted her trade to go on as in time of peace, as individuals pleased, and without convoy. It was thought better to employ their ships of war in cruising for the privateers than in convoying and defending their vessels against them. It was not considered that privateers always go single, that they are swift and small, that it is difficult to find a small and single ship at sea, and that an East or West India prize is worth fifty privateers. The consequences have been proportioned to the plan. France has captured some little privateers of England, the English the large and rich East and West India ships of the French. This is a misfortune from which I would wish to warn and guard Spain.

The English have greater expectations of rich and numerous prizes in a Spanish than in a French war. If they are disappointed in this, such a war would soon become unpopular and unmaintainable. Now, the means of disappointing their expectations are, as I conceive, these: To lay an embargo on all the merchant vessels of Spain, both in Europe and America, at the commencement of hostilities. Not to suffer their merchantmen or galleons, which are the great objects of English avidity, to go out of their ports but with strong convoys. So secured, they could not be captured but by a fleet or strong squadron of the enemy. But fleets and large squadrons hardly ever make prizes, nor from their nature and circumstances can they do it. Privateers, frigates, and single ships of force are those only which cruise with effect against merchantmen. Defended from these, the commerce of Spain will go safe and secure, the hopes of the enemy will be disappointed, they will sustain all the burden of the war without reaping any of its expected benefits.

Such a war must soon become unpopular; and the wisest ministers in the best of times can not long sustain an unpopular war in England, much less can it be sustained in times of great and manifest difficulty and distress, and by ministers who have not given the most distinguished proofs of their wisdom. There is no human event more sure than that Spain, if she secures her commerce from the depredations of the enemy, must soon reduce Great Britain to whatever equitable terms she pleases. Add to this that if, while the fleet of France keeps that of England in check in the channel and in the bay, the fleet of Spain should completely block up the Mediterranean, so as to intercept all communication with Gibraltar and Minorca, these strongholds must inevitably surrender in a few months.

I may therefore be now permitted to repeat, with more confidence than ever, that it is in the power of Spain to clip the wings of Great Britain and pinion her forever.

ARTHUR LEE.

Congress—Action as to Ministers abroad.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, May 3, 1779.]

JUNE 8, 1779.

Congress proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee of thirteen on foreign affairs and on the question; Shall Mr. R. Izard be recalled? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Duane, seconded by Mr. Armstrong.

"That Mr. Izard be informed that it is the sense of Congress that he need not repair to America until it suits his convenience."

An objection being made to this as being out of order,

On the question, Is the motion in order? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	

*MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress, the latter being imperfect.

Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. Sherman, seconded by Mr. Lovell,

Resolved, That the words "until it suits his convenience" be stricken out.

On the question to agree to the motion as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Paca,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	

Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	No.	No.
	Mr. Paca	No.	
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved:

That Mr. Izard be informed it is the sense of Congress he need not repair to America.

On the question, Shall Mr. William Lee be recalled? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Plater	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Paca	Aye.	
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. S. Adams, seconded by Mr. Sherman,

Resolved, That Mr. W. Lee be informed that it is the sense of Congress that he need not repair to America.

Resolved, That there be but one plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States at a foreign court.

The seventh proposition in the report being read, viz:

"That no plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States, while he acts as such, shall exercise any other public office."

On this the previous question was moved by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Drayton, which being carried in the affirmative, the main question was set aside.

The eighth proposition being read, viz:

"That no person be appointed plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States who is not a citizen thereof, and who has not a fixed and permanent interest therein."

The previous question was moved by Mr. Adams, seconded by Mr. Morris.

A division of the main question being called for, on the previous question to the first clause, viz:

"That no person be appointed plenipotentiary minister or commissioner for these United States who is not a citizen thereof," the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Penn,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	No.	No.
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative, and that clause was set aside.

The previous question being put on the second clause was carried in the affirmative, and that was also set aside.*

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, June 10, 1779.

J. Adams to Arthur Lee.*

L'ORIENT, *June* 9, 1779.

DEAR SIR: Your favors of June the 2d and 5th are now before me; that of the 29th of March I have answered, if I ever received it, for I have answered every one I have received from you, but not having my papers at hand can not be particular. I thank you for the manuscript and the pamphlet.

I am happy to hear from you, and from all others, so agreeable a character of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and M. Marbois, the last of whom I have had the pleasure to see.

I wish it was in my power to do more for Mr. Ford, and to take him with me, but the frigate will be so crowded I fear it would be impossible.†

The declarations of the northern powers against the right of England to stop their merchant vessels and arming to support their rights are important events. The displacing of Mr. Paine is a disagreeable and alarming one.

It is with no small astonishment that I learn by your letter of the 5th that, by advices from America since your last to me, your enemies are determined to impeach your attachment to our country and her cause. Your request that I would give my opinion on that subject, from the knowledge I have had of your conduct while we acted in commission together, can meet with no objection from me. But I hope I need not inform you that my opinion upon this point is no secret at Versailles, Paris, Nantes, or elsewhere. Enclosed is a copy of a letter I did myself the honor to write to his excellency the Count de Vergennes some time ago, which, for anything I know, is communicated to all the court, but the answer shows that it was received. I had my reasons then for keeping it to myself, which exist now no more. I would transcribe the whole correspondence if it was in my power, but I have not time, and it is sufficient to say that it was conducted by his excellency with the most obliging politeness. It is my duty now to furnish you with a copy, lest any accident may befall me, which is by no means improbable. I thought then and am confirmed in that opinion more and more, that it was my duty to communicate my sentiments at court upon that very extraordinary occasion; and from regard to my own reputation I am very glad you have given me an opportunity of furnishing you with evidence that I did this part of my duty so far forth. The letter was written, sent to Versailles, and received by his excellency before the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette, his aid-de-camp, or Dr. Winship; that is, before the news reached Passy of the new arrangement.‡ But lest that letter should not be sufficient, I

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 584; 7 John Adams' Works, 95.

† As to Ford, see Introduction, §150.

‡ See J. Adams to Vergennes, Feb. 11, 1779, *supra*.

shall enclose another certificate, not without a heartfelt grief that malice should have been so daring and so barbarous as to make such a letter or such a certificate from me either necessary or even pardonable.* Your hint that I must correct some things that are amiss extorts from me an involuntary sigh. I shall be in a situation critical and difficult without example, my own character at stake from various quarters, and without anything to support me but truth and innocence; and you need not be informed that these are not always sufficient. I have little expectation of doing good; God grant I may do no harm. I shall not designedly; but I suppose Congress intend to examine me as a witness, and I must tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as far as I know it. If the task should end here I should not be much embarrassed; but if they should proceed to demand of me opinions and judgments of men and things, as there is reason to expect they will, although I hope they will not, what will be the consequences? Upon the whole, truth must be MY shield, and if the shafts of interested malice can pierce through this they shall pierce me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Jay.†

PASSY, *June* 9, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received a few days since, by way of St. Eustatia, the duplicate of a letter you did me the honor to write me of 3d January; but the act of Congress of December 23d, which you mentioned, is not come to hand.

Colonel S. Duicks, whom the secretary names to you, called here in his way to Holland, and brought me a recommendatory letter from Governor Trumbull, but neither himself nor that letter mentioned anything of his business in Holland except to see his friends, so that I yet know of nothing to the purport of that act. The other, of January 1, is come to hand. Besides the reason given in it for deferring the expedition to Canada, there is one that would weigh much with me, and that is our want of sufficient quantity of hard money. The Canadians are afraid of paper and would never take the Congress money. To enter a country which you mean to make a friend of with an army that must have occasion every day for fresh provision, horses, carriage labor of every kind, having no acceptable money to pay to those that serve you, and to be obliged, therefore, from the necessity of the case to take that service by force, is the sure way to disgust, offend, and by degrees make enemies of the whole people, after which all your operations will be more

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* See J. Adams to A. Lee, June 10, 1779, *infra*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 425.

difficult, all your motions discovered, and every endeavor used to have you driven back out of their country.

I need not recommend the Chevalier de la Luzerne to the President of Congress. His public character will recommend him sufficiently to all the respect and consideration due to the minister of so great and good a prince as the King of France, our ally. I shall only mention that his private character here is an excellent one and that he is connected by relation to some of the greatest and best people of this country. I hope that his residence with us may be made agreeable to him. I have written largely to the committee. By our last advices from Holland the English interest diminishes there, and from England they write that the daily apprehensions of a war with Spain begin to have a serious effect in disposing people generally to wish for peace. Great preparations are making here in all the seaports, and this summer will probably produce some important action.

With great respect and esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress—Action as to Ministers abroad—Deane's Case.*

The order of the day being called for to proceed in the consideration of the report on foreign affairs (*supra*, March 27, April 15, 1779),

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Laurens, that the further consideration of the said report be postponed until order be taken on this letter of 22d May last from Mr. Deane, and a decision made on the resolution moved thereon by a member from North Carolina, seconded by a member from South Carolina.

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntingdon	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress, the latter being imperfect.

Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The motion was then read, viz:

"That Silas Deane, esq., be ordered not to depart the United States without the special permission of Congress; and that Arthur Lee, esq., be directed to repair forthwith to America, in order the better to enable Congress to inquire into the truth of the several allegations and sugtions made by the said Arthur Lee against Mr. Silas Deane."

When the question was about to be put the previous question was moved by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Adams, and a division of the main question being called for,

On the question to agree to the previous question on the first clause, viz, "That Silas Deane, esq., be ordered not to depart the United States without the special permission of Congress,"

The yeas and nays being required by Mr Laurens,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntingdon	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Paca	No.	No.
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So the States were equally divided, and the question lost.

On the question to agree to the clause above mentioned, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Holton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. S. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Gerry	No.	
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntingdon	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So the States were equally divided, and the question lost.

The previous [question] being put on the second clause, was carried in the affirmative, every member answering except Mr. Henry and Mr. Smith.

So the main question was set aside.*

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*Mr. Henry Laurens, June 11, 1779, in commenting on the above vote, says:

"Never was there a more droll scene exhibited in a public assembly than the foregoing.

"Almost every man who voted for detaining Mr. Deane did so from a hope of securing a vote for recalling Mr. Lee. When this should have been effected, Mr. Deane was to have obtained 'the special permission of Congress for departing from the United States', or it might be that he would depart without the 'special permission', 'for who could control him' (said Mr. S. and J. P.). Such sentiments were expressed by both parties, which warrant this suggestion. To these and similar expressions I replied in Congress: 'If Mr. Deane, in defiance of the order of Congress, shall depart the United States, it will be pleading guilty, and upon Mr. Lee's appearance before Congress and giving evidence against Mr. Deane judgment will go against him by his default; and I believe that neither this nor a future Congress will hazard the public resentment which would follow a permission to Mr. Deane to depart before the appearance of Mr. Lee, unless from captivity or other extraordinary accident he should be detained an unreasonable length of time.' On the other hand, those who could not bear the idea of recalling a faithful servant, and subjecting him to the risk

J. Adams to Arthur Lee.*

L'ORIENT, *June* 10, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor of your letter from Paris of the 5th of this month, in which you inform me that, by advices from America, your enemies are determined to impeach your attachment to our country and her cause, and in which you request my opinion on that point from the knowledge I have had of your conduct while we acted together in commission.

At the same time that I lament the necessity of giving my testimony to a point that ought to be so well established in every part of the world, I have great pleasure in declaring that from my first knowledge of your fame to this hour I have never entertained one moment's suspicion of your attachment to our country and her cause, but on the contrary, through the whole course of that period, which I think is more than ten years, I have seen frequent proofs of your fidelity and zeal in it, oftentimes at a great expense of labor and care, at least, and at great hazard; and particularly through the space of time I had the honor to serve with you in commission I never saw or heard anything which gave me the least suspicion of the sincerity, fidelity, or zeal of your devotion to the sovereignty of the United States, but, on the contrary, constant evidence of a warm affection for their honor, dignity, and prosperity.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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of being captured and carried into England, whose king and ministers of state are exceedingly exasperated against him, and who also suspected the designs of the opposite party, therefore voted against their wishes to detain Mr. Deane, because the recall of Mr. Lee was tacked to that article as an express condition. Thus were votes given by all, three or four excepted, against the principles of the voters.

"My sole motive in bringing forward the proposition for detaining Mr. Deane and ordering Mr. Lee to appear and support his charges was for obtaining justice; (1) to my much injured country; (2) to individuals.

"The proposition originally sprang from myself, although Mr. Burke reduced it to writing, in order, he said, to try if gentlemen were in earnest. He never found one otherwise.

"Before I had voted against the recall of Mr. Lee (on the 8th of June, 1779; see the journal) I had repeatedly declared in Congress that I would vote for his recall, provided Congress would detain Mr. Deane, and that opinion I have invariably supported in private conversations with Mr. Lee's brother, and other particular friends, in opposition to their sentiments. '*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*,' was my governing principle. Thank God, I have acted agreeably to the dictates of my conscience, without respect to persons, and I trust my country will not condemn my conduct."—Silas Deane in France, Phil., 1855, 98. (As to Deane's case, see further Aug. 16, 1779.)

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 560; 7 J. Adams' Works, 95.

Lovell to Adams.*

[Confidential.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 13, 1779.

I shall not look through the notes in my almanac to see whether I have written to you twenty-two or twenty-four times. I shall go upon the easier task of acknowledging all those I have had from you, namely. 6th December, 1778, received 16th February, 1779, answered the 17th; 26th September, 1778, received 4th March, 1779, answered 28th April,

Three months ago Mr. G.† communicated to us that Spain was mediating, and that we ought to take speedy, decisive measures for peace. London gazettes told us the first part, and it appears strange that neither Dr. F., Mr. L., nor you have *hinted* this matter to us *lately*, if you did not *avow* it authoritatively. We have some wise men here who are sure *they* could fish out all the court secrets. In the various attempts to pull down A. L. to make way for some one to go from hence "who knows all the present circumstances of America, and therefore could negotiate properly," your want of ability to give us information such as we wish for, or fancy can be had, is said to spring from the suspicions of the French court respecting one of you, and something like an attempt to dictate to us a choice has been seen here. An extract of a letter from the Count de V. has been quoted, "*Je crains Monsieur A. L. et ses entours*," and we are tempted to think that therefore the communication before mentioned came through Mr. G. But this is different from what was once the conduct, for Mr. Deane tells us that he was *directed* to tell Dr. F. what he did not *choose* to tell Mr. Lee, or, as he wishes to have it believed, which he was *forbidden* to tell him. I am persuaded‡ Dr. F. would not readily disgust the French court in such a point. If there is any seriousness in the business, I suppose the court stood upon the *punctilio* of not having the compliment of a minister plenipotentiary returned at that time. Mr. Lee's enemies have produced nothing but innuendoes to procure his removal, while they dare not deny his integrity and abilities in our service. Mr. D. says the Lees are not fit for transactions with a "gallant" nation. But doubtless those men who want his place would be very gallant indeed on certain points in negotiation. The eastern States are charged with wanting what they have no right to,

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* 9 J. Adams' Works, 480.

† M. Gerard, the French minister.

‡ In what purports to be a duplicate of this letter Mr. Lovell makes many variations. The following occurs here: "I am persuaded Dr. Franklin would not readily blab any matter to Mr. Lee which the court might confidentially tell *him*. But it may be said the doctor was perhaps at that period only on a par with Mr. Lee and you, so that he could not officially convey the news of a negotiation from France to us without consulting Mr. Lee. It has been attempted to persuade us that Spain is disgusted with Mr. Lee. If more than innuendoes had been addressed we should have made a new appointment perhaps, though it is a very delicate matter."—Note to J. Adams' Works, 481.

and what is of "no interest to the southern States." Plenty are these local sentiments lately; and R. H. Lee, with H. Laurens, are squinted at as two monsters on the other side of the Susquehanna who pursue points in which the southern States have *no* interest. Would France or England reason that way on the fishery? I expect, however, that we shall coalesce in a few days upon what may be *ultimata* ready for some future day of pacification when Britain shall be restored to her senses. She is quite wild and foolish yet, in my opinion.

You will be scarcely able by our motley journals to understand what we are about. Why did I vote for your name to be inserted April 20, page 10? A majority against me had before resolved that the names should be added; that Dr. Franklin's should be inserted; but did not proceed by yeas and nays, therefore I was entrapped. Not having my *nay* appear on Dr. Franklin, could I say *nay* to Deane, the *causa malorum?* And as it was not *mutual* suspicion, etc., I could not exclude you, who was suspected and stigmatized in the report of the committee, though more to the disgrace of Mr. Izard than yourself, if there was any disgrace in the circumstance of his imagining that your connection with the "eaters and distillers of molasses"* had warped your judgment against the interest of other parts of the continent.† Mr. Izard has good testimony to his many estimable qualities, but his best friends say he is irascible even when he has not a fit of the gout, as he unfortunately had when he was writing of Dr. Franklin, and probably, too, when he made his strictures upon your opinion of the eleventh and twelfth articles.

Every *appearance* is that you will not be passed over without honorable notice when the report receives its finishing discussion. My own settled opinion of you leads me the more readily to think there is no plot concealed under the professions in your favor which have fallen from men lately whose general conduct is of a kind to make me cry: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*‡

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* See 3 J. Adams' Works, 48.

† The version of the duplicate is more to the point. Mr. L. says: "A majority against me had resolved, first, that the names should be added: secondly, that Dr. Franklin's should be inserted; but did not proceed by yeas and nays, therefore I was entrapped. Not having my nay to show in the first, I was forced to go through uniformly. It being as true that suspicions and animosities had been minuted by the committee respecting you as respecting the rest, for the report did not say *mutual* suspicions, etc. It was calculated to open the door for several new elections."—Note to 9 J. Adams' Works, 482.

‡ The fourth article reported by the committee of thirteen, upon which the question arose, is in the following words:

"That suspicions and animosities have arisen among the said commissioners which may be highly prejudicial to the honor and interest of the United States."

Mr. Duane moved that the names of the commissioners be added, taking the sense of the house on each name to be added, which motion prevailed.

Dr. Franklin's name was inserted without yeas and nays. The names of all the other commissioners were inserted by large majorities, excepting Mr. Adams. In

I firmly believe that your friend Lincoln has got complete success over the southern enemy. He will receive permission to return hither just in the hours of glory, so that he may attend to his wound, which was greatly irritated by his expedition to Carolina. This night is the fourteenth since we first had the news of his victory via New Providence. Confirmation is come from several quarters, but still we have not an express.* Tucker has sent in a twenty-four-gun ship this afternoon, which did not fire a shot at him before striking. It is at the capes with the *Confederacy*, one of the finest frigates in any service, as is said by voyagers.

I wish you every happiness, etc.,

J. LOVELL.

Lovell to A. Lee.†

[Marked "copy confidential."]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 13, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I will not omit this opp'y of send'g a few Lines to you, though my first intents were only to put under Cover the Gazettes, and the Journals of Congress. From those you will learn how Questions relative to you have been agitated.

May 3.—For your recall, 4 to 4 & 4 dividd.

June 9.—Ordr of the day called for, vizt Rept of the Comtee of 13. A motion made by Mr. Burke, 2dd by Mr. Laurens, that the considn of the Rept be postpd till order be taken on Mr. Deane's letter of May 22d, and a Decision of the Resolution moved thereon by a Member from Nth Car., 2dd by a Membr from Sth Car. Question by yeas & nays demand'd by Burke, 5 a., 4 n., 3 div'd.

Motion That Silas Deane, Esqr, be ordered not to depart United States without the Special Permission of Congress and that Arthur Lee, Esqr, be directed to repair forthwith to America in order the better to enable Congress to inquire into the Truth of the Several Allegations & Suggestions made by the Sd Ar. Lee in his Correspondence with Congress against the said Silas Deane.

Previous Question called by Gerry, 2dd by S. Adams. A Division of the main Question demanded. Previous Question on the 1st Part. Yeas & Nays by Mr. Laurens, 5 a., 5 n., 1 dividd.

Yeas and nays by Mr. Holton on the 1st Part, 4 a., 4 n., 3 d'd.

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his case the friends of Arthur Lee appear to have voted to include him, whilst his opponents took the other side, thus acting on both sides contrary to the prevailing affinities in Congress. This explains Mr. Lovell's allusions.—Note to 9 J. Adams' Works, 482.

* Confirmation never came.—Note to 9 J. Adams' Works, 483.

† Lee MSS. Harvard College.

Previous Question on the 2d P't, yeas and nays by Ellery, 11 ays.

The Term *recalled* having been used with regard to Wm. Lee and Rph. Izard, with an Idea Strenuously Supported by Some of bringing them to America though others who were affirmative meant only *vacating Commissions*. A 2d Resolve passed, That it is the Sense of Congress that Mr. Wm. Lee & Mr. R. Izard *need not repair to America*. I give them no official Notice now, nor Shall I without the Special order of Congress; because, I am again left alone of the Com'tee of for. Affrs, [B] yr Brother R. H. having resigned, as I hear, and gone home; and further because Something definite ought to be decided in regard to Compensation for Services of the Commissioners. An attempt has Several Times been made lately *to chuse a new Comtee* instead of *filling up the old one*. This you will perceive to be singularly decent towards the one who has steadily attended. Nay, it is Said that Such a Comtee is useless. I am Sure I find an immense Deal that *ought* to be Done and a great Burthen in what has been done by a Member of Congress without Secretary or Clerk, little as you & the other Gentlemen abroad may have been benefited by my Labors. Quires of my Writing have been sunk in the Sea, most of it near these Capes.

I expect further attempts to get rid of you. It was a Fear of that and a strong Desire to scrutinize Mr. D. that made Mr. Laurens, I imagine, give into the late motion. But I think you will rise above the Malice of the Faction which you have long known, or, if you find *yr Usefulness destroyed* by their accts you will readily tell us so, and desire to make way for some other Person. I have by me large Packets left by your Brother with Copies of Proceedings affecting you, but I will not venture them round about, as a Frigate must soon go directly from hence, or at least a Pacquet boat. I tell Mr. J. Adams more on that Head. I suspect much Roguery in the Stoppage of yr Letters. How else is it that we have not a line from any of you?

Mr. S. Adams goes home to-morrow for good and all, as he says. This is intended Via Cadiz, a Copy Via Martinique.

Your friend & humble Servant,

J. L.

Vid Journals: April 6, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, 28, 30; May 3, 22, 25, 27; June 9.

Honorable ARTHUR LEE, Esqr.,
*Commissioner, &c., Madrid.**

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* On this is the following endorsement:

"Receiv'd thus from Mr. Adams the 11th Feby, 1780, *i. e.*, with the wax finger'd not open'd. Mr. Adams had it from Dr. Franklin."

Further letters from Lovell to R. H. Lee will be found *infra*, under date of July 17, 1779, and Aug. 6, 1779. As has been seen (Introduction, § 11), Lovell was an active member of that party in Congress which sought to retain the management of public affairs in congressional committees, and which was more or less disaffected to Washington as well as Franklin.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 13, 1779.

SIR: By way of Martinique I forward to you gazettes, journals, and one or two pamphlets. The situation of things in Congress has been such for some time past that the committee of foreign affairs have been drawn on to look daily for some interesting decisions to communicate to you, which must account for their silence many weeks. I am once again left alone, and therefore in too delicate circumstances to give you any detail of matters agitated, but not concluded, respecting your commission. I enclose a late resolve,† to which I beg your attention, and I entreat that you will believe me to be, with much respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.‡

[For prior procedings, see *supra*, June 3, 1779.]

JUNE 17, 1779.

Congress proceeded in the consideration of the report on the communications of the minister of France, etc.; and

The sixth article in the report under the first head (see page 186) being read, the same was set aside by the previous question.

The articles under the second head were then taken into consideration, and the first and second were set aside by the previous question.

The third article was then read, and a division being called for, the first clause, viz: "That it may be stipulated that the United States shall not trade to the East Indies if adequate compensation can be obtained," was set aside by the previous question.

On the the second clause, viz: "or engage in the slave trade if adequate compensation can be obtained," the previous question being moved and the yeas and nays thereon required by Mr. Jay,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	

* MSS. Dep. of State, 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 71, with verbal changes.

† *In Congress, June* 5, 1779.—"*Resolved*, That the committee of foreign affairs be directed to write immediately to the commissioners at the court of France, and desire them to transmit an account of their proceedings in Mr. Beaumarchais' accounts, pursuant to the order of Congress of the 13th day of April, 1778."

‡ MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye. Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... Aye. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye. Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... Aye. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Henry ..... Aye. Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye. Mr. Griffin ..... Aye. Mr. Fleming ..... Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye. Mr. Burke ..... Aye. Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye. Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative, and the clause set aside.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles were severally set aside by the previous question.

"*Resolved*, That a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation may be agreed to, but not without the consent of our ally, nor unless it shall be previously stipulated that all the forces of the enemy shall be immediately withdrawn from the United States."

Ordered, That further consideration of the report be postponed.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare the form of a commission to the minister who may be appointed to negotiate a peace.

The members chosen: Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Morris, and Mr Marchant.

JUNE 19, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report on the communications, etc., when the following resolutions were moved by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Ellery.

1. That it is essential to the welfare of these United States that the inhabitants thereof at the expiration of the war should continue to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their common right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the said States.

2. That an explanatory article be prepared and sent to our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, to be by him presented to his most Christian majesty, whereby the said common right to the fisheries shall be more explicitly guarantied to the inhabitants of these States than it already is by the treaties aforesaid.

3. That in the treaty of peace with Great Britain a stipulation be made on their part not to disturb the inhabitants of these States in the free exercise of their common right to the fisheries aforesaid, and that a reciprocal engagement be made on the part of the United States.

4. That the faith of Congress be pledged to the several States that without their unanimous consent no treaty of commerce shall be formed with Great Britain previous to such stipulation.

5. That if the explanatory article should not be ratified by his most Christian majesty, nor the stipulation aforesaid be adopted by Great Britain, the minister conducting this business shall give notice thereof to Congress, and not sign any treaty of peace until their pleasure be known.

The first proposition being read, a motion was made by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to amend it by striking out certain words and inserting others, so that it read: "That it would be very injurious to these United States and the inhabitants thereof at the expiration of the war not to enjoy the free," etc.

On the question, Shall the words moved to be struck out stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	0.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	No.
	Mr. Fell	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	No.	0.
	Mr. McKean	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Paca	No.	No.
	Mr. Carmichael	No.	
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Smith, that the further consideration of the first proposition be postponed, on which the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Marchant	No.	
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	0.
	Mr. McKean	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Duane, after the words "seas of North America" to insert "within the restrictions of the law and custom of nations for preventing contraband," and on the question, Shall those words be inserted, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Jay,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery	No.	No.
	Mr. Marchant	No.	
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Fell	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	No.	No.

Maryland	Mr. Carmichael....Aye. Mr. Jenifer....Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Smith....Aye. Mr. Griffin....Aye. Mr. Fleming....Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn....Aye. Mr. Burke....Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens....No. Mr. Drayton....Aye.	0.

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was made by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. McKean, to strike out the words "preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the United States."*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 21, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to represent to the Congress of the United States of America that the daily experience of several ports of the continent proves how prejudicial the want of the proper regulations for maintaining the immunity of the flag, which is the foundation of a free commerce, is to navigators, to French merchants, and even to the interests and to the honor of the French nation. The treaty of commerce has foreseen this state of things, and has expressed the wish of the two parties to remedy it. The undersigned would have proposed to Congress some time ago to enter upon this negotiation had he not perceived that their time was occupied by subjects of greater importance; but as the evil increases daily, it becomes indispensable and urgent to provide a remedy for it, at least with regard to the most pressing subjects and by provisional regulations, which will have no force till the contract stipulated by the treaty of commerce is made.

The minister plenipotentiary, consequently, thinks it his duty to lay before Congress the annexed plan, and to propose a method which seemed to him calculated to effect this object.

Several States, perceiving the inconveniences of the present uncertainty, seemed disposed to provide a remedy for it by domestic laws, but the undersigned has not been willing to urge them, without being previously informed of the sentiments of Congress on this subject. He consequently requests that body to be pleased to inform him of them, and if they think proper that the daily complaints should be redressed by provisional regulations, while waiting till the subject shall be acted upon by a convention, to recommend this matter itself to the legisla-

* For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, June 24, 1779.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 605.

tures of the several States. The regulations which they may make will show by experience whether they are calculated to effect this object, they will throw light upon the rules observed among all commercial nations, and will give to the United States in general an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manner in which the commerce between the two nations can be regulated according to the principles of justice and equality, which should form the foundation of all the connections that shall subsist between them and according to the principles and forms which vary in different States.

GERARD.

A. Lee to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 21, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to inform Congress that Spain has declared against Great Britain, and that their respective ambassadors are recalled. A part of the Spanish fleet has joined that of France, which makes it outnumber that of England, amounting to thirty-three sail of the line, under Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, so that it is not very probable the latter will long hold the dominion of the sea.

Two motions in the House of Commons—one for offering us peace, the other for withdrawing all their force from America to withstand the house of Bourbon—have been negatived since the Spanish declaration was known to the ministry of England. The ministerial arguments were, that neither they nor any other ministry could consent to the independence of America, nor to the withdrawing their troops, without previous offers on our part; that the number of Americans in the king's service was equal to General Washington's army, with seven thousand of their sailors volunteers in his service. Lord George Germain said he knew from undoubted authority that Congress was divided into parties, and that it was only the fear of the army that withheld a part of Congress from immediately offering terms to Great Britain. He added that, as the prohibitory act empowered the crown to receive bodies or individuals of America into the king's protection and to grant pardons, this was sufficient. The majority of the house received this with acclamations of applause.

Parliament is to be prorogued on the 24th, having voted another million for this year's service.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 561, with verbal changes.

Ralph Izard and A. Lee to William Lee.*

PARIS, *June* 22, 1779.

SIR: We had the honor of receiving your favor of the —, in which you ask our advice relative to an application to the King of Prussia to comply with his promise, made through his minister, Baron de Schulenberg, "that he would acknowledge the independence of the United States as soon as France had done so," and whether it would be proper to change the channel of application from Baron de Schulenberg to the minister of foreign affairs.

It is with great pleasure that we contribute whatever is in our power to assist your judgment in what so materially concerns the public good.

We are of opinion that in the present state of expectancy from Spain it will be prudent to wait till her example also has given encouragement to the court of Berlin, and contributed to counteract the motives from Russia, which withhold that court from pursuing its interest and inclination in openly espousing our cause. That when it may be proper to move the question the promises should be touched with delicacy, by stating that the good-will towards us which the king had formerly declared having been suspended in its operation by the war in Germany, you hope that, their objection being now removed, he will not delay to give the world a decided proof of his sentiments in the acknowledgment of the independency of the United States of America, which can not fail by the weight of such an example to stop the further wanton effusion of blood.

As the King of Prussia is in fact his own minister, we should imagine that it might have a bad effect to change from Baron de Schulenberg, whom he seems to have appointed to transact this particular business. But in this a knowledge of the actual situation of that court must decide, and of that we are not informed.

We wish you every success in this important negotiation, and are with the greatest esteem, dear sir, yours, etc.,

RALPH IZARD.
ARTHUR LEE.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, June 19, 1779.]

THURSDAY, *June* 24, 1779.

On the question, Shall the words moved to be struck out stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 635.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... Aye. Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... Aye. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... No. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye. Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Searle ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... Aye. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... Aye. Mr. Henry ..... Aye. Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye. Mr. Griffin ..... Aye. Mr. Fleming ..... Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye. Mr. Burke ..... No. Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye. Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Dickinson, after the words "North America" to insert "as near the coasts of the territories which shall remain in the possession of other nations after the conclusion of the present war as is permitted to any free and independent people."

And on the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... No. Mr. Peabody ..... No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... No. Mr. Lovell ..... No. Mr. Holton ..... No.	No.
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... No. Mr. Marchant ..... No. Mr. Collins ..... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... No. Mr. Huntington ..... No. Mr. Spencer ..... No.	No.
New York	Mr Jay ..... Aye. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... No. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... No. Mr. Fell ..... No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... No. Mr. Shippen ..... No. Mr. Searle ..... No. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... No. Mr. McLene ..... No.	No.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... Aye. Mr. McKean ..... No.	0.

Maryland	Mr. Paca ..... Aye. Mr. Carmichael ..... Aye. Mr. Henry ..... Aye. Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye. Mr. Fleming ..... No.	0.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No. Mr. Burke ..... Aye. Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No. Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	0.

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to strike out the words "continue to;" and on the question, Shall those words stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... Aye. Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye. Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... No. Mr. Lewis ..... No.	No.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye. Mr. Fell ..... No.	0.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Searle ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	0.
Maryland	Mr. Paca ..... No. Mr. Carmichael ..... No. Mr. Henry ..... No. Mr. Jenifer ..... No.	No.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No. Mr. Griffin ..... No. Mr. Fleming ..... No.	No.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No. Mr. Burke ..... No.	No.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye. Mr. Drayton ..... No.	0.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was made by Mr. Dickinson, seconded by Mr. Carmichael, to insert the word "all" before "these United States," on which the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.

Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... Aye. Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... No. Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... No. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye. Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Searle ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... Aye. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Paca ..... Aye. Mr. Carmichael ..... Aye. Mr. Henry ..... Aye. Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye. Mr. Griffin ..... Aye. Mr. Fleming ..... No.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye. Mr. Burke ..... Aye. Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No. Mr. Drayton ..... No.	No.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the proposition as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Ellery ..... Aye. Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye. Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... No. Mr. Lewis ..... No.	No.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye. Mr. Fell ..... No.	0.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Searle ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	0.
Maryland	Mr. Paca ..... No. Mr. Carmichael ..... No. Mr. Henry ..... No. Mr. Jenifer ..... No.	No.

Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin ..... No.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Burke ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Dayton ..... No.	

So it was

Resolved, That it is essential to the welfare of all these United States that the inhabitants thereof, at the expiration of the war, should continue to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their common right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the said States.*

A. Lee to Count de Florida Blanca.†

PARIS, *June* 27, 1779.

SIR: Your excellency will permit me to lay before you a statement of the late proceedings of the English in the southern parts of the United States of America, which, in their consequences, may be as injurious to his Catholic majesty's possessions in that quarter as to those of the States. Should the measure proposed to prevent their success appear to your excellency to be advisable, it can not be executed too soon, because every day gives the enemy new strength in their stations, and enables them to do additional mischief by destroying whatever they can approach.

[I do not press your excellency about my coming to Madrid. I know your excellency's wisdom and the maturity of judgment with which his majesty's councils are conducted. I therefore trust that when such a step is thought to be proper you will have the goodness to signify it to me through his majesty's minister at this court.]‡

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

MEMORIAL TO COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

PARIS, *June* 27, 1779.

The English, having taken possession of Savannah, in Georgia, are extending themselves in that State so as to form a connection with and establish an influence over the Indian nations that border all that country. They design also to possess themselves of Port Royal, in South Carolina, and if possible of Charleston.

These acquisitions, if they are suffered, with their contiguous possessions, will give them such a command upon that coast and in the gulf, as well as such means of

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* For further proceedings, see *infra*, July 1, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 562, with omissions.

‡ Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

exciting the savages and seconding their enterprises against the neighboring territories of Spain, as may be difficult to resist if they are not prevented.

What renders it impracticable for the Americans to repel the enemy is their superiority at sea, which, at the same time that it supports their posts on land, enables them to make diversions in various quarters, so as to keep up a general alarm and prevent our force from being united in any one point. With this view they have very lately invaded the State of Virginia, in the bay of Chesapeake, to withhold the aid which that State would send to South Carolina and Georgia.

In this situation it is in his majesty's power to give very effectual assistance to the invaded States and prevent the enemy from making such dangerous establishments and such an augmentation of their power. The naval force of the English in Georgia and South Carolina will consist of a fifty-gun ship, the *Experiment*, lately sailed, and three frigates. In the bay of Chesapeake there are a sixty-four and a forty-four gun ship, with some armed tenders. A small squadron, therefore, of three or four large ships and a few frigates, sent from the Havana, would destroy the enemy's ships in Georgia, South Carolina, and Chesapeake Bay, and deliver their troops into the hands of the Americans.

The state of the enemy's fleets in Europe and the West Indies will not permit them to augment their force on the coast of America. The squadron actually sailed under Admiral Arbuthnot to New York consists of four ships of the line and one frigate, viz. the *Roebuck*, seventy-four; the *Russel*, seventy-four; the *Europe*, sixty-four; the *Defiance*, sixty-four; and the *Guadaloupe*, twenty-eight. As this squadron must support the operations of their main army, and protect Halifax, Rhode Island, and New York, it is not probable they will detach any additional force from thence to the southward, so that their armament there, if not withdrawn, must necessarily fall a sacrifice to the Spanish squadron.

ARTHUR LEE.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, June 24, 1779.]

JULY 1, 1779.

Congress proceeded to the consideration of the second proposition moved by Mr. Gerry (see page 254).

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to strike out the words "explanatory" "more than it already is by the treaties aforesaid;" and a division being called for by Mr. Laurens on the question, Shall the word "explanatory" stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye. Mr. Huntington ..... No. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Lewis ..... No.	0.

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Fell ..... No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Searle ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye.	
	Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No.	0.
	Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Henry ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin ..... No.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Burke ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton ..... No	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question Shall the words "more than it already is by the treaties aforesaid" stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr Lovell ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	
New York	Mr. Duane ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Lewis ..... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Fell ..... No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Shippen ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye.	
	Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No.	0.
	Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Henry ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin ..... No.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Burke ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton ..... No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the proposition, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	

Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	
New York	Mr. Duane ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Shippen ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Searle ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No.	0.
	Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Henry ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin ..... No.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Burke ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Drayton ..... No.	

So it was

Resolved, That an explanatory article be prepared and sent to our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, to be by him presented to his most Christian majesty, whereby the said common right to the fisheries shall be more explicitly guarantied to the inhabitants of these States than it already is by the treaties aforesaid.

The third proposition being read, a motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton, to amend the same by adding:

Provided, That if Great Britain will acknowledge and ratify the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as of commerce, of these United States, and agree to the other articles in the ultimatum resolved upon by Congress, the present war shall not be continued, notwithstanding Great Britain shall decline to make an express and particular acknowledgment of the rights specified.

The report and papers therein referred to being read,

Resolved, That the same be taken into consideration on Thursday next.*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 5, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has already had the honor to recommend to Congress the request made by the king's navy agent in relation to the expedition of the ship *Defence*, loaded with pro-

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, July 17, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 606.

visions for Cape François. He renews his entreaties by the present memorial. The quantity of provisions on board this vessel is so inconsiderable, particularly considering the abundance of old grain which we see now, that the undersigned hopes that Congress will think that the exportation of them may be allowed without injury to the service of the army or of the public. The undersigned, however, offers to have these same provisions received, so as to be deducted from the quantity promised for his majesty's squadron, and particularly the flour, on account of the thousand barrels, to which the eighteen thousand promised for the same service have been reduced. The want of provisions is so great at Cape François, particularly in the vessels of Count d'Estaing's squadron, which are stationed there to protect the reciprocal commerce, that the said minister is ready to subscribe to whatever conditions Congress shall think proper to impose with regard to this expedition. But he requests, with the greatest earnestness, that they would be pleased not to defer giving a positive answer, in order not to increase, if its decision is in the negative, the costs and expenses which the king will be obliged to pay to the proprietors and fitters out of the said vessel.

With regard to its destination, the undersigned had thought that he could flatter himself that his character and conduct would prevent the doubts which a member of Congress has communicated in writing to the king's navy agent. Nevertheless, as so weighty a suspicion, declared in so serious a manner, and impeaching the probity and fidelity of the officers of the king, acting immediately under the direction of the said minister, can not have been suggested to Congress without important reasons, the undersigned entreats and requests them to be pleased to cause an account to be rendered of the reasons of his suspicions, and of the facts upon which they may have been grounded. The undersigned requests further that the result of this verification may be communicated to him, in order that he may be in a situation to take the further part that the dignity of the king, his respect for Congress, his regard for the public interest of America, and the delicacy which ought to characterize the conduct of every public man may require.

The undersigned makes the same request, and for the same reasons, with regard to the accusation made to Congress, that the vessels which have been fitted out in the name of the king have been loaded with quantities of flour on individual account. He declares that his first rule has always been to cause the whole of the vessels to be freighted on his majesty's account; but if any frauds have been committed in this matter, it is of equal importance to the public good and to the dignity of the king that its authors should be known in order to prevent further frauds. The delegates to Congress, by a verbal declaration made to the king's navy agent, have confined this imputation to one vessel alone, but it is not less important that the fact should be verified.

Besides, although the minister plenipotentiary of France insists on

this point, in order to make these odious imputations fall on those who may deserve them, he could have contented himself with declaring that not having the right of police and inspection over the proprietors, owners, and captains of the American vessels which have been employed in these transportations, and who ought to be better acquainted than strangers with the laws of the country, it is only the officers of the State, appointed to receive the declarations of the ships which sail from the ports, who can, in examining the cargoes, determine the frauds which may have been committed; and that, without directly and positively blaming the officers of the king, they can not be made responsible for frauds, which it is not in their power to prevent. Very far from desiring any connivance on the part of the officers or of the governments of the different States of America, the undersigned earnestly desires that they would be pleased to execute with vigor the powers which belong to them and the laws which may have reference to these subjects.

The undersigned hopes that Congress will be pleased not to defer its resolution, whatever it may be, respecting the ship *Defence* till the verification of these facts. The two affairs have nothing in common, and the minister plenipotentiary, in repeating his offers expressed above, flatters himself that Congress, if they think proper to permit this expedition, will find that these arrangements can be made even after the departure of this vessel.

GERARD.

This memorial being read, it was immediately

Resolved, That it be recommended to his excellency the governor of Maryland to permit the ship *Defence*, which is loaded with provisions for the fleet of his most Christian majesty, to depart and carry her cargo to the place of her destination, and that care be taken that she carry no other provisions than the above and what may be necessary for the crew.

Franklin to Gillon.*

PASSY, *July* 5, 1779.

SIR: I received the honor of yours dated the 29th past. The zeal you show for the relief of Carolina is very laudable; and I wish that it was in my power to second it by complying with your proposition. But the little squadron which you suppose to be in my disposition is not, as you seem to imagine, fitted out at the expense of the United States, nor have I any authority to direct its operations. It was from the beginning destined by the concerned for a particular purpose. I have only, upon a request that I could not refuse, lent the *Alliance* to it,

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 429.

hoping the enterprise may be more advantageous to the common cause than her cruise could be alone. I suppose, too, that they are sailed before this time. Your other scheme for raising a sum of 1,800,000 livres by subscription throughout France, to be advanced to the State of South Carolina on an interest of 7 per cent., etc., being mixed with a commercial plan, is so far out of my way, and what I can not well judge of; but in the present circumstances I should think it not likely to succeed. However, as I am charged to procure a loan for the United States at a lower interest, I can have no hand in encouraging this particular loan, as it interferes with the other. And I can not but observe that the agents from our different States running all over Europe begging to borrow money at high interest has given such an idea of our poverty and distress as has exceedingly hurt the general credit, and made the loan for the United States almost impracticable.

With great esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 5, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to represent to Congress that, faithful to the promises which that body has asked for on his part, in relation to the purchase of provisions destined for the squadron which the king sent last year to the assistance of the United States, he has never authorized any purchase except through the very overseers appointed by Congress, or without giving notice of the operation to the members of the committees intrusted with this business. He has declared to them several times that the provisions bought on the account and with the money of the king would always remain at the disposal of Congress, either for the public service or for that of the American army. The undersigned hopes that their members will be witnesses of it to Congress. Delicacy has been carried so far that it has been preferred to expose the king's squadron to the want of provisions, which it has procured only in consequence of some happy accidents, rather than to break through an arrangement which Congress had judged necessary. The same principle has guided the conduct which has been pursued in the last place, when the undersigned, by his knowledge of the chief motives of Congress, having been obliged to demand the assurance of a certain quantity of provisions, the difficulty of circumstances induced him to combine purchases by way of commerce with the direct measures which Congress has judged proper to take. As Congress must have been informed of all that has taken place on this subject, the undersigned will not introduce it again here, and he will abstain from all reflection.

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 608.

He confines himself to representing to Congress that the produce of these private purchases is reduced to a very small quantity by the obstacles which the Continental officers have thrown in their way, and by the seizure, by authority, of the articles bought, as well as by other similar events; and the agents employed on the king's account, being thus deprived of the security and of the power which every American citizen and every foreign merchant enjoys, and the property of the king being so uncertain and exposed, the undersigned begs Congress to be pleased to cause all the provisions bought on the account and with the money of his majesty to be placed in the hands of the officers whom they shall judge proper to appoint for this purpose, in order that Congress may dispose of them in such manner as their own prudence and the public interest shall dictate; the undersigned declaring that from the moment in which he was informed of these proceedings and of these obstacles he has given order to put an end to every kind of purchase and supply of provisions. He annexes here the note of the provisions now in the hands of the king's agents; and if the commissions given heretofore have produced a greater quantity of them, he will have the honor to give notice of it to Congress, according as he shall be informed of it himself.

But he must at the same time call the attention of Congress to the proposition which he had the honor to make to them by the memorial which contains the request for this new supply, that is to say, that they would be pleased to declare whether the minister plenipotentiary of France may reckon upon the quantity of provisions which are necessary for the important object which he has had the honor to communicate to Congress. In order to facilitate the success of his measures on this subject, the undersigned confines himself at the present time to requesting that the quantity of five thousand barrels of flour may be immediately held in readiness. The remainder can be furnished in the course of September next from grain the product of this year's harvest.

The reasons alleged in the said memorial compel the undersigned to repeat to Congress the formal demand of a prompt and explicit answer, with which he has not hitherto been honored. Congress has too much wisdom for any one to allow himself to set forth to it all the inconveniences which might result to America and to the alliance from the least delay. The reports hitherto communicated are so uncertain, that it is impossible to make them the foundation of a confidence which the experience of the past does not encourage, unless Congress authorizes them by its sanction. A formal and explicit assurance on the part of Congress can alone effect an object so important, upon which the minister plenipotentiary of France has insisted since the month of May, and which the advancement of the season renders still more critical and pressing.

GERARD.

Franklin to Jones.*

PASSY, *July* 8, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your favors of the 2d and 4th instant. I am sorry for the accidents that have obliged your little squadron to return and refit, but I hope all may be for the best. Some days since M. de Chaumont handed to me the substance of a letter which contained heads of the instructions that M. de Sartine wished me to give you. I had them translated and put into the form of a letter to you, which I signed and gave back to M. de Chaumont, who, I suppose, has sent it to you. I have no other orders to give, for, as the court is at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct. I observe that you write about a change of the destination, but when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and there is not now time to obtain a reconsideration. It has been hinted to me that the intention of ordering your cruise to finish at the *Texel* is with a view of getting out that ship; but this should be kept a secret.

I can say nothing about Captain Landais' prize. I suppose the minister has an account of it, but I have heard nothing from him about it. If he reclaims it on account of his passport, we must then consider what is to be done. I approve of the careenage proposed for the *Alliance* as a thing necessary. As she is said to be a remarkably swift sailer, I should hope you might by her means take some privateers and a number of prisoners, so as to continue the cartel and redeem all our poor countrymen. My best wishes ever attend you.

I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Williams.†

PASSY, *July* 8, 1779.

DEAR JONATHAN: I received yours of the 1st and 2d instant. Enclosed I send, as you desire, Mr. Lee's original letter declining any further concern with the accounts. As it contains some malevolent insinuations relating to them that are groundless, I think it right you should at the same time see my observations on them in the drafts of a letter I intended to send him in answer, but which on second thoughts I did not send, merely to avoid a continued altercation, for which I had neither time nor inclination and he abundance of both.‡

I am much obliged to the gentlemen who have undertaken the trouble of examining your accounts, and if they think fit to join Commodore Gillon to their number, and he will be so good as to accept, it will be very

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 431.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 430.

‡ See *supra*, Franklin to A. Lee, Mar. 27, 1779.

agreeable to me. I am sorry that M. Schweighauser declines it, as he was put into our business by Messrs. Lee, and it was therefore I named him in the request, though not an American.

I request you would make inquiry concerning the complaints contained in two papers I enclose, which were handed to me from the Spanish ambassador.

I suspect that some of the English cruisers do sometimes personate Americans to create mischief. Let me know if such vessels really went from Nantes.

I am, your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 9, 1779.

SIR: I send by this opportunity journals and gazettes, with some letters, which were to have gone by way of Martinique some time ago, with others that I hope will reach you by that channel. I add a complete set of journals, as far as they are printed, viz: First volume, second volume, and from January 9 to June 12 this year, with two spare pamphlets of Nos. 2, 3, 11, 12, to make those already sent complete. Perhaps I may have the honor of writing again before the vessel sails out, though she is now falling down the river.

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

De Bouillé to Gerard.†

[Translation.]

MARTINIQUE, *July* 11, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 8th of June, in which you inform me of Congress' want of powder. I am very sorry that the supplies for this colony, which are much less than they ought to be, will not permit me to furnish any to the United States of America. The immense and unforeseen consumption occasioned by Count d'Estaing's fleet and his unhappy expedition against St. Lucia have laid me under the necessity of purchasing up all the powder in the hands of merchants to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, and you must be sensible that nothing but the most urgent necessity could have induced me to go to such expense on account of the king at a time when I am in so much want of money.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 72.
† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 635.

Mr. Bingham, who is here, an agent of Congress, will be able to purchase lead of the merchants. As to arms, they are become scarce.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

BOUILLÉ.

P. S.—I beg of you, sir, to use all of your efforts that we may receive as much provisions as possible before the month of November next at furthest, and cause them to be addressed to me either at Fort Royal, St. Pierre, or at Trinité, in this Island, and that you would not let the price of freight prevent you. You will thereby do us the most essential service.

Congress—Conferences with French Minister.*

MONDAY, *July* 12, 1779.

The President informed the house that he had communicated to the minister of France the resolution of Saturday, and that the minister has agreed to meet Congress in committee of the whole at 12 o'clock this day.

Congress was resolved into a committee of the whole, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Laurens reported that the committee have had a conference with the minister plenipotentiary of France, but not being prepared to report the substance of the conference desire leave to sit again.

Resolved, That to-morrow morning Congress be resolved into a committee of the whole on the subject of the conference this day held with the minister plenipotentiary of France.

JULY 13, 1779.

Congress in a committee of the whole.

JULY 14, 1779.

Congress was again in committee of the whole, and after some time the President resumed the chair.

Mr. Laurens reported:

That in obedience to the order of Congress the committee of the whole have conferred with the minister plenipotentiary of France, who introduced the conference by saying that he had received some dispatches from his court which he was ordered to communicate to Congress, but that he expected no answer; that though it was not the usual practice to offer communications of this nature in writing, yet as it had been intimated to him by the President that this mode would be most agreeable to Congress, he had committed the heads of them to paper, not as a memorial, but merely for the assistance of the memory in a form to which the term of "*ad statum legendi*" is appropriated by the

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journal compared and corrected. See also 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 610.

usage of the courts of Europe. That in reading the said paper he would take the liberty of making some explanations and reflections. He then proceeded to read the paper herewith delivered, marked No. 1, divided into seven articles, and at the close of each separate article he added explanations and reflections, the substance of which the committee have endeavored to recollect and committed to writing in the paper marked No. 2.

No. I.

Ad statum legendi.

First. The king has approved all the overtures which were made by his minister plenipotentiary to the honorable Congress respecting the affairs of M. de Beaumarchais; therefore a line ought to be drawn between the stores which this gentleman has been permitted to take out of the royal magazine, for which he has constituted himself debtor to the department of war, and between those articles which the same gentleman has bought in the way of common trade for the use of the United States.

Second. A hint having been given to the minister plenipotentiary that Congress desire to recruit their ships in France from the English prisoners there, the court, in consequence of his representations, is willing to facilitate this mode of recruiting seamen.

Third. The king and ministry were extremely [pleased] with the resolution which Congress has taken to maintain only one minister plenipotentiary at this court, as well as with the exclusive appointment of so steady and honest a man and so firm and solid a patriot as Dr. Franklin.

Fourth The Congress has given very great satisfaction to the court of France by the convenient and spirited step which was taken to disavow a certain ill-grounded and pernicious doctrine relating to the mutual obligations of the allies to conclude no truce or peace without the knowledge or consent of each other. The court of France is of opinion that this doctrine could only be maintained by those men whose aim it was by any means to weaken the ties of the alliance and to create disgust and diffidence between the allies.

Fifth. This court has received with some surprise the intelligence that Congress has published the treaties concluded with it without the previous knowledge and consent of the party interested. It is not to be denied that such a proceeding is but little consistent with reason and with the general practice of courts and nations. Nevertheless, this observation involves not any kind of reproach, but the king thinks that so noble and generous a system of politics could but produce desirable effects by its publication.

Sixth. The intelligence that in the first month of last winter there were no adequate preparations made in America towards a vigorous and successful campaign was received at Versailles with all the concern which the danger of the United States and the prolongation of the present contest can create in the most friendly mind. The court of France is fully in the opinion that the exertions of the United States are necessary to bring the common enemy to a proper sense of all the disappointments which he will meet with.

Seventh. The court being very desirous to acquaint Congress exactly with the state of affairs relating to the common cause, would not delay to inform this honorable body that the court of London, showing on one side dispositions to a reconciliation with France, rejects on the other side the very idea of a formal and explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, which his most Christian majesty perseveres to hold up as a preliminary and essential condition. The behavior of the common enemy in this respect rendered a great deal more probable the conjecture which was communicated to Congress some time ago, that the point of honor

and pride of the King of England will be the greatest obstacle to the conclusion of peace upon those explicit terms; and perhaps the manner of overcoming this difficulty will of course become the most decisive object of the deliberations of Congress when this honorable body shall determine to make peace [it is presupposed that whatever *mezo termini* may be hit upon]* England shall treat with the United States as with a free people, and evacuate immediately all the territories belonging to them.

No. II.

The substance of what the minister said at the conference in explanation of the several articles in the foregoing paper marked "ad statum legendi," as reported by the committee.

ARTICLE 1. From the bills and accounts with which Congress have been furnished by M. de Beaumarchais Congress will be enabled to distinguish those articles which were drawn from the royal magazines, and those which he supplied in the way of trade. For these last Congress will, without doubt, make remittances to M. de Beaumarchais in their own way, to enable him to perform the contracts he has entered into as a merchant. That for the former articles the king, his master, taking upon himself to be creditor to the United States, would wait until Congress shall find it convenient to make compensation.

ART. 2. Though his court had not resolved to retaliate upon the prisoners [in their hands for injuries done to prisoners]† taken by the common enemy, yet for the reasons assigned the king, his master, had assented to the proposal; but in carrying this matter into execution it would be proper to take such precautions and to give such orders to the captains or other persons employed in this business that it might be managed with prudence.

ART. 3. There is every reason to believe that Congress will very soon receive proofs of the confidence which his court was always willing to show to the servants of these States. The personal character of Dr. Franklin will enable the court to act with a frankness becoming the alliance, and they will have no occasion to withhold any more the secrets which may interest the United States and the alliance.

ART. 4. The king, his master, after this explicit step, relies with the highest confidence upon the candor and faithfulness of Congress in understanding as well as in executing the treaty, and in rejecting every arbitrary and unnatural interrelation or construction which false, subtle, or designing men can contrive. Congress, by their own feelings, must be sensible that such interpretations and constructions are always hurtful against common decency and dignity, and may oftentimes endanger mutual confidence, and of course the very existence of a treaty. But the sense Congress has manifested in this particular affair gives his court the greatest hopes that there will be no further motive for the painful reflections which that affair gave rise to.

ART. 5. He begged leave to add that this publication interfered with the situation of affairs in Europe, and was in a certain degree disadvantageous to the common cause, because it gave the common enemy a full knowledge of our system and our mutual engagements, without procuring us any reason to guess at their views and resolutions. Happily these inconveniences have not been felt, and ample compensation has been obtained by convincing the people of America not only that the treaty was just and equal, but that the heavy task with France had taken upon her was magnanimous, gratuitous, and without reward. The whole world was at the same time convinced that war, conquest, and ambition were not the objects of the alliance, nor of any of the allies, but only the peaceable enjoyment of the sovereignty, liberty, security, and independence of these United States. And this conviction gave much honor, credit, and consideration to the alliance.

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* In Sparks' ed., "whatever middle path may be hit upon."

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

ART. 6. On this he observed that he had endeavored since last fall, by order of his court, to impress upon every mind that England will never evacuate New York willingly, and could only be brought by proper exertions on the part of America to think seriously of granting independence. He believed that Congress had adopted a system conformable to their engagements, and to the situation of affairs his court was better informed than he was. But without reflecting on past events, the king hopes that his amicable apprehensions will be overcome by the success of the campaign; that henceforth the United States will follow the example set them by his majesty, and that they will exert themselves in their own cause, as his majesty exerts himself for their sakes and in their cause, which he has adopted.

ART. 7. He said he was authorized to tell Congress in confidence that this reflection is the result of the observations which the court of Spain made upon the conduct of England throughout her negotiation of mediation; that the British ministry seem to be solicitous to be reconciled with France, and to keep up this negotiation; that from thence probable hopes may be entertained of their internal disposition to peace, but at the same time they reject with haughtiness the formal acknowledgment of the independence insisted on by France and Spain. New orders have been given to the Spanish ambassador at London to ascertain as nearly as possible those dispositions. In these circumstances the king, his master, ordered him to communicate this intelligence to the United States, that they may, if they think proper, take under consideration if it would not be expedient to give their plenipotentiary instructions and full powers, founded upon the necessity of the conjuncture and upon the treaty of alliance, the express and formal terms of which are that peace shall not be made without an express or tacit acknowledgment of the sovereignty, and, consequently and *à fortiori*, of the rights inherent in sovereignty, as well as of the independence of the United States in matters of government and of commerce.

This substantial alternative in an engagement which is a mere gratuitous gift, without any compensation or stipulation, ought, indeed, never to be forgotten in a negotiation for peace. France foresaw the extreme difficulties which a formal and explicit acknowledgment might meet with. She knew by her own experience in similar contests, in which she has been deeply concerned, respecting the republics of Holland, Genoa, and the Swiss cantons, how tenacious monarchs are, and how repugnant to pronounce the humiliating *formula*. It was obtained for Holland *tacitly* after a war of thirty years, and *explicitly* after a resistance of seventy. To this day Genoa and the Swiss cantons have obtained no renunciation or acknowledgment, either tacit or formal, from their former sovereigns; but they enjoy their sovereignty and independence only under the guaranty of France. His court thought it important to provide that difficulties of this nature, which beside merely in words, should not delay or prevent America from enjoying the thing itself.

From these considerations arose the very important and explicit stipulation in the treaty which he just now mentioned, and which has received the sanction of the United States. The circumstances seem such as call for the application of the alternative of tacit or explicit acknowledgment. All these considerations are adduced that Congress may, if they think proper, consider whether the literal execution of the treaty in this point is not become necessary, and whether the safety and happiness of the American people, as well as the essential principles of the alliance, are not intimately connected with the resolutions that may be taken on this subject. And it remains with the prudence of Congress to examine whether instructions upon some particular conditions may not frustrate the salutary purpose of the treaty of alliance relative to a tacit acknowledgment which the situation of affairs may require.

In thus executing (continued he) the orders I have received, I can not omit observing that these orders were given with the full presumption that the business which I laid before Congress in February last would have been settled long before these dispatches should come to my hands. However sensibly my court will be disappointed

in its expectations, I shall add nothing to the information and observations which, with the warmest zeal for the interests of both countries and by the duties of my office and my instructions, I found myself bound to deliver from time to time to Congress in the course of this business. The apprehension of giving new matter to those who endeavor to throw blame upon Congress is a new motive for me to be silent. I beg only to remind this honorable body of the aforesaid information and reflections, and particularly of those which I had the honor to deliver to an assembly similar to the present. I shall only insist on a single point which I established then and since in one of my memorials, namely, the manifest and striking necessity of enabling Spain, by the determination of just and moderate terms, to press upon England with her good offices and bring her mediation to an issue, in order that we may know whether we are to expect peace or war. This step is looked upon in Europe as immediately necessary. It was the proper object of the message I delivered in February last. I then established the strong reasons which require that at the same time and without delay proper terms should be offered to his Catholic majesty in order to reconcile him perfectly to the American interest. I did not conceal that it was to be feared that any condition inconsistent with the established form of the alliance, which is the binding and only law of the allies, and contrary to the line of conduct which Spain pursued in the course of her mediation, would lead her to drop the mediation, and prevent his Catholic majesty, by motives of honor and of faithfulness, from joining in our common cause, and from completing the intended triumvirate. No loss, no unhappy event, could be so heavy upon the alliance as this. Indeed, although the British forces are already kept in check by the combined efforts of France and America, it is nevertheless evident that the accession of Spain can only give to the alliance a decided superiority adequate to our purposes, and free us from the fatal chance that a single unlucky event may overthrow the balance.

The committee then, taking notice of what the minister had said concerning a tacit assurance of the independence of these States and the reluctance of the King of Great Britain to make an express acknowledgment thereof, requested to know his sense concerning the manner in which such tacit assurance could be given. To which he, premising that what he should now say ought to be considered only as his private sentiments, replied that the British court would probably endeavor to avoid an express acknowledgment by imitating precedents that had occurred in Europe on similar occasions, instancing the cases of the Swiss cantons, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands; that the mode adopted in the latter case had been for the archduke, to whom the King of Spain had transferred his right of sovereignty, to treat with them "as with free and independent states;" and that, with respect to the cantons, France had not been able to obtain for them in the treaty of Munster any other than a declaration that they should be in possession of as full liberty and exemption from the empire and be in no manner subject to the jurisdiction thereof. But that, in his opinion, the circumstances of these States, and the manner in which they had conducted their opposition, would justify their expecting a more full declaration.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 16, 1779.

SIR: We find by the minister of France that your appointment has given high satisfaction to his court, and we are encouraged to expect proofs of its most confidential reliance upon your character. We have not had a line from you of this year's date; indeed, I believe your latest

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 72, with verbal changes.

is November 7, 1778. Two days ago we received several letters from Dr. [Arthur] Lee and one from Mr. Izard; the latter of March 4, the former up to April 6. The vessel was from Rochelle about the middle of May.

It was unfortunate that we did not get the information of Mr. Lee earlier respecting the designs of the enemy against Connecticut. They had accomplished a part of them a few days before. Will no one under a commission from these United States retaliate on the coast of England for the burning of our beautiful Fairfield?* A single privateer might, I think, show there a striking sample of the species of war carried on by Britain against America. We are told this evening that General Lincoln has had an advantage over Prevost in an open field fight, in which the militia behaved to admiration, on the 20th of June.

We forward two letters for "our great, faithful, beloved friend and ally Louis Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre." We submit, however, the superscription to your judgment.

You will manage the invoices by your best abilities. The probability of success was held out to us by one who doubtless makes known by this opportunity how much our present circumstances render such aids essential to us. A report of the treasury, respecting the just stipend of our late and present ministers at foreign courts is not quite determined upon. A decision is peculiarly necessary as to Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Izard after the proceedings here of June 8. I put up for you a set of the journals, which have been printed this year, adding some spare numbers to complete what have been sent in part of No. 15.

Presuming from report and a passage of a letter from Dr. Lee that Mr. Adams is on his return hither, we do not write to him more. Should he remain in France, we beg he may be made acquainted with the cause of our omission. Good as this opportunity is, we expect a much better one shortly, when we shall renew assurances of being, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

P. S.—The letters and papers respecting M. de Francy's agency were only this day delivered to us from the secretary's office; but M. de Francy had sextuples before.

Lovell, for Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Arthur Lee.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 16, 1779.

SIR: Two days ago several of your letters came to hand, the latest being of April 6. It is much to be regretted that this one in particular did not earlier arrive. The copy of its contents was sent imme-

* See as to the delusive character of this information Introduction, § 150 151.
† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 564.

diately to Governor Trumbull, but alas too late.* Fairfield had been destroyed by the fire of the enemy. We are mistaken, however, if that enemy does not shortly find the unprofitableness of this kind of warfare towards their main purpose. America must be dead indeed to all proper spirit if such doings will not render her both as vigilant and active as in the beginning of the contest. It is matter of much conjecture why you have not been able for some months back to give us interesting accounts from Spain. All we know is through M. Gerard. We have sent so many sets of the journals of Congress that you will doubtless get one. They are chiefly directed to Dr. Franklin. You will find the parts in which you are personally interested to be under the following dates, viz: April 6, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, 28, 30; May 3, 22, 24, 25, 27; June 8.

We shall speedily write again; in the mean time be assured that we are with much regard, your humble servants,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

P. S.—It is probable that all the papers sent by you up to May 21 have come safe either in originals, duplicates, or triplicates.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, July 1, 1779.]

JULY 17, 1779.

Congress resumed the subject under debate the first of this month (see page 267); and the third proposition and the amendment being read, a motion was made by Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. Drayton, that the further consideration thereof be postponed.

On the question for postponing, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... No. Mr. Peabody ..... No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... No. Mr. Holton ..... No.	No.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... No. Mr. Collins ..... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... Aye. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... Aye. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.

* See Introduction, §§ 150 151.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

New Jersey	Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston ..... Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Shippen ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye.	
	Mr. McLene ..... No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Van Dyke ..... Aye.	
	Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes ..... Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No.	0.
	Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The fourth proposition was then read:

"That the faith of Congress be pledged to the several States that without their unanimous consent no treaty of commerce shall be formed with Great Britain previous to such stipulation."

A motion was made by Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. McKean, to amend the latter part so as to read: "No treaty of commerce shall be entered into or any trade or commerce whatsoever carried on with Great Britain without an explicit stipulation on her part not to molest or disturb the inhabitants of the United States of America in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries in the American seas anywhere, excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, if a nearer distance can not be obtained by negotiation."*

Lovell to A. Lee.†

[Private.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 17, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I wrote to you on the 13th of June, but to my surprise found the letter in the commercial committee room on the 10th of July, the Martinico man having left it behind, though he took the journals and gazettes to be forwarded by Mr. Bingham to France and The Hague. My above-mentioned letter was sent under cover to Mr. Adams to the care of Dr. Franklin, it seems. Mr. A. will have left France before the *Polacre*, commanded by Captain Sapet, can reach it. It is needless to copy the whole, as now the weeks of the journals are printed to which I there referred largely. Some parts, however, I shall now re-

* For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, July 22, 1779.

† See MSS. Harvard College.

peat: Extract June 13: "The term *recalled* having been used in regard to Wm. Lee and Rph. Izard with an idea, strenuously supported by some, of bringing them to America, though others who were affirmative meant only *vacating the commissions*, a second resolve passed that they need not repair to America. I give them no official, now, nor shall I without the particular order of Congress, because I am again left alone.

[From here on an exact copy of letter June 13, 1779, as given above.]

Letters from A. Lee:

Aug. 7, 11, 21, 27, 31.
Sep. 9, 30.
Oct. 19, P. S. Nov. 29.
Nov. 4, $\frac{1}{18}$, 20.

I will now, Sir, add a few remarks. Your Quotation from Whitlock I have read in the Congress, to strengthen what I have often urged there. Nothing can more naturally suggest itself to a Politician, one would think, yet I have affirmed Truth when I told you that the Com^{tee} was said to be now an useless Institution.

What remark am I to now make upon Some of y^{r} Conduct referable to the 5th Line of the 3d page of this Sheet? I will not trust my own Judgement, but I suspect your most Steady friends here will differ. I presume you meant to take their Opionion, as you could not at Such a distance judge of all Circumstances; Else why cover to R. H. or F. L.? At present a Veil of Secresy is on the Business, as well as on that committed to R. H. or F. L. or J. L. Your Letter defensory has been read. Y^{r} first Letter to Shelburne brought that Water up to the Eyes of some who are evidently unfriendly to you, which is the Consequence of strong unexpected Admiration. The Letter from Jennings and your Answer is as valuable as a marble Pillar erected to the honor of y^{r} Probity and prophetic Sound Judgement. Boux's is as honorary to him as a Sensible spirited Gentleman as it is disgraceful to others. All the other Vouchers were familiar to me. I have been so engaged & so unwell that I have only had the single chance of listening in Congress; but I shall renew my Pleasure Soon.

The Report respect^{g} Supporting the Ministers was again recommitted this day, but I told the House that I could not risque Censure by not officially informing Mr. W. Lee & Mr. Izard of the Proceedings of the 8th of June. How easy & how tollerably decent would it have been to have recalled their Commissioners for the Reasons h—— * down in the original Report of the Committee of 13—vid 2d head Apr. 15th, but the 4th head was meant to accomplish the point with you; the most Sanguine not being discouraged at the Idea of killing Doct^{r} F— secondarily, or sacrificing all Character in themselves of Impartiality upon the Groundwork on which they meant to gibit your Fame.

* MSS. torn.

But I have said all my Eyesight will allow at this late hour of the Night and the Express goes off at Dawn.

Yr affectionate Friend,

J. L.*

Lovell to William Lee.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 17, 1779.

SIR: Committee of Congress for foreign affairs are officially instructed to inform you that on the 8th of June last past it was resolved to recall you from the courts of Vienna and Berlin, to which you had been appointed. But you are also to be informed that it is the sense of Congress that you need not repair to America.

You may see the proceedings at length respecting this business in their journals, printed authoritatively by David C. Claypole, and being in the hands of Dr. Franklin or Mr. Arthur Lee at Paris.

We are sir, with sincere regards, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Lovell, for the Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Ralph Izard.‡

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 17, 1779.

SIR: Your letter of March 4 was read in Congress three days ago, being then only first received by the committee of foreign affairs. We should have been very happy to have received it before the 8th of June,§ as it would undoubtedly have founded a resolve of Congress more agreeable to us to communicate officially than that to which we must now refer you in their journals, printed authoritatively by David C. Claypole, and which are in the hands of Dr. Franklin or Dr. Arthur Lee at Paris.

We have till now omitted to forward to you that resolve for your recall from the court of Tuscany, as we daily expected a settlement of a

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* Indorsed by A. Lee: "Recd the 11th of Sepr, 1779. A. L."

See Lovell to A. Lee, *supra*, under date of June 13. Lovell, as will be gathered from the above, was closely attached to Samuel Adams and the Lees, and was an active member of the party in opposition to Washington, as well as Franklin. See Introduction, § 11. See, further, Lovell to A. Lee, Aug. 6, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 636.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 703, with verbal changes.

§ In Congress, June 8, 1779: "According to the order of the day, Congress proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee of thirteen on foreign affairs, and on the question, shall Mr. Izard be recalled? resolved in the affirmative.

"A motion was then made, that Mr. Izard be informed that it is the sense of Congress that he need not return to America; resolved in the affirmative."

definite recompense for your services to these United States. But the mode of doing business in such an assembly as Congress will not warrant our detaining until such settlement some important papers committed to us to be sent to the court of France.

We are, with sincere regard, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, July 17, 1779.]

JULY 22, 1779.

Congress proceeded in the consideration of the subject under debate on the 17th, and the question to agree to the amendment resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Smith, to strike out the words, "without their unanimous consent."

And on the question shall those words stand, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye. Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye. Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... Aye. Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Spencer ..... Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay ..... Aye. Mr. Duane ..... Aye. Mr. Morris ..... Aye. Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Fell ..... Aye. Mr. Houston ..... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye. Mr. Shippen ..... Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg ..... Aye. Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No. Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	0.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No. Mr. Henry ..... No. Mr. Forbes ..... No.	No.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No. Mr. Griffin ..... No. Mr. Fleming ..... No.	No.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No. Mr. Burke ..... No. Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	No.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye. Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Dickinson, to amend the proposition by adding:

"*Provided*, That this resolution shall not impede a treaty for concluding the present war."

On the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
	Mr. Peabody	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Collins	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	No.	No.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	0.
	Mr. McKean	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Forbes	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Burke, to add:

"*Provided*, This resolution shall not be binding on any, unless a majority of the States in this Union shall agree to make peace with Great Britain according to the terms of the treaty of alliance with France."

On the question to agree to this amendment the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
	Mr. Peabody	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	

New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	No.	No.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	Aye.	0.
	Mr. McKean	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Henry	No.	
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
	Mr. Randolph excused		
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

On the question to agree to the proposition as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Forbes,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	No.	0.
	Mr. McKean	Aye.	

So it was

Resolved, That the faith of Congress be pledged to the several States that without their unanimous consent no treaty of commerce shall be entered into nor any trade or commerce whatever carried on with Great Britain without an explicit stipulation on her part not to molest or disturb the inhabitants of the United States of America taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries in the American seas anywhere, excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, if a nearer distance can not be obtained by negotiation.

JULY 24, 1779.

Congress proceeded in the consideration of the subject under debate the 22d; and a motion was made by Mr. Drayton, seconded by Mr. Burke, to reconsider the first proposition passed the 24th of June last (see p. 263), to the end that the description of the fishery therein may be altered so as to agree with the description in the fourth proposition as passed on the 22d of this month. On the question "Shall the first proposition be reconsidered?" the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Peabody ..... No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell ..... No.	
	Mr. Holton ..... No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Collins ..... No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer ..... No.	
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Duane ..... No.	
	Mr. Morris ..... No.	
	Mr. Lewis ..... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Houston ..... No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... No.	
	Mr. McLene ..... No.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ....(excused)	No.
	Mr. Van Dyke ..... No.	
	Mr. McKean ..... No.	
Maryland	Mr. Henry ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes ..... Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Randolph ..... Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Burke ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hewes ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	Aye.

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was made by Mr. Dickinson, seconded by Mr. Drayton, "That it be resolved that the next preceding resolution is to be so understood that if the fisheries therein described shall be effectually secured to these States by Great Britain, though not by the express stipulation therein mentioned, these States will agree to a treaty of commerce with that kingdom on just and reasonable terms."

When the question was about to be put, the previous question was moved by Mr. McKean, seconded by Mr. McLene.

And on the question, to agree to the previous question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Drayton,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	

Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	
	Mr. McKean	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Henry	No.	No.
	Mr. Forbes	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Griffin	No.	
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
	Mr. Randolph	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Hewes	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton	No.	No.

So it was carried in the affirmative, and the main question was set aside.*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to lay before the Congress of the United States of America the sequel of the proceedings inserted in the public papers against M. Holker, consul of the king, and his majesty's general navy agent. The first part of these same proceedings is already in the hands of this august assembly. The minister of France intended merely to lay the facts before them, and to leave to their wisdom to determine the measures that they should judge proper for putting an end to this offense; but the late unjust, injurious, and incompetent proceedings which have been carried on against a public officer of the king in relation to the exercise of his functions, the further dangers with which he is threatened, the indirect consequences which already result from them to the representative of his majesty and those which may result more directly from the sentiments and principles which are manifested, do not permit the minister any longer to observe the same moderation.

Congress have received the credentials of the undersigned minister in the name of all the United States. They have accepted and invested with their authority the other officers of his majesty. It con-

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, July 29, 1779.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 619.

sequently belongs to Congress to protect them against the attacks which may be made in their persons on the dignity of his most Christian majesty and the laws common to all nations governed by the laws of police relative to the free exercise of their functions. Congress is too enlightened to need a comment upon the insulting writings which the minister lays before them. He merely requests them to take into consideration the contents of the letter which the said minister has written to the president of the executive council of Pennsylvania, as well as that which the consul of the king has addressed to him. Copies of them are annexed. He is persuaded that Congress will have the less hesitation to take this cause in hand, as facts are involved in it relative to the secret of the alliance which have happened in the sight and with the consent of a committee, and as this reason alone would justify them in taking an exclusive cognizance of it; besides, the consul of the king will most fully approve, if Congress think it necessary, that the orders he has given have been exactly conformable to the agreement made with the committee and to the territorial laws of the State in which they were executed.

Agreeably to these considerations, the minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor to beg and formally to request the Congress of the United States of America—

First. To be pleased to take under their special protection the consul of the king, and, if circumstances require it, his majesty's other officers.

Second. To cause the public notice already given to be repeated, that M. Holker has been accepted by this august body and recognized as the consul of his most Christian majesty.

Third. To grant to this public officer, or to procure for him, justice and satisfaction for the attacks publicly made on his honor and reputation.

Fourth. To declare that the consul of the king has acted conformably to the views and wishes of Congress in seeking to procure provisions for the king's squadron by the way of trade; that the condition of these private purchases has always been, that the articles procured should remain at the free disposal of Congress, either for the army or for the benefit of the public, and that not a single barrel of flour should be exported without their consent and formal authorization; that in consequence of this agreement the undersigned minister has transferred to them the hundred and eighty-two barrels bought at Wilmington, and that this quantity of provisions has from this time become the property of the United States.

Finally, the undersigned minister requests Congress to take the effectual measures that their wisdom shall dictate for protecting all the officers of the king, his master, from every unjust, injurious, and arbitrary proceeding, and for securing to them the liberty necessary for the exercise of their functions, without seeing the dignity of his majesty and the honor of his officers exposed to further insults.

The justice of Congress and their regard for the honor of a monarch who is a friend and ally of the United States will doubtless prevent the serious discussions and the misunderstanding which such proceedings, if they are not promptly and authentically made amends for, would undoubtedly occasion. It is with the most entire confidence that the undersigned minister places this whole affair in the hands of Congress.

GERARD.

[Papers referred to in the foregoing memorial.]

No. 1.

M. Gerard to the President of the State of Pennsylvania.

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1779.

SIR: M. Holker, navy agent and consul of the king, my master, has presented to me his defense in relation to the suspicions which some have been pleased to excite as to his conduct concerning the subsistence of the French fleet. I approve and confirm all the contents of his letter, and I declare that he has acted on this occasion in his capacity of a public man and an officer of his most Christian majesty, and that all the orders that he has given for the said subsistence have been given under my direction, and with the consent and agreeably to the desire of the committee of the general Congress of the United States.

I hope that the defense of the consul of the king will satisfy your excellency and the executive council of this province, as well as every honest and unprejudiced man. At any rate M. Holker, and all the other consuls and officers of his most Christian majesty scattered throughout America, will always be ready, when they shall be properly requested, to answer as to anything that shall relate to the law of the country. It is the serious will of his majesty; his representatives are ordered to see to it, and it is for this reason that the offers of M. Holker have anticipated your wishes in this respect. But, sir, in paying this just tribute to the sovereignty and to the territorial law, I must have the honor of observing to you that there is no civilized nation where the agents and public servants of a foreign sovereign do not enjoy immunities and exemptions which by the unanimous consent of these nations have been regarded as indispensably necessary for the free exercise of their functions; even when they act contrary to the law of the country, care is taken and caution used in order not to wound the dignity of their constituents and not lightly to injure the public character of their officers. If they have acted only in their official capacity, people have neither the right nor the power to set themselves up for judges, but if there are evident proofs, they are transmitted to the superior officer, if there is one in the country, and it may be to the sovereign himself, and it is for him to cause satisfaction to be made or the proper punishments to be inflicted.

These officers, moreover, can not be subjected to any inspection or inquisition with regard to the execution of their public functions, except to that of their own sovereign and his representatives; it does not belong to any one whatsoever to assume in this respect a power and an authority which would become an attack on the rights of the sovereign of another country and an injury to its representatives. This would be a violation of the laws common to nations governed by the laws of police, and a manifest infraction of the principles upon which the mutual and necessary communication between friendly nations is founded, and without which the appointment and the residence of the respective public officers would become dangerous and impossible, if in any country whatever these principles were not acknowledged, or if any person pretended, without the consent of a sovereign, to set up for a guardian of his officers and to censure and condemn their conduct in his name or under the pretext of his interest.

If this usurped power extended even to actions the scene of which was without the territory of the state; if it were allowable to take the property of a sovereign by force from the place of deposit, notwithstanding the protest of the civil magistrate and in a foreign state, to which alone it would belong to protest against the violence of its laws; in fine if, after assuming the pretext of taking care of his interests, anyone should dare to sentence explicitly or by implication a foreign king to pay a penalty or fines, and if the public officers were represented as enemies of the country even while they were employed in affairs of the utmost secrecy and of the greatest importance for this very country's own interest, they would then be deprived of the liberty which every citizen and every other stranger enjoys, while on the other hand the terrified citizens would refuse to take part in any affair relating to this power in order to preserve their reputation and tranquillity. These officers would then be prevented from fulfilling their duties to their master, particularly if the crime of falsehood were publicly imputed to them while their title and quality were called in question, although publicly and authentically acknowledged by all the powers of the country. Such conduct would be a marked insult, and this situation, very near to a state of hostilities, would tend to destroy all confidence, all commerce, and all correspondence between the two friendly and allied nations; and there would remain only one course to be pursued by the representatives of that which should be injured and which could not obtain immediate satisfaction; namely, that of seeking an asylum in a country where the respect which a nation owes to an independent, friendly, and allied power, as well as to its representatives, is known, and where, by conforming to the territorial laws, one can rely upon the effectual protection of the sovereign against every injurious, violent, and arbitrary proceeding.

My duty, sir, places me under the necessity of offering these remarks to your excellency and the executive council. Having no direct credentials for the republic of Pennsylvania, I can not demand reparations from it as a minister, and I can only address myself to the Congress of the United States, forasmuch as the facts in question have all happened under its sanction and by its authorization. But my desire to preserve the decency, harmony, and good understanding which ought to prevail between two allied States will justify me in earnestly requesting your excellency and the executive council to take immediately into consideration the preceding observations, and without delay to communicate to me your opinion on this subject. An explicit and positive answer is indispensable in this delicate and critical juncture, in order that I may take the measures suitable to the dignity of the king, my master, as well as to the tranquillity and to the honor of his officers of all ranks and denominations, and at all events to enable his majesty to provide himself for the maintenance of his dignity. Meanwhile I give orders to suspend every proceeding susceptible of new inconveniences, and every operation in the State of Pennsylvania on account of his most Christian majesty on the part of his officers, until the rules to which they are to conform shall be known and fixed, and till the public is convinced that the citizens do not expose their honor and their tranquillity when they treat with the officers of the king and when they conform to the laws of their States.

GERARD.

No. 2.

Holker to Reed, President of Pennsylvania.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 24, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor of forwarding to your excellency Mr. Dunlap's publication of this day, in which I find, with some degree of surprise, a paragraph leveled at me and my official transactions. I observe that notwithstanding the most explicit and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 624.

repeated offers I made to you yesterday morning, and through you to the honorable supreme executive council of this State, of proving that I had not in any shape violated or infringed the laws of Pennsylvania, that I had acted in perfect conformity therewith; notwithstanding I solemnly declared that the flour seized was bought and destined for the sole use of his majesty's fleet; notwithstanding the many and forcible reasons urged to your excellency to convince you that more proper and more decent measures might have been pursued, and that the steps I had taken to supply his majesty's fleet were not only proper, but were dictated by mere necessity; notwithstanding all these circumstances, I am still held up to the public in a suspicious light, and as if I were answerable or accountable for the private and personal transactions of Mr. Rumford, of Wilmington, transactions totally foreign to me and to the instructions or orders given him by me.

My application to you, sir, in this respect seems to have been so far ineffectual, as also your just and pointed representation on this subject, which you were pleased to communicate to me by your letter of this day. I am sorry to remark, that though I have acted in concert with his excellency, our minister plenipotentiary, that Congress has always been apprised of the purchases made by my orders; though all the provisions purchased and delivered into the hands of my agents have been at all times at the disposal of Congress in consequence of express stipulations; though I have given with pleasure the widest room for inquiry into the grounds of all suspicions, in order that a thorough investigation might establish public tranquillity and public confidence, which I had the greatest reason to expect, because it is evident, even by the publications, that not a single suspicion was founded on solid ground, but merely on surmise; still his majesty's representative in this commonwealth, his agent general in all the ports of the United States, acknowledged as such by Congress, by yourself, and the board at which you preside, specially charged, in conjunction with the minister plenipotentiary, with procuring the necessary supplies for his majesty's squadron, expressly fitted out for the defense of these States against the common enemy and for the protection of his dominions in America, acting in the strict line of his office and duty, is most wantonly traduced to the public, branded with the most injurious and unfair imputations in the newspapers published in this very city, where these facts and my public character are most notorious, under your eyes, with your knowledge, and in contradiction to your personal advice and disapprobation.

I need not expatiate on the evil consequences that may arise from such illiberal aggressions. I need not claim your interposition. But the reasons I gave you yesterday becoming every instant more forcible and more pressing, it is necessary that I demand the most immediate exertions of government on this occasion.

It is with the utmost reluctance I sit down to appeal in this solemn manner to the executive power of Pennsylvania for justice, lest my request may be construed an opposition to the respectable motives of the informers on my conduct; but I am accountable to my royal master for my actions, and obliged to exact that respect due to his representative in this State, and to support the dignity of the character with which he has been pleased to invest me. Therefore, it is in compliance with my duty that I submit these facts and the repeated insults I meet with to the reflections of your excellency and council, relying fully on your sense of propriety and on your exertions on this occasion, as in all others where I have applied for redress.*

I remain, with respect, your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

HOLKER.

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*The publications relative to these complaints are found in the Pennsylvania Packet of Saturday, July 24, 1779.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has received the resolution of Congress, dated the 15th of this month, in relation to the supplies of provisions destined for the squadron of the king. He requests Congress to accept his thanks for the measures which have been taken to effect this important object. He is only under the necessity of representing that no one of the officers of the king can, and that no American citizen will, take it upon himself to receive and take care of the provisions destined for this purpose. The unjust and arbitrary proceedings to which they have been exposed terrify them, and the undersigned is obliged to request Congress to leave the said provisions in their own magazines, and in the hands of their own officers, till the time of making use of them arrives. This request has more particular reference to the flour taken from Wilmington, and which has become the direct property of Congress by the transfer of it which the undersigned made to Congress in one of his latest memorials.

GERARD.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has received with gratitude the permission which the Congress of the United States has been pleased to grant to him for the expedition of the ship *Defence*. His court will be very sensible of the regard which Congress have been pleased to pay to the situation of the vessels of war stationed at Cape François.

The said minister takes the liberty of reminding Congress of the request which he made in one of his memorials, dated the 5th of this month, relative to the accusations which have been made before the whole house of frauds which were thought to have been practised with regard to the cargo of the ship *Defence*, and of other vessels loaded with provisions for the French squadron. The undersigned has, by writing, on the 17th of this month, urged the committee intrusted with this verification to be pleased to hasten its report, and he takes the liberty of addressing the same request to the Congress of the United States itself. Congress is also referred to the reflections contained in his said memorial of the 5th instant.

GERARD.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 618.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 618.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 28, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, thinking it necessary to lay before Congress all the information relative to the affair of the flour from Wilmington, has the honor to annex the copy of a letter which the president of the executive council of Pennsylvania has written to M. Holker, as well as of the three pieces which were annexed to this letter, and of which this council has informed the said president that he retained a copy.

The undersigned minister must, at the same time, have the honor to represent to Congress that he is informed that there will be a new meeting of the city on Monday morning, and that the critical state of affairs seems to require that it should be seen fit, before this time, to take some effectual measures conformable to the petition and to the request which he has had the honor to address to Congress; otherwise the undersigned and the other officers of the king would have no protection and no security against the effects of the unjust, injurious, and violent principles and proceedings of which the said minister has complained; and he would be compelled to leave Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in order to seek an asylum in another State, where liberty and protection could be secured to him till he could receive the orders of the king, his master.

GERARD.

[Copies of the papers enclosed in the above letter.]

No. 1.

Joseph Reed to M. Holker.

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 24, 1779.

SIR: After the visit you favored me with yesterday, and in consideration of the point on which we conversed. I wrote the letter enclosed, and about 6 o'clock the answer, also inclosed, was delivered me. I informed the gentlemen, two of the committee, that I had seen you that morning; that you conceived yourself able to remove the imputations conveyed in their representations; and had requested the council to point out the parts of your conduct on which doubts might arise. The gentlemen promised me they would inform the other gentlemen of what I had represented, and also that I still thought there would be an impropriety in making the publication in the present circumstances. I observe this morning that the gentlemen have been of a different opinion, doubtless deeming themselves under a public obligation to communicate the transaction to the world without delay.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOSEPH REED.

P. S.—Not having any copies of the enclosed, I must beg you to return them after perusal.

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 626.

No. 2.

IN COUNCIL, *Philadelphia, July* 23, 1779.

A paper, dated in committee, and signed William Henry, chairman, in answer to the reference made by this board on the 14th instant, having been read,

Ordered, That the secretary do write to the said Mr. Henry, to inform him that the papers alluded to in said answer did not accompany it, and to desire that they may be forwarded as soon as convenient.

The president having informed this board that M. Holker had conferred with him on the above representation, and showed a copy thereof received by him (M. Holker) from the committee, and requested that this board would point out such parts thereof as may appear to convey any imputations upon him or distrust of his faithful performance of his duty as a public officer,

Ordered, That the said paper be further considered to-morrow, that a proper answer may be given to the said request.

Extract from the minutes.

JAMES TRIMBLE,
For T. Matlack, Secretary.

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No. 3.

Joseph Reed to William Henry, chairman of the committee.

WALNUT STREET, *July* 23, 1779.

SIR: I received this morning the report of the committee on the affairs of M. Holker, which by particular accident I was prevented from laying before the council this morning. I observe it is proposed to publish it, but I presume this does not mean an immediate publication, as there will be an indelicacy and violation of usual forms to do this until a return has been officially made thereupon by us to Congress, through whom the matter came to us. In all cases of petitions or other papers to be presented to any public body I take it to be a standing rule that the matter shall be first communicated to them before it is published to the world. As I observe you have sent a copy to Mr. Holker, I presume it is intended thereby to give him an opportunity to explain, deny, or admit such a part of it as he may think proper to do. A publication will in some measure debar him from this, whereas at a future day, if the publication is still thought necessary, the whole may be given together; at all events, it will be the duty of the council to make some report to Congress, in which this narration will appear. As to the flour itself, perhaps there may be no inconvenience in letting it remain a few days in its present condition. My earnest wish is that this business may be conducted without fear, favor, or partiality to the real interests of the community, all first suspicions converted into solid proof, and those of a contrary kind effectually banished.

The good sense of the gentlemen to whom I address myself will, I am persuaded, make the necessary and present distinction between persons acting in a public capacity and character, especially of another nation, and our own citizens, who are to stand or fall by their own laws and the estimation of their countrymen.

I am, gentlemen, etc.,

JOSEPH REED.

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No. 4.

William Henry to Joseph Reed.

COMMITTEE ROOM, *Friday Afternoon*, 5 *O'clock.*

SIR: We had the honor of your favor this morning, and beg leave to observe, in answer thereto, that Mr. Morris having already published an account of the flour, both in behalf of himself and M. Holker, as may be judged by his publishing M.

Holker's letters, and that publication being prior to any report from the council to Congress, we conceive there can be no impropriety in our now taking the matter publicly up. Besides which, we apprehend ourselves laid under an immediate necessity to give satisfaction to our fellow citizens on the subject, and to publish our proceedings for the previous consideration of the meeting on Monday.

M. Holker, we conceive, ought, in justice to himself, to have appealed to the council agreeably to the resolution of Congress, which he has not done. We have deferred the matter to the last moment, and can not now, without exposing the reputation of the committee, defer it longer.

Your excellency is sensible that nothing but the most pressing necessity could induce us to depart from the advice you are pleased to give, and we request you to accept the reasons we have assigned as an apology for so doing.

By order of the committee.

I have the honor to be, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY,
Chairman.

All the above memorials, letters, and papers, received from the minister this day, were referred to a committee of five, namely, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Smith, Mr. Morris, and Mr. McKean, who were instructed to confer with the president and the supreme executive council of the State of Pennsylvania and with the minister and consul of France, and to prepare and report a state of facts, together with their opinion of the measures proper for Congress to adopt thereupon.

Holker to Gerard.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 29, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to send you the several annexed certificates, which have been sent to me by Mr. Rumford of Wilmington. As these papers have a direct relation to the conduct of Mr. Rumford and to the seizure made of the flour bought by him for the king's squadron, and as they may give room for fuller information as well with regard to my transactions as to that of this commissary or of every one else in relation to the said flour seized, I think it my duty to request you to transmit them as soon as possible to Congress, informing that body that I have sent duplicates of them to the council of the State of Pennsylvania. I hope that there will be found in them proofs of the desire which has always animated me to conform in everything to the resolutions or recommendations of Congress, as well as to dispel all the doubts or suspicions which insinuations, assertions, or publications could have shed upon me. I dare even flatter myself that I shall at last receive the satisfactory testimonial to which my conduct, my trans-

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 630.

actions, public or private, in everything that can concern the United States of America, seem to entitle me on the part of Congress.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient humble servant,

HOLKER.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, July 24, 1779.]

JULY 29, 1779.

The fifth proposition (see p. 255) being read,

On motion of Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Drayton,

Resolved, That the consideration thereof be postponed.

On motion of Mr. McKean, seconded by Mr. Huntington,

Resolved, That if after a treaty of peace with Great Britain, she shall molest the citizens or inhabitants of any of the United States in taking fish on the banks and places described in the resolution passed the 22d day of July instant, such molestation (being in the opinion of Congress a direct violation and breach of the peace) shall be a common cause of the said States, and the force of the Union be exerted to obtain redress for the parties injured.

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple—Aye. Mr. Peabody—Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry—Aye. Mr. Lovell—Aye. Mr. Holton—Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant—Aye. Mr. Collins—Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington—Aye. Mr. Spencer—Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay—Aye. Mr. Duane—Aye. Mr. Lewis—Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Fell—Aye. Mr. Houston—Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong—Aye. Mr. Searle—Aye. Mr. Muhlenberg—Aye. Mr. McLene—Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson—Aye. Mr. Van Dyke—Aye. Mr. McKean—Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael—No. Mr. Henry—No. Mr. Forbes—No.	No.
Virginia	Mr. Smith—No. Mr. Fleming—No. Mr. Randolph—No.	No.

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

North Carolina	Mr. Penn	No.	No.
	Mr. Harnet	No.	
	Mr. Burke	No.	
	Mr. Hewes	No.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No
	Mr. Mathews	No.	
	Mr. Drayton	No.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.*

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 30, 1779.

SIR: Mr. Rumford has sent to the consul of the king some new doc uments, which throw great light on the affair of the flour from Wil mington. I have the honor to forward them to you, in the hope tha you will be pleased to lay them before Congress, as well as the letter o M. Holker which accompanies them.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most hum ble and obedient servant,

GERARD.

IN CONGRESS, *July* 30, 1779.

The above papers were referred to the committee of five before men tioned, who on the 2d of August delivered in a report, whereupon Con gress came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the minister of France be assured that Congress wil at all times afford every countenance and protection to the consuls an other servants of his most Christian majesty with the powers and au thorities to them delegated by their constituents.

That the several appointments of consuls made, and which may here after be made and approved by Congress, be duly registered in th secretary's office, and properly notified by the President to the execu tive authorities of the respective States in whose ports such consul may reside.

That the measures taken by M. Holker to procure flour for the flee of his Christian majesty in the way of commerce have from time t time been made known unto and been fully approved by Congress that the several proceedings and publications complained of by th minister on that subject are very injurious to the servants of his sai majesty, and that Congress do highly disapprove of the same.

That the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvani be informed that any prosecutions which it may be expedient to direc

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* For further proceedings, see *infra*, July 31, 1779.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 630.

for such matters and things in the said publications or transactions as may be against the laws of nations shall be carried on at the expense of the United States.

That the minister of France be informed that the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania have taken proper measures to restore the flour taken from the agents of M. Holker.

Congress—Proceedings as to Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, July 29, 1779.]

JULY 31, 1779.

The subject being again resumed a motion was made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Marchant, to take into consideration the third proposition (see page 254), which was postponed on the 17th instant (see page 279); and on the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Peabody ..... Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Holton ..... Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins ..... Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer ..... No.	
New York	Mr. Jay ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Duane ..... No.	
	Mr. Morris ..... No.	
	Mr. Lewis ..... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Houston ..... No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Searle ..... No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... No.	
	Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Van Dyke ..... No.	
	Mr. McKean ..... No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Henry ..... No.	
	Mr. Forbes ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
	Mr. Randolph ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Harnet ..... No.	
	Mr. Burke ..... No.	
	Mr. Hewes ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	No.
	Mr. Mathews ..... No.	
	Mr. Drayton ..... No.	

So it passed in the negative.

*MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

Congress then proceeded to the consideration of the report of th committee on the letters from W. Lee and the communications of th minister of France; and the preliminary article being read (see p 185), viz: "That previous to any treaty or negotiation for peace, th liberty, sovereignty, and independence of these United States, as wel in matters of government as of commerce, be acknowledged on the par of Great Britain."

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Duane, after th word "acknowledged" to insert the words "or tacitly assured." An on the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Duane	Aye.	
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	No.
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	No.	
	Mr. McLene	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	No.
	Mr. McKean	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
	Mr. Randolph	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Mathews	No.	
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it passed in the negative.*

J. Reed, President of Pennsylvania, to Gerard.†

IN COUNCIL, *Philadelphia, July* 31, 1779.

SIR: I have now the honor of addressing you in answer to the repre sentation you were pleased to make to this board on the 24th instant When to every principle of public affection, policy, and justice ther

*For further proceedings, see *infra*, Aug. 3, 1779.
†5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 631.

is added our experience of your personal friendship to America and your attachment and engaging deportment to the citizens of Pennsylvania of every rank, all professions on our part to make your residence in the State happy, easy, and honorable must be unnecessary. It is not easy, therefore, for us to find language to express our concern at any transaction which may disturb your repose and interrupt the exercise of those functions discharged with so much honor to yourself and satisfaction to those who are called to take any part in public affairs.

In some communications which the honorable Congress have been pleased to make to us we also see with great concern that apprehensions are expressed, the reality of which we should deplore as an evil of the first magnitude. Be assured, sir, that the citizens of Philadelphia and of Pennsylvania, can not entertain sentiments so unworthy; but if there are any so lost to every sense of propriety, decency, and order, the authority of the State has power equal to its inclination to check and suppress so licentious and wicked a procedure.

We entreat you, therefore, to dismiss every idea so painful and so dishonorable to us as that of personal insult, and repose confidence in us when we confirm to you our assurances of the affection, respect, and esteem of our constituents. And if there are any persons who presume to insinuate dangers of outrages, as suggested in your representations, we most earnestly request you to consider them either as ignorant of the real sentiments of those of whom they speak, or as acting from less honorable motives.

I have now the honor of acquainting you that, upon the requisition of this board, the flour in question, and which has given rise to this unhappy discussion, is delivered up to this board, and that it is ready to be put into the disposal of M. Holker, or any person he may direct, for the purposes of its original destination, without any condition or restriction; a measure which we hope, both as to you and himself, will be considered as a relinquishment of those terms which form a ground of your complaint. Our desire to make the most early and explicit avowal of our sentiments and intentions has induced us to make this communication, at the same time, all other business being laid aside, we are considering the papers which touch the character of M. Holker, upon which we shall, without delay, address ourselves to the honorable Congress of the United States, through whom those communications have been made to us, and we trust it will fully appear that a veneration for the prince, whose servant he is, respect to your interposition, justice to him, and a due regard to the rights and interests of this State, have influenced our determination.

We observe all the papers respecting this transaction have been transmitted to you, excepting a resolution of this board passed on the 14th instant, which probably by some accident has been omitted. I have

now the honor of enclosing it, that every proceeding may be fully before you.

Signed in and by order of council.

JOSEPH REED,
President.

In Congress.—On the 4th of August, the committee to whom was referred the memorial of the minister relative to the ship *Mary and Elizabeth's* cargo, delivered in a report; whereupon,

Resolved, That Congress do not entertain any suspicion that M. Holker, agent of the marine of his most Christian majesty, had any participation in, or knowledge of, the shipping of provisions on private account on board vessels dispatched in the name of his most Christian majesty.

Resolved, That frauds by masters and shippers are offenses against the municipal laws, and are to be investigated by the magistrates of the States respectively.

Congress—Proceedings as to Protection due French Consuls.*

AUGUST 2, 1779.

The committee, consisting of Mr. S. Huntington, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Smith, Mr. Morris, and Mr. McKean, to whom was referred a memorial of the minister plenipotentiary of France of the 26th July, with sundry papers relating thereto, and who were authorized to confer with the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, the minister and consul of France, and directed to prepare and report a state of facts, together with their opinion of the measures proper for Congress to adopt, thereupon report:

That they have considered the several papers referred to them, and, agreeably to the authority given, had held a conference thereon with the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania and the minister plenipotentiary of France. That it would consume much time to prepare and report a full state of facts, and procrastinate the determinations of Congress, which the exigency of affairs will not properly admit of; they therefore pray the indulgence of the house to confine themselves to those things only which are of more immediate importance, and they report:

1. That they are fully convinced the charges made against the consul of France in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 24th July, 1779, are unjust and ill-grounded.

2. That the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania have already taken measures to obtain and restore the flour taken from the said consul and mentioned in the said publication.

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* MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State.

3. That the said president and council have assured the committee of their solicitude to do everything in their power to redress the matters contained in the said memorial.

4. That the persons who have been guilty of the violence and insults complained of are not known to the law and constitution of Pennsylvania as having any legal authority.

5. That by the said laws are punishable as well violence and insults against the laws of nations as those against the laws of property and personal freedom.

6. That individuals in the several States may be led to question not only the authority but even the office of foreign consuls from the defect of a due notification thereof to the executive powers of the said States respectively; and

7. That it appears proper to give to the minister of France full and explicit assurances of protection for the servants of his most Christian majesty;

Whereupon

Resolved, That the minister of France be assured that Congress will at all times afford every countenance and protection to the consuls and other servants of his most Christian majesty within the powers and authorities to them delegated by their constituents.

Resolved, That the several appointments of consuls made, and which may hereafter be made and approved by Congress, be duly registered in the secretary's office, and properly notified by the President to the executive authorities of the respective States in whose ports such consuls may reside.

Resolved, That the measures taken by M. Holker to procure flour for the fleet of his most Christian majesty in the way of commerce have from time to time been made known unto and been fully approved by Congress, that the several proceedings and publications complained of by the minister on that subject are very injurious to the servants of his said majesty, and that Congress strongly disapprove of the same.

Resolved, That the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania be informed that any prosecution which it may be expedient to direct for such matters and things in the said publications or transactions as may be against the laws of nations, shall be carried on at the expense of the United States.

Resolved, That the minister of France be informed that the president and supreme executive council of Pennsylvania have taken proper measures to restore the flour taken from the agents of M. Holker.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, Feb. 23, 27, Mar. 17, 1779.]

AUGUST 3, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the preliminary article; and on motion of Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Duane,

Resolved, That the word "acknowledged" be expunged and that in lieu thereof the word "assured" be inserted; and that after the words "Great Britain" be inserted the words "agreeable to the eighth article of the treaty of alliance between his most Christian majesty and these United States."

And on the question,

Resolved, *N. D. C.*, That previous to any treaty or negotiation for peace, the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of these United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce, shall be assured on the part of Great Britain, agreeable to the treaty of alliance between his most Christian majesty and these United States.

And if the same shall be done,

Resolved, That the minister or ministers of these United States assist at and contract and stipulate in such negotiation for peace as may be set on foot under the mediation of his Catholic majesty or otherwise.

AUGUST 4, 1779.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare instructions for the minister plenipotentiary of the United States to be appointed for negotiating a treaty of peace.

The members: Mr. Morris, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. McKean.

AUGUST 5, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on the letters from Mr. Lee and communications of the minister of France; and on motion of Mr. McKean, seconded by Mr. Morris,

Resolved, That so much of the said report as relates to the obtaining a subsidy from Spain (see page 188) be postponed.

A motion was then made by Mr. McKean, seconded by Mr. Morris,

"That if, contrary to the humane wishes of the United States, Great Britain should obstinately persist in the prosecution of the present unjust war, the minister plenipotentiary of these United States be instructed and empowered to consult on, prepare, and conclude with the ministers of his most Christian and of his Catholic majesty a treaty or treaties offensive and defensive, in which offensive treaty nevertheless he shall insert on the part of these States a proper article or articles for obtaining Canada, Nova Scotia, the Islands of Bermuda, and an

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

equal share in and full acknowledgment of the equal common right of these States to the fisheries."

A motion was made by Mr. Mathews, seconded by Mr. Burke, after the word "Bermuda" to insert "the Floridas."

On the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Mathews,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ... Aye. Mr. Peabody ... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell ... Aye. Mr. Holton ... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ... Aye. Mr. Collins ... No.	0.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ... No. Mr. Spencer ... No.	No.
New York	Mr. Morris ... No. Mr. Lewis ... Aye.	0.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ... Aye. Mr. Houston ... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ... Aye. Mr. Atlee ... Aye. Mr. Searle ... Aye. Mr. McLene ... Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke ... Aye. Mr. McKean ... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ... No. Mr. Forbes ... No.	No.
Virginia	Mr. Smith ... Aye. Mr. Fleming ... Aye. Mr. Randolph ... Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ... Aye. Mr. Harnet ... Aye. Mr. Burke ... Aye. Mr. Hewes ... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ... Aye. Mr. Mathews ... Aye. Mr. Drayton ... Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was made by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Burke, to insert after "Floridas" the words "the free navigation of the river Mississippi."

On the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple ... No.	No.
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ... Aye. Mr. Holton ... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant ... Aye. Mr. Collins ... No.	0.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ... Aye. Mr. Spencer ... No.	0.
New York	Mr. Morris ... No. Mr. Lewis ... No.	No.
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder ... Aye. Mr. Houston ... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ... Aye. Mr. Atlee ... Aye. Mr. Searle ... Aye. Mr. McLene ... Aye.	Aye.

Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. McKean ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Forbes ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fleming ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Randolph ..... Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Harnet ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Burke ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes ..... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Drayton ..... Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.*

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

BRAINTREE, *August* 3, 1779.

SIR: On the 27th of February I had the honor of writing to Congress, informing them of my intention of returning home, in consequence of the commission which superseded mine. On the 1st of March I had again the honor of writing some information concerning the unprecedented interest which the British Government are obliged to give for the loan of money for the service of the present year. On the 8th of March I took my leave of the American minister and left Paris for Nantes, in expectation of there meeting the *Alliance*, and sailing in her for America in a few weeks. Upon my arrival at Nantes I learned the *Alliance* was still at Brest, and so embarrassed with nearly forty prisoners, who were supposed to have been concerned in a conspiracy to carry her to England and with other difficulties, that it was uncertain when she would be ready.

The agent at Nantes at this time receiving a letter from his excellency Dr. Franklin, desiring him to consult me about the direction of the *Alliance*, I thought it would expedite the public service for me to make a journey to Brest, about two hundred miles, which I undertook accordingly, and arrived at that port without loss of time. There, after an attendance of some weeks, and much negotiation with the commandant, intendant, and agent, all things were prepared for the frigate to sail for Nantes, with about one hundred British prisoners, to be there exchanged for a like number of American prisoners, arrived there from England in a cartel. I returned to Nantes, and the *Alliance* in a few days arrived in the river, the prisoners were exchanged, about sixty enlisted in the *Alliance*, and the rest in the *Poor Richard*, Captain Jones.

After accommodating all the difficulties with the British prisoners,

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* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Aug. 7, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 585, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 97.

the American prisoners, the officers and crew of the *Alliance*, and supplying all their necessary wants, Captain Landais having orders to sail for America and everything ready to proceed to sea in a few days, received unexpected orders to proceed to L'Orient, and wait there for further orders. I had the honor of a letter at the same time from his excellency, enclosing one from the minister of marine, by which I learned that the king had been graciously pleased to grant me a passage on board the frigate which was to carry his majesty's new minister plenipotentiary to the United States, that the frigate was at L'Orient, and that the minister would be there in a few days. I went in the *Alliance* from Nantes to L'Orient, where, after some time, the frigate the *Sensible* arrived; but his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne did not arrive until the 10th of June. On the 14th of June, and not before, I had the pleasure to be under sail, and on the 3d of August arrived in Nantasket roads.

I have entered into this detail of disappointments to justify myself for not returning sooner, and to show that it was not my fault that I was not at home in eight weeks from the first authentic information that I had nothing further to do in France. There is nothing remaining for me to do but settle my accounts with Congress; but as part of my accounts are in conjunction with my late colleagues, with whom I lived in the same house during my residence in Paris, I am not able to judge whether Congress will choose to receive my accounts or to wait until the other commissioners shall exhibit theirs, so as to have the whole together under one view, so as to do equal justice to all. I am ready, however, to render all the account in my power, either jointly or separately, whenever Congress shall order it, and I shall wait their directions accordingly.

It is not in my power, having been so long from Paris, to give Congress any news of importance, except that the Brest fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, was at sea the beginning of June; that Admiral Arbuthnot was at Plymouth the 31st of May; and that there was a universal persuasion, arising from letters from Paris and London, that Spain had decided against the English. The Chevalier de la Luzerne will be able to give Congress satisfactory information upon this head.

I ought not to conclude this letter without expressing my obligations to Captain Chavagne and the other officers of the *Sensible* for their civilities in the course of my passage home, and the pleasure I have had in the conversation of his excellency the new plenipotentiary from our august ally, and the secretary to the embassy, Monsieur Marbois.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne is a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of an ancient and noble family, connected by blood with many characters of principal name in the kingdom, a grandson of the celebrated Chancellor de la Moignon, a nephew of Monsieur Malesherbes perhaps still more famous as first president of the court of aids and as minister of State, a brother of the Count de la Luzerne, and of the

bishop of Langres, one of the three dukes and peers who had the honor to assist in the consecration of the king, a near relation of the Maréchal de Broglie and the comte his brother, and of many other important personages in that country. Nor is his personal character less respectable than his connections, as he is possessed of much useful information of all kinds, and particularly of the political system of Europe, obtained in his late embassy in Bavaria; and of the justest sentiments of the mutual interests of his country and ours, and of the utility to both of that alliance which so happily unites them, and at the same time divested of all personal and party attachments and aversions. Congress and their constituents, I flatter myself, will have much satisfaction in his negotiations, as well as in those of the secretary to the embassy, who was recently secretary to the embassy in Bavaria, and who is a counselor of the parliament of Metz, a gentleman whose abilities, application, and disposition can not fail to make him useful in the momentous office he sustains.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

BRAINTREE, *August* 4, 1779.

SIR: At the close of the service on which Congress have done me the honor to send me it may not be amiss to submit a few reflections to their consideration on the general state of affairs in Europe as far as they relate to the interests of the United States. As the time approaches when our relations with the most considerable states in Europe will multiply and assume a greater stability, they deserve the attention of Americans in general, but especially of those composing their supreme council.

France deserves the first place among those powers with which our connections will be the most intimate, and it is with pleasure I am able to assure Congress that from the observations I have made during my residence in that kingdom I have the strongest reasons to believe that their august ally, his ministers and nation, are possessed of the fullest persuasion of the justice of our cause, of the great importance of our independence to their interests, and the firmest resolution to preserve the faith of treaties inviolate, and to cultivate our friendship with sincerity and zeal. This is of the more consequence to us, as this power enjoys in Europe at this hour an influence which it has not before experienced for many years.

Men are so sensible of a constant tendency in others to excesses, that a signal superiority of power never appears without exciting jealousies

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 588, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 99.

and efforts to reduce it. Thus when Spain, under Charles the Fifth and his successor, made herself dangerous, a great part of Europe united against her, assisted in severing the United Provinces from her, and by degrees greatly diminished her power. Thus when France, under Louis the Fourteenth, indulged the spirit of conquest too far, a great part of mankind united their forces against her with such success as to involve her in a train of misfortunes, out of which she never emerged before the present reign. The English, in their turn, by means of their commerce and extensive settlements abroad, arose to a degree of opulence and naval power which excited more extravagant passions in her own breast and more tyrannical exertions of her influence than appeared in either of the other cases. The consequence has been similar, but more remarkable. Europe seems to be more universally and sincerely united in the desire of reducing her than they ever were in any former instance. This is the true cause why the French court never made war with so universal a popularity among their own subjects, so general an approbation of other courts, and such unanimous wishes among all nations for her success as at this time.

The personal character of the king, his declared patronage of morals and economy, and the great strokes of wisdom which have marked the commencement of his reign, the active spring which has been given to commerce by the division of the British empire, and our new connections with his subjects; all these causes, together with the two treaties of peace, which have been lately signed under his auspices and his mediation, have given to this power reputation which the last reign had lost.

The first of these treaties has determined those controversies which had for a long time divided Russia and the Porte, and the parties have been equally satisfied with the conditions of their reconciliation, a circumstance the more honorable for the French ministry and the Chevalier de St. Priest, their ambassador at Constantinople, as it is uncommon. The ancient confidence of the Porte in the court of Versailles has revived, and the coolness, or rather enmity, which divided France and Russia for near twenty years gives place to a friendship which is at this time in all its fervor, and will probably be durable, as these powers have no interest to annoy each other, but on the contrary are able to assist each other in a manner the most essential.

The peace of Germany, signed at Teschin the 13th of last May, has not equally satisfied the belligerent powers, who were on the one part the Emperor, and on the other the King of Prussia and the Elector of Saxony, his ally.

From the multitude of writings which have appeared before and during this war, in which the causes, the motives, and the rights of it are discussed, it appears that in 1768, at the extinction of one of the branches of the house of Bavaria, which has been separated from its trunk for near five centuries, the house of Austria thought itself able, and priests

and lawyers among their own subjects were complaisant enough to tell her that she had a right, to put herself in possession of the best part of the patrimony of the extinguished line.

The King of Prussia, to whose interest this augmentation of power would have been dangerous, has crowned an illustrious reign by displaying all the resources of military genius and profound policy in opposition to it. While he contended in the field France negotiated, and the work begun by his arms was completed by the cabinet of Versailles.

The palatine house of Bavaria, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and particularly the Elector of Saxony, have obtained all they could reasonably demand, and the empire has preserved its balance of power in spite of its head. The King of Prussia had covered himself with glory, to which he put the finishing stroke by not demanding any compensation for the expenses of the war. All parties have been satisfied except the emperor, who has disordered his finances, ruined his Kingdom of Bohemia; with immense forces has not obtained any advantage over his adversary, and consequently has destroyed among his own troops the opinion they had of their own superiority, and, in fine, has sustained a loss the most sensible for a young prince just beginning to reign—the reputation of justice and moderation. It is the influence, the address, and ability of the French minister, joined to the firmness of Russia, which have completed this work; and Louis the Sixteenth has restored in Germany to the nation over which he reigns that reputation which his grandfather had lost.

The merit of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who was ambassador in Bavaria during the transaction of this business, and that of M. Marbois, the secretary to that embassy, in accomplishing an affair of such importance, which was rendered peculiarly delicate by the late family connection between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, was probably a motive for sending them now to America, a mission of no less importance and no less delicacy.

It is not probable, however, that they could have succeeded so soon if England could have afforded subsidies to the emperor. The revolution in America, in which the French king has taken an earlier and a greater part than any other sovereign in Europe, has operated so as to conciliate to him a consideration that is universal. The new minister will give to Congress information the most precise in this respect and touching the part which Spain is taking at this time, for which reason I shall refrain from entering into it, and content myself with observing that all these considerations ought to induce us to cherish the alliance of France; and that every good citizen of the United States ought to endeavor to destroy the remains of those prejudices which our ancient rulers have endeavored to inspire us into; that we have nothing to fear and much to hope from France while we conduct ourselves with good sense and firmness, and that we can not take too much pains to mul-

tiply the commercial relations and strengthen the political connections between the two nations; provided always, that we preserve prudence and resolution enough to receive implicitly no advice whatever, but to judge always for ourselves, and to guard ourselves against those principles in government and those manners which are so opposite to our own constitution and to our characters as a young people, called by Providence to the most honorable and important of all duties, that of forming establishments for a great nation and a new world.

In the opinion of some the power with which we shall one day have a relation the most immediate, next to that of France, is Great Britain. But it ought to be considered that this power loses every day her consideration and runs towards her ruin. Her riches, in which her power consisted, she has lost with us, and never can regain. With us she has lost her Mediterranean trade, her African trade, her German and Holland trade, her ally Portugal, her ally Russia, and her natural ally the house of Austria; at least, as being unable to protect these as she once did, she can obtain no succor from them. In short, one branch of commerce has been lopped off after another and one political interest sacrificed after another. She resembles the melancholy spectacle of a great wide-spreading tree that has been girdled at the root. Her endeavors to regain these advantages will continually keep alive in her breast the most malevolent passions towards us. Her envy, her jealousy and resentment, will never leave us, while we are what we must unavoidably be, her rivals in the fisheries, in various other branches of commerce, and even in naval power. If peace should unhappily be made, leaving Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas, or any of them, in her hands, jealousies and controversies will be perpetually arising. The degree, therefore, of intercourse with this nation which will ever again take place may justly be considered as problematical, or rather the probability is that it will never be so great as some persons imagine; moreover, I think that every citizen in the present circumstances, who respects his country and the engagements she has taken, ought to abstain from the foresight of a return of friendship between us and the English, and act as if it never was to be.

But it is lawful to consider that which will probably be formed between the Hollanders and us. The similitude of manners, of religion, and in some respects of constitution; the analogy between the means by which the two republics arrived at independency; but above all the attractions of commercial interest will infallibly draw them together. This connection will not probably show itself in a public manner before a peace or a near prospect of peace. Too many motives of fear or interest place the Hollanders in a dependence on England to suffer her to connect herself openly with us at present. Nevertheless, if the King of Prussia could be induced to take us by the hand, his great influence in the United Provinces might contribute greatly to conciliate their friendship for us. Loans of money and the operations of com-

mercial agents or societies will be the first threads of our connections with this power. From the essays and inquiries of your commissioners at Paris it appears that some money may be borrowed there, and from the success of several enterprises by the way of St. Eustatia it seems that the trade between the two countries is likely to increase, and possibly Congress may think it expedient to send a minister there. If they should, it will be proper to give him a discretionary power to produce his commission or not as he shall find it likely to succeed; to give him full powers and clear instructions concerning the borrowing of money; and the man himself, above all, should have a consummate prudence and a caution and discretion that will be proof against every trial.

If Congress could find any means of paying the interest annually in Europe, commercial and pecuniary connections would strengthen themselves from day to day, and if the fall of the credit of England should terminate in bankruptcy, the seven United Provinces, having nothing to dissemble, would be zealous for a part of those rich benefits which our commerce offers to maritime powers, and by an early treaty with us secure those advantages from which they have already discovered strong symptoms of a fear of being excluded by delays. It is scarcely necessary to observe to Congress that Holland had lost her influence in Europe to such a degree that there is little other regard for her remaining but that of a prodigal heir for a rich usurer, who lends him money at a high interest. The state, which is poor and in debt, has no political stability. Their army is very small, and their navy is less. The immense riches of individuals may possibly be in some future time the great misfortune of the nation, because the means of defense are not proportioned to the temptation which is held out for some necessitous, avaricious, and formidable neighbor to invade her.

The active commerce of Spain is very inconsiderable; of her passive commerce we shall not fail to have a part. The vicinity of this power, her forces, her resources ought to make us attentive to her conduct; but if we may judge of the future by the past, I should hope we had nothing to fear from it. The genius and interest of the nation incline it to repose. She can not determine upon a war but in the last extremity, and even then she sighs for peace. She is not possessed of the spirit of conquest, and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that we have her for the nearest and principal neighbor. Her conduct towards us at this time will perhaps appear equivocal and indecisive; her determinations appear to be solely the fruit of the negotiations of the court of Versailles. But it ought to be considered she has not had motives so pressing as those of France to take in hand our defense. Whether she has an eye upon the Floridas, or what other terms she may expect from Congress, they are no doubt better informed than I am. To their wisdom it must be submitted to give her satisfaction if her terms are moderate and her offers in proportion. This conduct may conciliate her affection

and shorten delays; a point of great importance, as the present moment appears to be decisive.

Portugal, under the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, broke some of the shackles by which she was held to England. But the treaty by which a permanent friendship is established between the crowns of Spain and Portugal was made in 1777, an event that the English deplore as the greatest evil next to their irrevocable loss of the Colonies, arising from this war, because they will now no longer be able to play off Portugal against Spain in order to draw away her attention as well as her forces as in former times. But as Portugal has not known how to deliver herself entirely from the influence of England, we shall have little to hope from her; on the other hand, such is her internal weakness, that we have absolutely nothing to fear. We shall necessarily have commerce with her, but whether she will ever have the courage to sacrifice the friendship of England for the sake of it is uncertain.

It would be useless to consider that infinite number of little sovereignities into which Germany is divided and develop all their political interests. This task is as much beyond my knowledge as it would be useless to Congress, who will have few relations, friendly or hostile, with this country, excepting in two branches of commerce, that of merchandise and that of soldiers. The latter, infamous and detestable as it is, has been established between a nation once generous, humane, and brave, and certain princes as avaricious of money as they are prodigal of the blood of their subjects; and such is the scarcity of cash and the avidity for it in Germany, and so little are the rights of humanity understood or respected, that sellers will probably be found as long as buyers. America will never be found in either class. The state of Germany, with which we may have commerce of an honorable kind, is the house of Austria, one of the most powerful in Europe. She possesses very few countries, however, near the sea. Ostend is the principal city, where she might have established a trade of some consequence, if the jealousy of the maritime powers had not constantly opposed it. France, Spain, Holland, and England, have been all agreed in their opposition, and the treaty of Utrecht, ratified more than once by subsequent treaties, has so shackled this port that it will be impossible to open a direct trade to it without some new treaty, which possibly may not be very distant. England may possibly make a new treaty with Austria, and agree to privileges for this port, in order to draw away the advantages of the American trade from France and Spain; and in such a treaty Holland may possibly acquiesce, if not accede to it. The port of Trieste enjoys liberty without limits, and the court of Vienna is anxious to make its commerce flourish. Situated, however, as it is at the bottom of the Gulf of Trieste, the remotest part of the Gulf of Venice, tedious and difficult as the navigation of those seas is, we could make little use of it at any time, and none at all while this war continues.

This court would seize with eagerness the advantages that are presented to her by the independence of America, but an interest more

powerful restrains her; and although she is certainly attentive to this revolution, there is reason to believe she will be one of the last powers to acknowledge our independence. She is so far from being rich, that she is destitute of the means of making war without subsidies, as is proved by the peace which has lately been made. She has occasion for the succors of France or of England to put in motion her numerous armies. She conceives easily that the loss of the resources and credit of the English has disabled them to pay the enormous subsidies which in former times they have poured into the Austrian coffers. She sees therefore with a secret mortification that she shall be hereafter more at the mercy of France, who may choose her ally, and prefer at her pleasure either Austria or Prussia, while neither Vienna nor Berlin will be able, as in times past, to choose between Paris and London, since the the latter has lost her past opulence and pecuniary resources. It is our duty to remark these great changes in the system of mankind which have already happened in consequence of the American war. The alienation of Portugal from England, the peace of Germany, and that between Petersburg and Constantinople, by all which events England has lost and France gained such a superiority of power, are owing entirely to the blind division of that policy and wealth the English might have still enjoyed from the objects of their true interests and honor to the ruinous American war.

The court of Berlin flatters itself that the connections which have heretofore so long united France and Prussia will renew themselves sooner or later. This system is more rational than that which subsists at this day. The King of Prussia may then wait without anxiety the consequences of the present revolution, because it tends to increase the resources of his natural ally. The jealousy between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and that between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, are a natural tie between France and Prussia. The rivalry between France and Great Britain is another motive too natural and too permanent for the former to suffer the King of Prussia to be long the ally of the latter. One of the favorite projects of Prussia—that of rendering the port of Emden a place of flourishing trade—interests him most powerfully in our independence. Silesia, one of his best provinces, has already felt the influence of it; and sensible of the force that empires derive from commerce, he is earnestly desirous to see it introduced between America and his states, which gives ground to believe that as Austria will be one of the last, so Prussia will be one of the first, to acknowledge our independence; an opinion which is rendered more probable by the answer which was given by the Baron de Schulenberg to Mr. Arthur Lee, and the influence of the King of Prussia in the United Provinces, which is greater than that of any other power, arising from his great military force and the vicinity of his dominions. His near relation to the Stadtholder and the Prince of Brunswick is an additional motive to cultivate his friendship. The Electorate of Saxony, with a fruitful soil, contains a numerous and industrious people,

and most of the commerce between the east and the west of Europe passes through it. The fairs of Leipsic have drawn considerable advantages for these four years from our trade. This power will see with pleasure the moment which shall put the last hand to our independence. The rest of Germany, excepting Hamburg and Bremen, have no means of opening a direct commerce with us. With the latter we have no connection at present; in the former all the maritime commerce of lower Germany is transacted. Here we shall soon have occasion to establish an agent or consul.

Poland, depopulated by the war and a vicious government, reduced by a shameful treaty to two-thirds of her ancient dominion, destitute of industry and manufactures even of the first necessity, has no occasion for the productions of America. Dantzic sees her ancient prosperity diminish every day. There is therefore little probability of commerce, and less of any political connection, between that nation and us.

Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, comprehended under the denomination of the northern powers, have been thought by some to be interested in our return to the domination of Great Britain. Whether they consider themselves in this light or not, their late declarations against the right of England to interrupt their navigation and their arming for the protection of their commerce on the ocean, and even in the English channel, are unequivocal proofs of their opinion concerning the right in our contest and of their intentions not to interfere against us. It is very true that the articles of commerce which they produce are in many respects the same with those of America; yet if we consider that we shall have occasion to purchase from them large quantities of hemp and sail cloth, and that our productions of timber, pitch, tar, and turpentine are less profitable with us without bounties than some other branches of labor, it is not probable that we shall lower the price of these articles in Europe so much as some conjecture, and consequently our increased demand upon those countries for several articles will be more than a compensation to them for the small loss they may sustain by a trifling reduction in the price of those articles. It is not probable that the courts of Petersburg, Stockholm, and Copenhagen have viewed with indifference the present revolution, if they have been apprehensive of being hurt by it in some respects, which, however, I think must have been a mistaken apprehension; yet the motive of humbling the pride of the English, who have endeavored to exercise their domination even over the northern seas and to render the Danish and Swedish flag dependent upon theirs, has prevailed over all others, and they are considered in Europe as having given their testimony against the English in this war.

Italy, a country which declines every day from its ancient prosperity, offers few objects for our speculations. The privileges of the port of Leghorn, nevertheless, may render it useful to our ships when our independence shall be acknowledged by Great Britain, if, as we once

flattered ourselves, the court of Vienna might receive an American minister. We were equally in error respecting the court of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, where an Austrian prince reigns, who receives all his directions from Vienna in such a manner that he will probably never receive any person in a public character until the chief of his house has set him the example. The King of the two Sicilies is in the same dependence on the court of Madrid, and we may depend upon it he will conform himself to all it shall suggest to him. This prince has already ordered the ports of his dominions to be opened to American vessels, public and private, and has ordered his ambassador at Paris to apply to your commissioners for a description of the American flag, that our vessels might be known, and receive no molestation upon their appearance in his harbors.

The court of Rome, attached to ancient customs, would be one of the last to acknowledge our independence if we were to solicit for it, but Congress will probably never send a minister to his Holiness, who can do them no service, upon condition of receiving a catholic legate or nuncio in return or in other words an ecclesiastical tyrant, which it is to be hoped the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territories.

The states of the King of Sardinia are poor, and their commerce is very small. The little port of Villa Franca will probably see few American vessels, nor will there be any close relations, either commercial or political, between this prince and us.

The Republic of Genoa is scarcely known at this day in Europe but by those powers who borrow money. It is possible that some small sums might be obtained there, if Congress would fall upon means of insuring a punctual payment of interest in Europe.

Venice, heretofore so powerful, is reduced to a very inconsiderable commerce, and is in an entire state of decay.

Switzerland is another lender of money, but neither her position nor her commerce can occasion any near relation with us.

Whether there is any thing in these remarks worth the trouble of reading I shall submit to the wisdom of Congress; and subscribe myself with the highest consideration, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 5, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France is eager to thank Congress for the readiness with which they have been pleased to yield to his representations of the 26th of last month.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr, 634.

The resolutions which have been communicated to the undersigned in the name of Congress appear to him to leave nothing to be desired; he only hopes that the public will be informed of the opinions of Congress, in whatever form they shall think the most suitable; and the minister plenipotentiary is pursuaded that his court will regard the said resolutions as a suitable and sufficient satisfaction for the proceedings which they condemn and the offense which has resulted from them.

It is under this impression that the undersigned minister takes the liberty to request Congress not to carry into execution that one of their resolutions which orders that those who on this occasion may have violated the laws of nations shall be prosecuted. The king's greatness of mind forbids his minister to insist upon such a measure. Between nations closely connected by the most powerful motives of friendship and interest even the most lawful reparations ought always to stop short of revenge. It is sufficient to undeceive the public, and to restrain the evil-disposed men, who sometimes conceal themselves under the pretense of the common good. The said minister, consequently, earnestly requests Congress to stop the said prosecutions, and he dares hope this from the moderation of Congress, provided that motives foreign to France and independent of the present affair do not cause this august body, or the executive council of Pennsylvania, to see in this indulgence inconveniences which are out of the sphere of the undersigned minister.

GERARD.

IN CONGRESS, *August* 9, 1779.

Resolved, That the minister of France be informed that the resolutions alluded to in his memorial of the 5th instant will be published in the journals of Congress, and that in the mean time he consider himself at liberty to make such use of the copies transmitted to him as he may think expedient.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 5, 1779.

SIR: I have received with gratitude the resolution of Congress which you were so kind as to send me yesterday. I express my sentiments on this subject in the annexed memorial, which I request you to be pleased to lay before Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

GERARD.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 633.

Lovell to A. Lee.*

[Private.]

PHILAD'A, *Aug.* 6, 1779.

DR. SIR: The originals, duplicates, *or* triplicates of all you wish to have reached us, I believe, have safely arrived, and you may depend on a diligent use of them. It was unfortunate that we were not favored with many of them before Henry, Francis, & S. Adams left this Stage of their Exertions for their Country & Virtue in general. However, I shall think this Circumstance a fresh Call on *my Industry*, a Quality which is the object of the hatred of *your* Foes; you have found them long ago mine in consequence.

I own no first in that Quality except Mr. Laurens, who wants no Spur but the Simple Knowledge of injuries done to the Worthy to make him enter directly upon their Defence. I have urged an hundred Times what you have at length quoted to me from Whitelock. But there is really no Such Thing as a Com^tee of foreign affairs existing,† no Secretary or Clerk, further than I persevere to be one and the other. The Books & Papers of that extinguished Body lay yet on the Table of Congress, or rather are locked up in the Secretary's private Box. There was a Motion, as I have before told you, to chuse a *new* Com^tee the House would not so insult *me*. An indifference then took place as to *filling up* the old one, upon presumption, I Suppose, that a little Leaven would leaven the whole Lump. It would be impossible that you should have Enemies in a Com^tee where was one so to arrange Vouchers of y^r Industry, Capacity & Honor as it is thought I am able to do.‡

The State of Mr. D. is exactly the Reverse of what Letters have announced in France. But I will give you one or two Copies of the Scraps which have been made use of here to prove the only point on which y^r Enemies finally rested, and which is now the only possible Ground of hope to them of overcoming y^r views for the Public Good.

Nothing has appeared here that will *prove* a *direct* Patronage & assistance of your inveterate Foe from that Quarter which you name in one of y^r Lettrs to Frank or Richard, but everything short of that has taken place. You will not think I am a meer "innuendo Man," as R. H. L. calls D., after you get the Copies above mentioned.

How do you reconcile the Conduct of Congress on June 5th, respecting Dr. Francy's [*sic*] Business, with the ideas of the *total* extinction of joint Powers in the Commissioners for *Special* Purposes *after* the appointment of the Minister Plenipotentiary for *general* Concerns.

The List you give of Letters written to us on or before the 5th of Dec^r

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* See MSS. Harvard College.

† See Introduction, § 103.

‡ It was not until Aug. 10, 1781, that this committee, at once so dangerous and so capricious, was put an end to by the election of Livingston as the head of a distinct executive department of foreign affairs.

last differs from one now before me of Receipts, I give it, that you may See you have not Sent a List of all we have recd nor have we recd all you have registered. 1778, Jan. 5, 6, 15, 31; Feb. 10, 15, 28; Apr. 1, 2, 4, 8; June 1, 5, 15/17; July 16; Aug. 7, 11, 21, 27, 31; Sept. 9, 30; Oct. 5, 19; Nov. 29; Nov. 4, 13/18, 20; Decr 5; 1779, Jan'y 25/28, 15, 20; Mar. 7; April 6.

Mr. Izard's, Jan. 18; Mar. 4, 1779,
Mr. Lee, Sept. 12, 21; Oct. 15, 1778, } latest.

Adieu & prosper

J. L.

The news of Wayne's Conduct and the Success of Ct D'Estaing ought to serve us greatly in Europe. The first establishes a military Acquirement in Discipline that has been supposed not to exist among us. The latter will have boundless Consequences.

Mr. D. is discharged from attending further on Congress.*

Congress—Deane's Case.†

AUGUST 16, 1779.

A motion was made by Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. Fell,

That the honorable Silas Deane, esq., late one of the commissioners at the court of Versailles and political and commercial agent, be excused from any further attendance on Congress, in order that he may settle his accounts without delay, agreeable to the foregoing resolution.

On motion of Mr. Marchant, seconded by Mr. McKean, the words "in order," etc. to the end were struck out.

On motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Holton, the word "excused" was struck out and "discharged" inserted.

And on the question to agree to the motion as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Jay,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Duane	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell	No.	
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	

* See prior letters of Lovell to A. Lee, under date of June 13, July 17, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals, the latter being imperfect.

Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Shippen ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Atlee ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Searle ..... Aye.	
	Mr. McLene ..... Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Van Dyke ..... No.	
	Mr. McKean ..... No.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Forbes ..... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Fleming ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Harnet ..... No.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Drayton ..... No.	No.

So it was

Resolved, That the Hon. Silas Deane, esq., late one of the commissioners at the court of Versailles and political and commercial agent, be discharged from any further attendance on Congress.

Florida Blanca to Arthur Lee.*

[Translation.]

MADRID, *August* 6, 1779.

SIR: I duly received the two letters which you were so kind as to write to me, dated the 7th and 25th of June last, in which you detail the critical circumstances of the affairs of England and the system which you think suitable for the powers at war with her; and on this occasion you likewise mention some points relating to the present situation of the United Provinces of America.

I can assure you, sir, that I read with the greatest pleasure your very wise and prudent reflections, of which I shall make a suitable use.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the perfect respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, August 3, 5, 1779.]

AUGUST 7, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the proposition under debate on the 5th; and the same as amended being set aside by the previous question, a motion was made by Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Burke,

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 564.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

that if, contrary to the humane wishes of the United States, Great Britain should obstinately persist in the prosecution of the present unjust war, the minister of these United States be empowered and directed to solicit a subsidy from his Catholic majesty, and to consult with the ministers of the said king and of his most Christian majesty, and with them prepare such article or articles of treaty as the situation and conjunction of affairs may render necessary, and transmit the same to Congress for their consideration.

After debate, a motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Morris, to strike out the words "and of his most Christian majesty, and with them prepare such article or articles as the situation may render necessary," and in lieu thereof to insert "on the consideration which he may be willing to receive from the United States in return for such subsidy," and on the question, Shall the words moved to be struck out stand? the vote passed in the negative.

On the question, Shall the words moved be inserted? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Gerry,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	No.
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell	Aye.	
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Shippen	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. McLene	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
	Mr. Randolph	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	
	Mr. Burke	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	
	Mr. Drayton	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.*

*For further action, see *infra*, Aug. 13, 1779.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *August* 10, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: Not being permitted to know whether there is any certain opportunity of writing, I must send you by every probable way an account of the present situation of affairs, which is extremely interesting.

After a long delay, through unfavorable winds, the Spanish and French fleets joined off Cape Finisterre the 26th of last month. On the 6th of this they were off Ushant, making for the English channel. A courier that arrived yesterday left them in the same position, with the wind contrary, on the 7th. The combined fleet consists of fifty ships of the line, with thirty-odd frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, under the command of the Count d'Orvilliers. The Spanish and French ships are mixed together, the former twenty and the latter thirty. Don Cardova commands a separate fleet of sixteen Spanish ships of the line, which attends the grand combined fleet as a *corps de réserve*. Don Ulloa cruises off the Canaries with four of the line, and six more block up the Bay of Gibraltar, while a Spanish army invests the town by land.

Between thirty and forty thousand French troops are ready to embark at Havre de Grace and at St. Malo to invade England the moment the combined fleet appears to protect them. Besides this, large corps of troops are assembled at Brest and Dunkirk, and transports preparing for them, so that they may be ready to support the others, according to the exigency of events and the place where they land.

The West India fleet and that from the Baltic got safe into the English ports to the amount of three hundred sail the first of this month. This may enable them in a few weeks to add ten sail to their grand fleet, which at present consists of thirty-five sail, under Sir Charles Hardy, and is retiring up the channel. But it is to be hoped they will feel some decisive blow before that augmentation.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Gerard to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 11, 1779.

SIR: It is with the greatest regret that I learn that the attempt made at Martinique to obtain military stores has been fruitless. You will see the reasons of it in the letter of the Marquis de Bouillé, which I have the honor to send you. Nothing but the impossibility of the thing could prevent the servants of the king from rendering all possi-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 565.
† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 635.

ble services to the American cause and compel them to delay complying with the requests of Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

GERARD.

Adams to Lovell.*

BRAINTREE, *August* 13, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR: Since I have had opportunity to converse a little in this country and to read a few gazettes I find that questions have been agitated here in the newspapers and in private circles, as well as in Congress, concerning his excellency the Count de Vergennes and Mr. Arthur Lee, which seem to make it necessary that I should send the enclosed copies.† You can judge better than I whether it will be of any public utility to lay them before Congress. My first letter and his excellency's answer I can see no objection to laying before Congress; but as the rest contain little else besides mutual compliments, perhaps it will be as well to conceal them. I submit the whole, however, to your discretion,

And am, with much esteem, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.‡

[For prior action, see *supra*, August 7, 1779.]

AUGUST 13, 1779.

The committee appointed to prepare instructions for the minister plenipotentiary of the United States to be appointed for negotiating a peace brought in a draft, which was taken into consideration and debated by paragraphs.

AUGUST 14, 1779.

Congress proceeded in the consideration of the instructions to the minister to be appointed for negotiating a peace and unanimously agreed to the following

DRAFT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONER TO BE APPOINTED TO NEGOTIATE A TREATY OF PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

SIR: You will herewith receive a commission giving you full power to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain; in doing which you will conform to the following information and instructions:

1. The United States are sincerely desirous of peace, and wish by every means consistent with their dignity and safety to spare the fur-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 598.

† See these letters under dates of Feb. 16, 21, and 27, 1779.

‡ MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

ther effusion of blood. They have, therefore, by your commission and their instructions labored to remove the obstacles to that event before the enemy have evidenced their disposition for it. But as the great object of the present defensive war on the part of the allies is to establish the independence of the United States, and as any treaty whereby this end can not be obtained must be only ostensible and illusory, you are therefore to make it a preliminary article to any negotiation—

That Great Britain shall agree to treat with the United States as sovereign, free, and independent.

2. You shall take especial care also that the independence of the said States be effectually assured and confirmed by the treaty or treaties of peace, according to the form and effect of the treaty of alliance with his most Christian majesty; and you shall not agree to such treaty or treaties unless the same be thereby so assured and confirmed.

3. The boundaries of these States are as follows, viz: These States are bounded north by a line to be drawn from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia along the highlands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence due west in the latitude forty-five degrees north from the equator to the northwesternmost side of the river St. Lawrence or Cadarqui; thence straight to the south end of Lake Nipissing; and thence straight to the source of the river Mississippi. West by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to where the said line shall intersect the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South by a line to be drawn due east from the termination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north from the equator to the middle of the river Appalachicola, or Catahouchi; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. And east by a line to be drawn along the middle of St. John's River from its source to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shore of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other part shall, respectively, touch the Bay of Fundy and Atlantic Ocean. You are therefore strongly to contend that the whole of the said countries and islands lying within the boundaries aforesaid, and every citadel, fort, post, place, harbor, and road to them belonging be absolutely evacuated by the land and sea forces of his Britannic majesty and yielded to the powers of the States to which they respectively belong in such situation as they may be at the termination of the war. But notwithstanding the clear right of these States and the importance of the object, yet they are so much influenced by the dictates of religion

and humanity, and so desirous of complying with the earnest requests of their allies, that if the line to be drawn from the mouth of the Lake Nipissing to the head of the Mississippi can not be obtained without continuing the war for that purpose, you are hereby empowered to agree to some other line between that point and the river Mississippi, provided the same shall in no part thereof be to the southward of latitude forty-five degrees north. And in like manner, if the eastern boundary above described can not be obtained, you are hereby empowered to agree that the same shall be afterwards adjusted by commissioners to be duly appointed for that purpose according to such line as shall be by them settled and agreed upon as the boundary between that part of the State of Massachusetts Bay, formerly called the Province of Maine, and the colony of Nova Scotia, agreeably to their respective rights; and you may also consent that the enemy shall destroy such fortifications as they may have erected.

4. Although it is of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States that Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded, and more particularly that their equal common right to the fisheries should be guarantied to them, yet a desire of terminating the war hath induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an ultimatum on the present occasion.

5. You are empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation, provided our ally shall consent to the same, and provided it shall be stipulated that all the forces of the enemy shall be immediately withdrawn from the United States.

6. In all other matters not above mentioned you are to govern yourself by the alliance between his most Christian majesty and these States, by the advice of our allies, by your knowledge of our interests, and by your own discretion, in which we repose the fullest confidence.

In debating the preliminary article on Friday, the 13th, a motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Randolph, after the words "as sovereign, free, and independent" to add, "if an express acknowledgment of the said independence shall be absolutely refused by the king of Great Britain." And on the question to agree to this amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke,

New Hampshire	Mr. Whipple	No.	No.
	Mr. Peabody	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
	Mr. Root	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Morris	No.	
	Mr. Lewis	No.	

New Jersey	Mr. Scudder — No.	No.
	Mr. Fell — No.	
	Mr. Houston — Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee — No.	No.
	Mr. Searle — No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg — No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop — No.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean — No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes — Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith — No.	No.
	Mr. Fleming — No.	
	Mr. Randolph — Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet — Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Burke — Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes — Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe — Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens — No.	No.
	Mr. Mathews — No.	

So it passed in the negative.

Congress likewise agreed to the following draft of instructions to the commissioners to be appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain:

SIR: You will herewith receive a commission giving you full power to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in doing which you will consider yourself bound by the following information and instructions:

1. You will govern yourself principally by the treaty of commerce with his most Christian majesty; and as on the one hand you shall grant no privilege to Great Britain not granted by that treaty to France, so on the other you shall not consent to any peculiar restrictions or limitations whatever in favor of Great Britain.

2. In order that you may be the better able to act with propriety on this occasion it is necessary for you to know that we have determined—(1) That the common right of fishing shall in no case be given up; (2) That it is essential to the welfare of all these United States that the inhabitants thereof at the expiration of the war should continue to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their common right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the said States; (3) That application shall be made to his most Christian majesty to agree to some article or articles for the better securing to these States a share in the said fisheries; (4) That if after a treaty of peace with Great Britain she shall molest the citizens or inhabitants of any of the United States in taking fish on the banks and places hereinafter described, such molestation being in our opinion a direct violation and breach of the peace, shall be a common cause of the said States, and the force of the Union be exerted to obtain redress for the parties injured; and (5) That our faith be pledged to the several States that without their unanimous consent no treaty of commerce shall be entered into nor any trade or commerce carried on with Great

Britain without the explicit stipulation hereinafter mentioned. You are therefore not to consent to any treaty of commerce with Great Britain without an explicit stipulation on her part not to molest or disturb the inhabitants of the United States of America in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries in the American seas anywhere excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war if a nearer distance can not be obtained by negotiation. And in the negotiation you are to exert your most strenuous endeavors to obtain a nearer distance to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and particularly along the shores of Nova Scotia, as to which latter we are desirous that even the shores may be occasionally used for the purpose of carrying on the fisheries by the inhabitants of these States.

3. In all other matters you are to govern yourself by your own discretion as shall be most for the interest of these States, taking care that the said treaty be founded on principles of equality and reciprocity, so as to conduce to the mutual advantage of both nations, but not to the exclusion of others.

On the question to agree to the above draft of instructions, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Scudder,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Collins	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	No.	0.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	No.	No.
	Mr. Forbes	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
	Mr. Randolph	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Penn	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	
	Mr. Hewes	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.	No.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Congress further agreed to the following draft of instructions to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of France:

SIR: Having determined, in order put a period to the present war conformably to the humane dispositions which sway the allied powers that we would not insist on a direct acknowledgment by Great Britain of our right in the fisheries, this important matter is liable to an incertitude which may be dangerous to the political and economical interests of the United States, we have therefore agreed and resolved—That our right should in no case be given up; that we would not form

any treaty of commerce with Great Britain nor carry on any trade or commerce whatsoever with her unless she shall make an express stipulation on that subject; and that if she shall after a treaty of peace disturb the inhabitants of these States in the exercise of it we will make it a common cause to obtain redress for the parties injured. But, notwithstanding the precautions, as Great Britain may again light up the flames of war and use our exercise of the fisheries as her pretext, and since some doubts may arise whether this object is so effectually guarded by the treaty of alliance with his most Christian majesty that any molestation therein on the part of Great Britain is to be considered as a *casus fœderis*, you are to endeavor to obtain of his majesty an explanation on that subject, upon the principle that, notwithstanding the high confidence reposed in his wisdom and justice, yet considering the uncertainty of human affairs and how doubts [may] be afterwards raised in the breasts of his royal successors, the great importance of the fisheries renders the citizens of these States very solicitous to obtain his majesty's sense with relation to them, as the best security against the ambition and rapacity of the British court. For this purpose you will propose the following article, in which nevertheless such alterations may be made as the circumstances and situation of affairs shall render convenient and proper. Should the same be agreed to and executed, you are immediately to transmit a copy thereof to our minister at the court of Spain.

"Whereas by the treaty of alliance between the most Christian king and the United States of North America the two parties guaranty mutually from that time and for ever against all other powers, to wit: The United States to his most Christian majesty the possessions then appertaining to the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his most Christian majesty guaranties on his part to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions and the additions or conquests that their Confederation might obtain during the war according to the said treaty; and the said parties did further agree and declare that in case of a rupture between France and England, the said reciprocal guaranty should have its full force and effect the moment such war should break out: And whereas doubts may hereafter arise how far the said guaranty extends to this case, to wit, that Great Britain should molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France or of the said States in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fishing banks and seas of North America formerly and usually frequented by the subjects and inhabitants, respectively; and whereas the said king and the United States have thought proper to determine with precision the true intent and meaning of the said guaranty in this respect, now, therefore, as a further demonstration of their mutual

good will and affection, it is hereby agreed, concluded, and determined as follows, to wit: That if after the conclusion of the treaty or treaties which shall terminate the present war, Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects or inhabitants of the said United States in taking fish on the banks, seas, and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights which may remain to her after the termination of the present war as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between the said United States and Great Britain; or if Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France in taking fish on the banks, seas, and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights of Great Britain, as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between France and Great Britain; in either of those cases of war, as aforesaid, his most Christian majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels, and their forces, according to the exigencies of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be taken or understood as contrary to or inconsistent with the true intent and meaning of the treaties already subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the said States, but the same shall be taken and understood as explanatory of and conformable to those treaties."

And, debating these instructions by paragraphs, when the question was about to be put to agree to this clause, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Spencer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Morris	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Scudder	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	No.	No.
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
	Mr. Randolph	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	No.	No.
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.*

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Sept. 9, 1779.

A. Lee to Franklin.*

PARIS, *August* 14, 1779.

SIR: A decent time having now elapsed since the declaration of his Catholic majesty against the King of Great Britain, it seems proper to apply to the Spanish court to know whether they are inclined to enter into the alliance which Congress have agreed to. At the same time, it appears to me that to ask Count de Vergennes' opinion of such a step, before I take it, would be an agreeable and useful mark of confidence in this court. But as I think such an application can not with propriety be made to his excellency by any one but you as minister here, I must beg you to take the trouble of consulting Count de Vergennes both upon the propriety and manner of my applying upon this subject to the court of Spain, and that you will have the goodness to communicate to me his opinion. I would very willingly apply myself, were I not persuaded that it would be a trespass against the deference due to your situation, and that the observance of this order in our proceedings will contribute to the attainment of the public object I have in view.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Congress.†

INSTRUCTIONS FOR A TREATY OF PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.‡

SIR: You will herewith receive a commission, giving you full power to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain; in doing which you will conform to the following information and instructions:

1. The United States are sincerely desirous of peace, and wish by every means consistent with their dignity and safety to spare the further effusion of blood. They have, therefore, by your commission and these instructions, labored to remove the obstacles to that event before the enemy have evidenced their disposition for it. But as the great object of the present defensive war on the part of the allies is to establish the independence of the United States, and as any treaty whereby this end can not be obtained must be only ostensible and illusory, you are therefore to make it a preliminary article to any negotiation that Great Britain shall agree to treat with the United States as sovereign, free, and independent.

2. You shall take especial care also that the independence of the said States be effectually assured and confirmed by the treaty or treaties of

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 566.

† MSS. secret journals, of Congress, Dep. of State; printed journals; 2 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 608.

‡ These instructions, and those for a treaty of commerce which follow, were agreed to unanimously in Congress on the 14th of Aug., nearly six weeks before the minister was chosen. They were drawn up by Gouverneur Morris.—SPARKS.

peace according to the form and effect of the treaty of alliance with his most Christian majesty; and you shall not agree to such treaty or treaties unless the same be thereby so assured and confirmed.

3. The boundaries of these States are as follows, viz: These States are bounded north by a line to be drawn from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia along the highlands which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence due west in the latitude of forty-five degrees north from the equator to the northwesternmost side of the river St. Lawrence or Cadaraqui; thence straight to the south end of Nepissing; and thence straight to the source of the river Mississippi. West by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to where the said line shall intersect the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South by a line to be drawn due east from the termination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north from the equator to the middle of the river Appalachicola, or Catahouchi; thence along the middle therof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. And east by a line to be drawn along the middle of St. John's River from its source to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other part shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy on the Atlantic Ocean. You are therefore strongly to contend that the whole of the said countries and islands lying within the boundaries aforesaid, and every citadel, fort, post, place, harbor, and road to them belonging be absolutely evacuated by the land and sea forces of his Britannic majesty and yielded to the powers of the States to which they respectively belong in such situation as they may be at the termination of the war. But notwithstanding the clear right of these States and the importance of the object, yet they are so much influenced by the dictates of religion and humanity, and so desirous of complying with the earnest request of their allies, that if the line to be drawn from the mouth of the lake Nepissing to the head of the Mississippi can not be obtained without continuing the war for that purpose, you are hereby empowered to agree to some other line between that point and the river Mississippi, provided the same shall in no part thereof be to the southward of latitude forty-five degrees north. And in like mannner, if the eastern boundary above described can not be obtained, you are hereby empowered to agree that the same shall be afterwards adjusted by commissioners to be duly appointed for that purpose according to such line as shall be by them settled and agreed on as the boundary between that

part of the State of Massachusetts Bay, formerly called the Province of Maine, and the colony of Nova Scotia, agreeably to their respective rights; and you may also consent that the enemy shall destroy such fortifications as they may have erected.

4. Although it is of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States that Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded, and more particularly that their equal common right to the fisheries should be guarantied to them, yet a desire of terminating the war has induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an ultimatum on the present occasion.

5. You are empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during the negotiation, provided our ally shall consent to the same, and provided it shall be stipulated that all the forces of the enemy shall be immediately withdrawn from the United States.

6. In all other matters not above mentioned you are to govern yourself by the alliance between his most Christian majesty and these States, by the advice of our allies, by your knowledge of our interests, and by your own discretion, in which we repose the fullest confidence.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR A TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

SIR: You will herewith receive a commission, giving you full power to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain; in doing which, you will consider yourself bound by the following information and instructions:

1. You will govern yourself principally by the treaty of commerce with his most Christian majesty; and as, on the one hand, you shall grant no privilege to Great Britain not granted by that treaty to France, so, on the other, you shall not consent to any peculiar restrictions or limitations whatever in favor of Great Britain.

2. In order that you may be the better able to act with propriety on this occasion, it is necessary for you to know that we have determined, (1) That the common right of fishing shall in no case be given up; (2) That it is essential to the welfare of all these United States that the inhabitants thereof, at the expiration of the war, should continue to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their common right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the said States; (3) That application shall be made to his most Christian majesty to agree to some article or articles for the better securing to these States a share in the said fisheries; (4) That if, after a treaty of peace with Great Britain, she shall molest the citizens or inhabitants of any of the United States in taking fish on the banks and places hereinafter described, such molestation being in our opinion a direct violation and breach of the peace, shall be a common cause of the said States, and the force of the Union be exerted to obtain redress for the parties injured; and (5) That our faith be pledged to the

several States that without their unanimous consent no treaty of commerce shall be entered into, nor any trade or commerce carried on with Great Britain, without the explicit stipulation hereinafter mentioned. You are therefore not to consent to any treaty of commerce with Great Britain without an explicit stipulation on her part not to molest or disturb the inhabitants of the United States of America in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and other fisheries in the American seas anywhere, excepting within the distance of three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, if a nearer distance can not be obtained by negotiation. And in the negotiation you are to exert your most strenuous endeavors to obtain a nearer distance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and particularly along the shores of Nova Scotia, as to which latter we are desirous that even the shores may be occasionally used for the purpose of carrying on the fisheries by the inhabitants of these States.

In all matters you are to govern yourself by your own discretion, as shall be most for the interest of these States, taking care that the said treaty be founded on principles of equality and reciprocity, so as to conduce to the mutual advantage of both nations, but not to the exclusion of others.

Jay, President of Congress—Instructions to Franklin.*

IN CONGRESS, *August* 14, 1779.

SIR: Having determined, in order to put a period to the present war, conformably to the humane dispositions which sway the allied powers, that we would not insist on a direct acknowledgment by Great Britain of our right in the fisheries, this important matter is liable to an incertitude which may be dangerous to the political and commercial interests of the United States. We have therefore agreed and resolved that our right should in no case be given up; that we would not form any treaty of commerce with Great Britain, nor carry on any trade or commerce whatsoever with her, unless she shall make an express stipulation on that subject, and that if she shall, after a treaty of peace, disturb the inhabitants of these States in the exercise of it, we will make it a common cause to obtain redress for the parties injured.

But, notwithstanding the precautions, as Great Britain may again light up the flames of war, and use our exercise of the fisheries as her pretext, and since some doubts may arise whether this object is so effectually guarded by the treaty of alliance with his most Christian majesty that any molestation therein on the part of Great Britain is to be considered as a *casus fœderis*, you are to endeavor to obtain of his majesty an explanation on that subject, upon the principle that, notwithstanding the high confidence reposed in his wisdom and justice,

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 73.

yet, considering the uncertainty of human affairs, and how doubts may be afterwards raised in the breasts of his royal successors, the great importance of the fisheries renders the citizens of these States very solicitous to obtain his majesty's sense with relation to them as the best security against the ambition and rapacity of the British court. For this purpose you will propose the following article, in which, nevertheless, such alterations may be made as the circumstances and situation of affairs shall render convenient and proper. Should the same be agreed to and executed, you are immediately to transmit a copy thereof to our minister at the court of Spain:

Whereas, by the treaty of alliance between the most Christian king and the United States of North America, the two parties guaranty mutually, from that time and forever, against all other powers, to wit: the United States to his most Christian majesty the possessions then appertaining to the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his most Christian majesty guaranties, on his part, to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their Confederation might obtain during the war, according to the said treaty; and the said parties did further agree and declare that, in case of a rupture between France and England, the said reciprocal guaranty shall have its full force and effect the moment such war should break out. And whereas doubts may hereafter arise how far the said guaranty extends to this case, to wit: that Great Britain should molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France, or of the said States in taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, formerly and usually frequented by their subjects and inhabitants respectively, And whereas the said king and the United States have thought proper to determine with precision the true intent and meaning of the said guaranty in this respect:

Now, therefore, as a further demonstration of their mutual good-will and affection, it is hereby agreed, concluded, and determined as follows, to wit: that if, after the conclusion of the treaty or treaties which shall terminate the present war, Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects or inhabitants of the said United States in taking fish on the banks, seas, and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as not to encroach on the territorial rights which may remain to her after the termination of the present war as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between the said United States and Great Britain, or if Great Britain shall molest or disturb the subjects and inhabitants of France in taking fish on the banks, seas, and places formerly used and frequented by them, so as [not] to encroach on the territorial rights of Great Britain as aforesaid, and war should thereupon break out between France and Great Britain in either of those cases of war, as aforesaid, his most

Christian majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels, and their forces, according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies; provided always that nothing herein contained shall be taken or understood as contrary to, or inconsistent with, the true intent and meaning of the treaties already subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the said States; but the same shall be taken and understood as explanatory of, and conformable to, those treaties.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY,
President.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 18, 1779.

SIR: I do myself the honor of enclosing a memorial,† which I beg of you to lay before Congress as early as may be, and I flatter myself it will be taken under their consideration as soon as is consistent with the other important affairs before them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.‡

Franklin to La Fayette.§

PASSY, *August* 19, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I have just now received your favor of the 17th. I wrote to you a day or two ago and have little to add. You ask my opinion what conduct the English will probably hold on this occasion, and whether they will not rather propose a negotiation for a peace. I have but one rule to go by in judging of those people, which is, that whatever is prudent for them to do they will omit, and what is most imprudent to be done they will do it. This, like other general rules, may sometimes have its exceptions; but I think it will hold good for the most part, at least while the present ministry continues, or rather while the present madman has the choice of ministers.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 156.

† All the letters written by Mr. Deane from 10th of July to 18th of Dec., 1779, were on file in the secretary's office of Congress, and taken from thence for the purpose of having them recorded with his other letters of a prior and subsequent date, which were filed in the office for foreign affairs, except the memorial mentioned to be enclosed in his letter of 18th Aug., 1779, which was then and is still missing.—Memorandum in Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 156.

‡ On Sept. 4, 1779, Mr. Deane again applied to Congress for information as to action on his memorial.

§ MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 434; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 379.

You desire to know whether I am satisfied with the ministers here? It is impossible for anybody to be more so. I see they exert themselves greatly in the common cause, and do everything for us they can. We can wish for nothing more, unless our great want of money should make us wish for a subsidy, to enable us to act more vigorously in expelling the enemy from their remaining posts and reducing Canada. But their own expenses are so great that I can not press such an addition to it. I hope, however, that we shall get some supplies of arms and ammunition, and perhaps, when they can be spared, some ships, to aid in reducing New York and Rhode Island. At present I know of no good opportunity of writing to America. There are merchant ships continually going, but they are very uncertain conveyances. I long to hear of your safe arrival in England, but the winds are adverse, and we must have patience.

With the sincerest esteem and respect, I am, ever, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Congress.*

IN CONGRESS, *August* 23, 1779.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee, consisting of one member from each State, be appointed to congratulate the minister of France on the anniversary of the birth of his most Christian majesty, and to assure him that the pleasure which we feel on this occasion can be estimated by those only who have a just sense of the extensive blessings which many nations have already derived from his wisdom, justice, and magnanimity, and of the prospect of general happiness to mankind through the influence of his majesty's virtuous exertions and glorious example.

Gerard to the Committee of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 23, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: The manner in which Congress are pleased to express their sentiments on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of the king, my master, is a mark of their friendship and respect for his majesty. Your expressions are truly worthy of a faithful ally, and I dare assure you that the account which I shall render to his majesty of them will be in the highest degree agreeable to him.

GERARD.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 636.

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *August* 24, 1779.

SIR: The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords I find it easy to express everything but the sense we have of your worth and our obligations to you; for this, figures and even words, are found insufficient. I therefore only add that, with the most perfect esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—My grandson goes to Havre with the sword and will have the honor of presenting it to you.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

PARIS, *August* 24, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of writing you on the 10th, to inform Congress of the junction of the fleets of France and Spain, the disposition of the troops and ships of the latter for the blockade of Gibraltar and the security of their commerce, with the preparations here for invading England. Since that, adverse winds have continually kept the combined fleet from entering the channel, and of course the embarkation for the invasion waits its approach and protection.

I am informed and believe that the Empress of Russia has offered her mediation between the belligerent powers in Europe. Her partiality for England is certain, and it is feared that from a partial mediatrix she may become a powerful ally, and draw with her perhaps Sweden and Denmark, with whom she is upon good terms, and who may not think it to their interest to let the naval power of the house of Bourbon acquire such an ascendency, by the destruction of that of Great Britain, as will destroy the balance and rivalship in Europe, so as to set up an unquestioned sovereign of the seas.

Our enemies are so much pressed and kept in check at present, that I do not see a possibility of their sending any further force against you for the next campaign, nor a probability of their being able to continue that which is already at New York and Rhode Island. But as the interposition of other powers is an event always to be kept in view, and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 76; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 436.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 566, with verbal changes.

that interposition will not only render the issue of the war uncertain, but place the day of peace far distant, I can not help signifying my most earnest hope that the wisdom of Congress will employ that respite in so arranging and reforming the administration of the public finances, and strengthening the country both by sea and land, as to be able to maintain the sovereignty and independence of the United States in spite of any European combination that may be formed against it.

The English papers tell us that the *Count d'Estaing*, of ten guns and fourteen swivels, with dispatches from Congress, was taken the 14th of July, off Cape Finisterre, and that the dispatches fell into their hands.

The uncertainty of what will be the final resolution of Congress regarding me upon the review of foreign affairs, and after all the licentious means that I perceive have been employed to injure my character, has determined me to await their ultimate commands at this place. These will either save me from an ineffectual journey to Madrid, or fortify me with full instructions, and a reassurance of that confidence which it has been the endeavor of my enemies to withdraw from me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

AUGUST 26.

P. S.—The combined fleet was as far up the channel as Plymouth on the 18th, and had taken the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns. This being a proper time of the moon for the embarkation of the troops, it is probably executing at this moment, and our enemies will soon taste of those miseries which they have so wantonly visited upon us.

La Fayette to Franklin.*

HAVRE, *August* 29, 1779.

SIR: Whatever expectations might have been raised from the sense of past favors, the goodness of the United States for me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth I find in the noble present which Congress has been pleased to honor me with, and which is offered in such a manner by your excellency as will exceed any thing but the feelings of my unbounded gratitude.

In some of the devices I can not help finding too honorable a reward for those slight services which, in concert with my fellow soldiers, and under the godlike American hero's orders, I had the good luck to render. The sight of these actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I shall ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 76; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 437.

a heart glowing with love for the nation and the most ardent zeal for their glory and happiness. Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your excellency, are much too inadequate to my feelings, and nothing but those sentiments may properly acknowledge your kindness towards me. The polite manner in which Mr. Franklin was pleased to deliver that inestimable sword lays me under great obligations to him and demands my particular thanks.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

LA FAYETTE.

Chaumont to Dumas.

PASSY, *September* 2, 1779.

SIR: I desire you may repair immediately to Amsterdam, to render all the services that may depend on you to a squadron under command of Mr. Jones, bearing the American flag, which is bound to the Texel.

The vessels which compose this squadron are:

		Guns.
Bon Homme Richard	Captain Jones	42
Alliance	Captain Landais	36
Pallas	Captain Cottineau	30
Cerf	Captain Varages	18
Vengeance	Captain Ricot	12

Vessels which may have joined:

Monsieur	Captain ———	40
Grandville	Captain ———	12
Mifflin	Captain ———	22

It is necessary that you require of the commandants of these vessels the greatest circumspection not to offend the Dutch and not to afford subject for any complaint.

If this squadron has need of any refreshments or aid, you will address yourself to M. de Neufville to procure them.

As soon as said squadron arrives I wish you to advise me of it, that I may take the necessary measures to send to the Americans the supplies of which they may have need.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Approved. LE RAY DE CHAUMONT.

B. FRANKLIN.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 265.

Vergennes to Gerard.*

IN CONGRESS, *September* 7.

The President laid before Congress a paper of intelligence, which he received from the minister plenipotentiary of France, and which is as follows, being an extract of a letter from Count de Vergennes to M. Gerard, dated Versailles, June 29, 1779:

[Translation.]

SIR: The decision of Spain is public. Her ambassador quitted London on the 18th of this month; he is now at Paris. Her forces are on their march to join with ours. The junction made, they will endeavor to inflict on England a blow sufficiently heavy to force her to acknowledge the independence of America. To free herself, if possible, from this hard necessity, and to procure herself the power of opposing at some future time a nation which she will not without great reluctance consent to free from the servitude which she wished to impose upon them, it seems that she has sent two emissaries to Congress with the offer of a truce, and even with power to withdraw all the English forces if America will determine to give up our alliance and to separate herself from us.

I do not imagine that this treachery can even enter into the mind of Congress; but if they should be enticed by the love of peace, a single reflection ought to stop it. As soon as England shall have proved the defection she can settle her affairs with us, and we shall have no reason to refuse to do it. She will then fall upon America with the whole mass of her power, very certain that no nation in Europe will afterwards take any interest in a nation which shall have signalized its birth by the most unworthy cowardice of which a government can be guilty.

I am persuaded, sir, that this reflection, seasonably presented, will be of great effect. There are many other reflections which certainly will not escape your wisdom.

GERARD.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, August 7, 13, 1779.]

SEPTEMBER 9, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the motion made on the 7th August. After debate,

Resolved, That the further consideration thereof be postponed.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 637.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

A motion was then made by Mr. Dickinson, seconded by Mr. Mathews, as follows:

That if his Catholic majesty shall determine to take part with France and the United States of America, in such case the minister plenipotentiary of these United States be empowered in their name to conclude with the most Christian and Catholic kings a treaty or treaties, thereby assuring to these States Canada, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the Floridas, when conquered, and the free and full exercise of the common right of these States to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, and also the free navigation of the Mississippi into the sea. That the said minister be instructed to endeavor by all means in his power to procure the assurance of the said countries and navigation to these States; but if his Catholic majesty shall positively insist upon the Floridas being ceded to him, and upon the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi from that part thereof which lies in latitude thirty-one degrees north from the equator to its mouth, in such cases the said minister be instructed to agree to such propositions, to assent to mutual guaranties, to wit: Of the Floridas and the navigation aforesaid to the King of Spain, and of Canada, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the fisheries aforesaid to these States, and to procure if possible the establishment of a free commerce for the inhabitants of these States with some port or ports on the said river below the said degree of latitude, except for such articles as may be in the treaty particularly enumerated. That the said minister be instructed that it is not the desire of Congress to continue the war for the acquisition of the countries before mentioned, and therefore, if his Catholic majesty shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain by cession or by war with or without the assistance of these States, they will guaranty the same to his majesty; but that in such case the said minister be instructed to endeavor strenuously to obtain for these States the assurance of the fisheries and commerce aforesaid. That the said minister be instructed to procure an article to be inserted contracting for the delivery of masts for the royal navy of Spain at some convenient port or ports in these States, providing therein that no greater quantity be stipulated for than these States can spare with convenience to themselves. That the said minister be instructed to endeavor by all the means in his power to procure from his Catholic majesty the annual payment to these States of a certain sum of money, either in compensation for their exertions or for the equivalent before mentioned.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1779.

After debate, on motion of Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. Smith,

Resolved, That the further consideration of the propositions moved yesterday be postponed.

A motion was then made by Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. Smith, as follows:

Whereas, by the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America, a power is reserved to his Catholic majesty "to accede to the said treaties and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper, it being well understood, nevertheless, that if any of the stipulations of the said treaties are not agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholic majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance and conformable to the rules of equality, reciprocity, and friendship;"

And whereas should his Catholic majesty accede to the said treaties without any alteration, he must be under the necessity of renouncing forever all claims to the possession of the Floridas, of the utmost consequence to his kingdom and more particularly to his American dominions:

In order, therefore, that nothing may be wanting on the part of these States to further a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty consistent with the engagements of the said States and agreeable to his most Christian majesty, their ally,

Resolved, That if his Catholic majesty shall accede to the said treaties, and, in concurrence with France and the United States of America, continue the present war with Great Britain for the purposes expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas; on the contrary, if he shall think proper to attack them, these United States will aid and assist his Catholic majesty in such enterprise with such provisions and naval stores as shall be required by his Catholic majesty and can be furnished by these United States; and if his Catholic majesty shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain by cession or by war, with or without the assistance of the allies, these United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic majesty; provided always that his Catholic majesty shall grant to the United States the free navigation of the river Mississippi into the sea, and establish on the said river at, or somewhere southward of the thirty-first north latitude, a free port or ports, under such regulations and restrictions as shall be agreed on between the ministers plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty and the United States; and provided also that his Catholic majesty shall pay to the United States as a subsidy a present sum not less than ——, and a further annual sum of —— during the continuance of the present war and for the term of —— years.

The motion being read, Congress took into consideration the resolution therein contained, and after debate adjourned.*

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Sept. 11, 1779.

A. Lee to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *September* 10, 1779.

SIR: I have seen in the journals of Congress, transmitted to me by the committee of foreign correspondence, that Mr. Paca, Mr. W. H. Drayton, and Mr. Carmichael have been permitted to lay before you intelligence and information concerning me, and that at a moment in which Congress were to decide, without hearing me, on what materially concerned my honor and reputation both in America and Europe.

I may venture to say, sir, without fear of contradiction, that this is a new mode of judicial proceeding in a country contending for liberty and justice; a mode of which every man in or out of Congress would complain if applied to himself, and under which it is impossible that any man's character can be safe from the attempts of malice and falsehood.

Congress will permit me to request that they will order copies of that intelligence and information to be transmitted to me, that I may be able to do myself, though late, the justice of answering them.

[In the mean time I beg leave to inform Congress that I will transmit to them by the first safe opportunity such evidence of Mr. Carmichael's character and conduct as I trust will fully satisfy them how unfit and unworthy that gentleman was to be credited in any evidence or information he may have given concerning me. Neither do I despair of being able to prove in time to Congress and to my country the secret motives of interest or malice which have actuated the conduct of those who have stood foremost in endeavoring to cover the crimes of others and visit them unjustly upon me.]†

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

BRAINTREE, *September* 10, 1779.

SIR: Looking over the printed journals of the 15th of last April, I find in the report of the committee appointed to take into consideration the foreign affairs of the United States, and also the conduct of the late and present commissioners of these States, the two following articles:

1. That it appears to them that Dr. Franklin is plenipotentiary for these States at the court of France; Dr. Arthur Lee, commissioner for the court of Spain; Mr. William Lee, commissioner for the courts of Vienna and Berlin; Mr. Ralph Izard, commissioner for the court of Tuscany; that Mr. John Adams was appointed one of the commissioners at the court of France in the place of Mr. Deane, who had been appointed

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 568, with omissions and verbal changes.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 599; 7 John Adams' Works, 110.

a joint commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Dr. Arthur Lee, but that the said commission of Mr. Adams is superseded by the plenipotentiary commission to Dr. Franklin.

2. That in the course of their examination and inquiry they find many complaints against the said commissioners and the political and commercial agency of Mr. Deane, which complaints, with the evidence in support thereof, are herewith delivered, and to which the committee beg leave to refer.

The word "said," in the second article, refers to the commissioners mentioned in the first; and as my name is among them, I learn from hence that there were some complaints against me, and that the evidence in support of them was delivered to Congress by the committee.

I therefore pray that I may be favored with copies of those complaints, and evidences, and the names of my accusers, and the witnesses against me, that I may take such measures as may be in my power to justify myself to Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, September 9, 1779.]

SATURDAY, *September* 11, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of the resolution, which, after debate, was agreed to. Congress then proceeded to the consideration of the provisos, and a motion was made by Mr. McKean to amend the first proviso by striking out "and," after the words "into the sea," and in lieu thereof inserting "or."†

Dumas to Franklin.‡

THE HAGUE, *September* 11, 1779.

SIR: Political affairs continue here on the same footing as I left them. Convoys are not granted, not even for vessels and cargoes of which there is no dispute, because they are unwilling that vessels loaded with timber should take advantage of the opportunity and join themselves to the fleet under convoy. On the other side, Leyden has at length joined the party of Amsterdam, which consists, at present, of eight or nine cities in favor of the deliberations for the province to provide separately for the protection of its commerce; otherwise all the traffickers in wool, who do a great business in this article, among others for Flanders, both French and Austrian, will retire from Leyden to Amsterdam.

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* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

† For further proceedings, see *infra*, Sept. 17, 1779.]

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 266.

The ambassador of France wishes that the great city had shown itself less inflexible against the army augmentation, and that it had set off this augmentation against unlimited and effectual convoys. I am not of this opinion. I think they would thereby put a dangerous weapon into the hands of the Anglomanes, and that the convoys would be no less evaded, and the republican party led by the nose. Our friend reasons better, in wishing that his country should be a commercial, and not a mediating, power in Europe. In fact, since from the acknowledgment of the Anglomanes themselves there is little to fear for the republic (for on the part of the English it is clear that it is not military but naval forces that she wants); and since both are so much at the disposal of the Anglomanes, it is as well for us and for the republic itself that they should remain on the old footing; and this probably will happen; for commerce, seeing they do not protect it, will not the next year pay the double of the right of entry and the excise; and this will reduce the fleet of the republic from thirty-two to twenty-two vessels great and small.

September 20. The court of France has made a declaration here that it has prohibited throughout the kingdom the importatation of cheese from North Holland. This interdict will not be removed until the cities of North Holland have acceded to the affair of convoy.

I have honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Gerard to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 15, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France, who is preparing to depart immediately, has the honor to request the Congress of the United States to be pleased, in the course of the week, if it be not inconvenient, to grant him an audience for the purpose of taking leave of Congress.

GERARD.

IN CONGRESS, *September* 15, 1779.†

Resolved, That Friday next be assigned for granting a private audience to M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of France, in order to his taking leave.

Resolved, That this private audience be in full Congress.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 638.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 638.

FRIDAY, *September* 17.

Resolved, That two members be appointed to introduce the minister to the private audience.

The minister, being introduced, took his leave in the following speech:

M. GERARD'S SPEECH ON TAKING LEAVE OF CONGRESS.

[Translation.]

GENTLEMEN: The king, my master, having been pleased to accept the representations which my bad state of health compelled me to make to him, has permitted me to return. At the same time he has been in haste to send another minister plenipotentiary to America, in order that there may be no interruption in the care of cultivating the mutual friendship. I must leave it to the talents of the Chevalier de la Luzerne to explain to you his majesty's sentiments, and will confine myself here, gentlemen, to expressing to you the satisfaction I shall experience in giving an account to him of the events of which I have been a witness during more than a year's residence with you. He will perceive in them the sentiments which animate and direct your counsels, your wisdom, your firmness, your attachment to the alliance, and your zeal for the prosperity of the common cause and of the two respective nations. He will see, with pleasure, the valuable union which constitutes the principal force and power of confederated America, that not only the citizens are in no want of zeal or vigor to repel the incursions which henceforth can have no other object than a barbarous devastation, but also that there is no American who does not perceive the necessity of uniting to humble the common enemy more and more, and to weaken him by efforts proportionate to the importance of putting a happy end to a glorious revolution, and also of securing to confederated America, by a firm and honorable peace, as quickly as possible, the inestimable advantages of liberty and independence, which form the essential and fundamental object of the alliance and of the war provoked and made necessary by England.

It remains to me, gentlemen, to offer you in general and individually the tribute of my gratitude for the marks of confidence and esteem and for the attentions which I have received from you. I have always endeavored to deserve them by the most sincere and lively attachment to the interests and to the dignity of the United States, as well as to the principles and sentiments resulting from the alliance. I have not lacked zeal for everything that might relate to them and cement more and more the connections, whether political or personal, between the two nations. The most flattering recompense of my labors would be the expression of your satisfaction.

GERARD.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO M. GERARD'S SPEECH ON HIS TAKING LEAVE.

SIR: We receive with much concern the intimation you have given us that the bad state of your health obliges you to leave America; though, at the same time, we are sensible of the continued friendly care of his most Christian majesty in sending a new minister plenipotentiary to these States.

Great as our regret is in thus parting with you, yet it affords us pleasure to think how well disposed you are to improve the favorable opportunities you will have on your return to France of evincing to his majesty the reality of those sentiments on our part which may justly be termed the animating principles of the United States.

By such representations the king will be assured that the citizens of these States observe with the most lively satisfaction the repeated instances of his amity for them; that they regard the alliance as an inestimable connection, endeared to them by the purity of the motives on which it was founded, the advantages derived from it, and the blessings it promises to both nations; that their resolution of securing its essential objects, liberty and independence is unalterable; that they are determined by all the exertions in their power to advance the common cause, and to demonstrate that while they are attentive to their own interests, they as ardently desire to approve themselves not only faithful but affectionate allies.

By a residence of more than a year near Congress you are enabled to form a competent judgment of the difficulties we have had to encounter, as well as of our efforts to remove them.

Sir, we should be deficient in the respect due to distinguished merit if we should fail to embrace this opportunity of testifying the high esteem which you have obtained throughout this country by your public and private conduct. You have happily combined a vigilant devotion to the dignity and interest of our most excellent and illustrious ally, with a zealous attachment to the honor and welfare of these States.

Your prudence, integrity, ability, and diligence in discharging the eminent trust reposed in you have secured our entire confidence, and now solicit from us the strongest declarations of our satisfaction with your behavior.

That you may be blessed with a favorable voyage, the approbation of your sovereign, the perfect recovery of your health, and all happiness are among the warmest wishes of every member of this body.

By order of Congress.

JOHN JAY,
President.

CONGRESS TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally:

The conduct of your majesty's minister, M. Gerard, during his residence in America has been in every respect so commendable, that we can not forbear testifying to your majesty our sense of his merit, without feeling that uneasiness which arises from a neglect of the obligations of justice.

His behavior appears to us to have been uniformly regulated by a devotion to your majesty's dignity and interest, and an adherence to the terms and principles of the alliance, while, at the same time, he demonstrated his attachment to the honor and prosperity of these States.

Thus serving his sovereign, he acquired our entire confidence and esteem, and has evinced your royal wisdom in selecting a person so properly qualified to be the first minister sent to the United States of America.

That the Supreme Ruler of the universe may bestow all happiness on your majesty is the prayer of your faithful and affectionate friends and allies.

Done at Philadelphia the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, by the Congress of the United States of America.

JOHN JAY,
President.

Substance of a Conference between M. de la Luzerne and General Washington at Headquarters, West Point.*

SEPTEMBER 16, 1779.

The minister opened the conference by observing that the council of Massachusetts had represented to him the disadvantages which their commerce was likely to suffer from the late misfortune in Penobscot, and the advantages which would result if his excellency Count d'Estaing could detach a few ships of the line and frigates to be stationed upon their coast for protecting their commerce and countenancing the operations of their cruisers against that of the enemy. But before he should propose such a measure to Count d'Estaing he wished to know from the general what purposes the detachment would answer to his military operations, and whether it would enable him to prosecute any offensive enterprise against the enemy. That, if he could accompany the request

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 647.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne arrived at Boston on the 2d of Aug., and on his way to Philadelphia visited General Washington at West Point. Hence this conference took place before his public introduction to Congress as minister plenipotentiary.—SPARKS.

of the council with assurance of this kind, a motive of such importance would have the greatest influence in determining the concurrence of Count d'Estaing, and might the better justify him in deranging or contracting his plans in the West Indies by making a detachment of his force.

The general answered that if Count d'Estaing could spare a detachment superior to the enemy's naval force upon this continent, retaining such a force in the West Indies as would put it out of the enemy's power to detach an equal force to this continent without leaving themselves inferior in the islands, the measure would have a high probability of many important and perhaps decisive advantages; but these would depend upon several contingencies, as the time in which the detachment can arrive and the position and force of the enemy when it arrives. That the season proper for military operations was now pretty far advanced, and to make a winter campaign would require a disposition of our magazines peculiar to it, which could not be made without a large increase of expense; a circumstance not to be desired in the present posture of our affairs, unless the arrival of a naval succor was an event of some certainty. That with respect to the position and force of the enemy, they had now about fourteen thousand men at New York and its dependencies and between three and four thousand at Rhode Island; that to reduce the former. if it should be concentred on the island, would require extensive preparations beforehand, both as to magazines and aids of men, which could not with propriety be undertaken on a precarious expectation of assistance. But that if the garrison of Rhode Island should continue there we should have every reason to expect its reduction by a combined operation; it might, however, be withdrawn. He added that the enemy appear to be making large detachments from New York, which the present situation of their affairs seems to exact; that there is a high probabilty of their being left so weak as to give us an opportunity during the winter of acting effectually against New York in case of the arrival of a fleet to cooperate with us even with the force we now have and could suddenly assemble on an emergency; that, at all events, the French squadron would be able to strike an important stroke in the capture and destruction of the enemy's vessels of war, with a large number of transports, and perhaps seamen.

He concluded with observing that, though in the great uncertainty of the arrival of a squadron he could not undertake to make expensive preparations for co-operating, nor pledge himself for doing it effectually, yet there was the greatest prospect of utility from the arrival of such a squadron, and he would engage to do everything in his power for improving its aid if it should appear upon our coast; that, if the present or future circumstances should permit Count d'Estaing to concert a combined operation with the troops of these States against the enemy's fleets and armies within these States, he would be ready to promote

the measure to the utmost of our resources and should have the highest hopes of its success; it would, however, be necessary, to prevent delay and give efficacy to the project, that he should have some previous notice.

The minister replied that the general's delicacy upon the occasion was very proper, but as he seemed unwilling to give assurances of effectual co-operation in conveying the application to the admiral, he would only make use of the name of the council, which would, no doubt, have all the weight due to the application of so respectable a body.

The general assented, observing that occasional mention might be made of the military advantages to be expected from the measure.

The minister next informed the general that there had been some negotiations between Congress and M. Gerard on the subject of the Floridas and the limits of the Spanish dominions in that quarter, concerning which certain resolutions had been taken by Congress, which he supposed were known to the general. He added that the Spaniards had in contemplation an expedition against the Floridas, which was either already begun or very soon would be begun, and he wished to know the general's opinion of a co-operation on our part; that it was probable this expedition would immediately divert the enemy's force from South Carolina and Georgia, and the question then would be whether General Lincoln's army would be necessary elsewhere, or might be employed in a co-operation with the Spanish forces. That the motive with the French court for wishing such a co-operation was, that it would be a meritorious act on the side of the United States towards Spain, who, though she had all along been well disposed to the revolution, had entered reluctantly into the war, and had not yet acknowledged our independence; that a step of this kind would serve to confirm her good dispositions, and to induce her not only to enter into a treaty with us, but perhaps to assist with a loan of money. That the forces of Spain in the islands were so considerable as would in all appearance make our aid unnecessary; on which account the utility of it, only contingent and possible, was but a secondary consideration with the court of France; the desire to engage Spain more firmly in our interests, by a mark of our good-will to her, was the leading and principal one.

The general assured the minister that he had the deepest sense of the friendship of France, but replied to the matter in question that he was altogether a stranger to the measures adopted by Congress relative to the Floridas, and could give no opinion of the propriety of the co-operation proposed in a civil or political light; but considering it merely as a military question, he saw no objection to the measure, on the supposition that the enemy's force in Georgia and South Carolina be withdrawn, without which it would of course be impossible.

The minister then asked, in case the operation by the Spaniards

against the Floridas should not induce the English to abandon the southern States, whether it would be agreeable that the forces, either French or Spanish, employed there should co-operate with our troops against those of the enemy in Georgia and South Carolina.

The general replied that he imagined such a co-operation would be desirable.

The minister inquired in the next place whether, in case the court of France should find it convenient to send directly from France a squadron and a few regiments attached to it, to act in conjunction with us in this quarter it would be agreeable to the United States.

The general thought it would contribute much to advance the common cause.

The minister informed us that Dr. Franklin had purchased a fifty-gun ship, which the King of France intended to equip for the benefit of the United States, to be sent with two or three frigates to Newfoundland, to act against the enemy's vessels employed in the fishery, and afterwards to proceed to Boston to cruise from that port.

He concluded the conference with stating that in Boston several gentlemen of influence, some of them members of Congress, had conversed with him on the subject of an expedition against Canada and Nova Scotia; that his Christian majesty had a sincere and disinterested desire to see those two provinces annexed to the American Confederacy, and would be disposed to promote a plan for this purpose; but that he would undertake nothing of the kind unless the plan was previously approved and digested by the general. He added that a letter from the general to Congress some time since on the subject of an expedition to Canada had appeared in France and had been submitted to the best military judges, who approved the reasoning, and thought the objections to the plan which had been proposed very plausible and powerful. That whenever the general should think the circumstances of this country favorable to such an undertaking he should be very glad to recommend the plan he should propose, and he was assured that the French court would give it all the aid in their power.

The general again expressed his sense of the good dispositions of his Christian majesty, but observed that, while the enemy remain in force in these States, the difficulties stated in his letter alluded to by the minister would still subsist; but that, whenever that force should be removed, he doubted not it would be a leading object with the Government to wrest the two aforementioned provinces from the power of Britain; that in this case he should esteem himself honored in being consulted on the plan, and was of opinion that, though we should have land force enough for the undertaking without in this respect intruding upon the generosity of our allies, a naval co-operation would certainly be very useful and necessary.

The rest of the conference consisted in mutual assurances of friendship of the two countries, etc., interspersed on the general's side with

occasional remarks on the importance of removing the war from these States, as it would enable us to afford ample supplies to the operations in the West Indies, and to act with efficacy in annoying the commerce of the enemy and dispossessing them of their dominions on this continent.

HEADQUARTERS, *September* 18, 1779.

The foregoing is, to the best of my recollection, the substance of a conference at which I was present at the time mentioned, and interpreted between the minister and the general.

A. HAMILTON.

Franklin to Schweighauser.*

PASSY, *September* 17, 1779.

SIR: I have now before me your favors of July 31 and August 19.

Your testimony with regard to Mr. William Lee is fully sufficient to remove the suspicion of his sharing in your commission. I mentioned it, not as a charge against him, but an excuse for you, 5 per cent. being, as I understood, more than double of what is usual. I could wish I had nothing to do with mercantile business, as I am not versed in it. I perceive that you have abated the commission on the delivery of the tobacco to 1 per cent., but then that is 1 per cent. paid to your correspondent and another 1 per cent. for yourself. To me it seems that your commission should be not on the whole sum, but only on what you paid your correspondent for doing the business; otherwise we pay twice for the same service. I must submit, however, to the custom of merchants. It may be against me, and if it is, I suppose it is founded on some reason that at present I am unacquainted with. But if these two commissions are right, the article of traveling charges, 1,024 livres, wants explanation.

Notwithstanding what I said relating to such of your drafts as are founded on the part of your account, I have refused none, but honored them all.

I am satisfied with your reason about the date of your bills. If I should be at any time so straitened for money when in your debt as that a sudden demand from you would be inconvenient to me I will mention it to ———, and request that your bills may be drawn at one or two usances.

The Swedish ambassador has presented a memorial to M. de Vergennes relating to the prize and the demanded damages. He mentioned that the Swedish people were beaten and cruelly treated by ours. This is so contrary to our custom that I can hardly believe it. I must answer his memorial, and therefore wish to see again the papers, that I

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 438.

may examine them. I think I sent them down to you when I desired you to get some of the letters translated. Please to return them to me, and you shall have them again when wanted for the trial. If you have received the opinion of the advocate of the bureau of prizes, which you expected, please to send me a copy of it.

The two sick persons who came over among the prisoners from England should undoubtedly be taken care of till they are able to go home. I wish to know their names and the parts of America they come from. I have no objection to continuing the allowance of Captain Harris, supposing that he intends going by the first opportunity. Please to present my compliments to him, and request him to inform me about a trunk belonging to M. Louis Dupré, which was intrusted to his care, and which is inquired after.

I thought to have had the dispatches ready to send by Captain Samson this day, but there are some points on which I must wait an answer from the court, in order to send that answer in my letters; this may yet require some days, but I think it will not exceed another week. I approve of your assisting the American prisoners that are arriving from Lisbon in the manner that Mr. Adams ordered for those come from England. They were, I believe, generally pretty well clothed by charities collected there. If any of these should be apparently in great want of clothing, it will be well to assist them with what may be absolutely necessary in that article.

I should think it would be right to discharge Mr. Hill, the surgeon; I am sorry he has been kept so long. In my opinion surgeons should never be detained as prisoners, as it is their duty and their practice to help the sick and wounded of either side when they happen to have an opportunity. They should therefore be considered not as parties in any war, but as friends to humanity.

I request you to make inquiry by your correspondents in the different ports of Spain what English prisoners brought in by Americans were confined there. When you receive answers please to communicate them to me.

I enclose you a copy of what I write to Mr. Williams relating to my orders about the prisoners; we must not regard reports.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

I will transmit to Congress the memoire relating to the Baron d'Autroche.

Congress — Proceedings as to the Conditions of Pacification, and particularly as to the Mississippi and the Fisheries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, September 9, 11, 1779.]

SATURDAY, *September* 17, 1779.

A motion was made to extend the amendment by striking out "and" and what follows to the end of the first proviso.

Question put, passed in the affirmative, and the words were struck out.

A motion was then made by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Sharpe, in lieu of the words struck out to insert:

"And some convenient port or ports on the said river below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, free for all merchant vessels, goods, wares, and merchandise, except for such articles as may be enumerated and agreed upon as contraband."

On the question to insert those words, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Holton	No.	No.
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Collins	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Root	No.	
	Mr. Spencer	No.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Nc.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Dickinson	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Forbes	No.	No.
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	No.
	Mr. Mathews	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

On motion,

Resolved, That the remaining part of the first proviso be amended by striking out the words "his Catholic majesty shall grant to," and after "States" inserting "shall enjoy," and so that it read: "Provided always that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea."

On motion of Mr. Mathews, seconded by Mr. Huntington,

Resolved, That the second proviso be postponed.

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

On motion of Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Smith,

Resolved, That the resolution passed on Saturday last be reconsidered.

On motion of Mr. Mathews, seconded by Mr. Smith,

Resolved, That the resolution be amended by striking out the words "think proper to attack them these United States will aid and assist his Catholic majesty in such enterprise with such provisions and naval stores as shall be required by his Catholic majesty and can be furnished by these States, and if his Catholic majesty shall;" also the words "by cession or by war, with or without the assistance of the allies," so that it read: "On the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic majesty."

On the question to agree to the whole as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Jay,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
	Mr. Partridge	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Collins	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Root	Aye.	Aye.
New York	Mr. Jay	No.	No.
	Mr. Lewis	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Carmichael	No.	No.
	Mr. Jenifer	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fleming	No.	
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnett	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved as follows:

Whereas, by the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America, a power is reserved to his Catholic majesty "to accede to the said treaties and to participate in their stipulations at such times as he shall judge proper," it being well understood, nevertheless, that if any of the stipulations of the said treaties are not agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholic majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance and conformable to the rules of equality, reciprocity, and friendship;

And whereas, should his Catholic majesty accede to the said treaties without any alteration, he must be under the necessity of renouncing forever all claims to the possession of the Floridas, of the utmost consequence to his kingdom, and more particularly to his American dominions. In order therefore that nothing may be wanting on the part of these States to further a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, consistent with the engagements of the said States and agreeable to his most Christian majesty, their ally,

Resolved, That if his Catholic majesty shall accede to the said treaties, and in concurrence with France and the United States of America, continue the present war with Great Britain for the purpose expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas. On the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic majesty; provided always that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to prepare instructions conformable to the foregoing resolution.

The members chosen: Mr. Smith, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Gerry.*

J. Adams to the Treasury Board.†

BRAINTREE, *September* 19, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: By the last post I had the honor of a letter from your secretary, enclosing, by your order, a copy of the resolutions of Congress of the 6th of August, relative to the allowance to the late commissioners and their accounts, together with the resolution of your honorable board of the 26th of August, requesting me to enclose my accounts and vouchers to the board of treasury, that they may take order thereon.

I have the honor to transmit, by my worthy friend Mr. Lowell, my accounts--in the first place the account of moneys drawn for by Dr. Franklin and me jointly and the expenditure of them. These moneys, from the time of my arrival at Passy, the 9th of April, 1778, to the end of August following, were received by Dr. Franklin and the account kept by him of the expenditure. The account marked A is a copy of the account he gave me, but he never showed me any of the vouchers and I never compared them, so that Mr. Franklin, I suppose, holds himself accountable for them. From the 1st of October until the new commission arrived the account was kept by me. At the end of each month I carried my account and vouchers to Dr. Franklin. We looked them over together and signed the account, except the last, when, Dr. Franklin being so ill of the gout and I being engaged in settling my affairs in order to come away, it was omitted.

I transmit the vouchers for all the time that the account was kept by me. But I have one request to make with respect to these, but more especially with respect to my private vouchers, which is, that when the honorable board have made the use of them they intend they would deliver them to Mr. Gerry to be returned to me, being necessary for the security of my reputation as well as against new demands for payment. The account thus kept by me and signed monthly by my colleague and

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* For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, Sept. 25, 1779.

† 7 John Adams' Works, 111.

myself is marked B. The large articles of family expenses and postage of letters are here inserted only in the large. Dr. Franklin has the original books of account of all these particulars, with other receipts in them.

The account marked C is my private account of moneys received by me singly, and includes what money I received of the navy board at Boston before my departure; what I received of the continental agents at Bordeaux, Nantes, L'Orient, etc.; what I received of Mr. Franklin out of the moneys drawn for jointly, and what I received of Mr. Grand, the banker, either with my own hand or by drafts upon him; the amount of all which, exclusive of a draft for Mr. Deane's furniture, is —— livres. The account marked D is a particular account of all my expenses, the amount of which is ——.

This includes the expenses of all my journeys from Bordeaux to Paris, from Paris to Nantes, from Nantes to Brest, from Brest back again to Nantes, the expenses of clothing for myself and servants, and, in general, all my particular expenses of every kind. During the time the joint account was kept by Mr. Franklin, the honorable board will see that Mr. Franklin paid all these articles out of the joint stock which I was paying for out of my particular. The effect to the public is the same; but it was necessary to make the observation in order to explain the articles.

The honorable board will also see in this account of mine several articles for books. I found myself in France ill-versed in the language, the literature, the science, the laws, customs, and manners of that country, and had the mortification to find my colleagues very little better informed than myself, vain as this may seem. I found also that Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee had expended considerable sums for books, and this appeared to me one of the most necessary and useful ways in which money had ever been spent in that country. I therefore did not hesitate to expend the sums mentioned in this account in this way, in the purchase of such a collection of books as were calculated to qualify one for conversation and for business, especially the science of negotiation. Accordingly the books are a collection of books concerning the French language, and criticism concerning French history, laws, customs, and manners; but above all a large collection of books on the public law of Europe, and the letters and memoirs of those ambassadors and public ministers who had acquired the fairest fame and had done the greatest services to their countries in this way.

The honorable board will judge whether this is a "reasonable expense," and whether it ought or ought not to be deducted from the allowance. I shall submit to their judgment with entire satisfaction.

All the articles in both accounts which were for my son will no doubt be deducted from my allowance. Yet I ought to observe that Mr. Izard and Mr. William Lee have supported their families, Dr. Franklin has two grandsons, and Mr. A. Lee a nephew, Mr. Deane two brothers,

and afterwards a son; all that I desire is, that I may be treated like the others.

I departed from my own house the 13th of February, 1778, and happily arrived at it again the 2d of August, 1779. How far the honorable board will judge the resolution of Congress, allowing three months after the recall, applicable to me, I do not know; indeed, whether I am recalled to this moment I do not know. All I desire is a reasonable compensation for the time I was actually in the service, and this was in fact from the day that I received my commission, which was in December, 1777; for from that day I was obliged to avoid all engagements in private business, and to devote myself to the preparation for my voyage as much as at any time after.

I shall send by this opportunity all the vouchers I have. When I was making journeys from place to place it was impossible for me to take receipts of postilions, tavern-keepers, and twenty other sorts of people for small sums; but I presume no man will say his expenses have been or can be less than mine.

The United States have no house rent, or hire of chariots or horses, or horsemen, or servants, or furniture of houses to pay for me. None of these things, except the servant who went with me, were ever added to the public expenses on my account. There are two or three small sums in the account paid to Mr. Austin for services while he acted as my secretary, perhaps six weeks, which is all the expense the public bore for secretaries to me. I do not mention this as a virtue or merit, for I am convinced it was an error, and I would never advise any other gentleman to follow my example in these particulars.

I was obliged to be at some expense for bedding on board the *Sensible* in my passage home, as the board will see.

I submit the whole to the consideration of the board, only requesting that I may be informed what articles are allowed in the settlement of my account under the head of reasonable expenses and what are not.

I have the honor to be, with great respect to the honorable board, their most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

[Note by editor of J. Adams' Works.]

This letter was referred by Congress in the first place to the commissioners of accounts, who made a report upon it on the 25th of October, 1779. This report was again referred to a committee of their own body, consisting of Mr. Forbes, Mr. Matthews, and Mr. Houston, who, on the 15th of April, 1780, made the following report, which was accepted:

"That they do not find any vote or proceeding of Congress, nor are they informed of any general or received custom, on which the charge of moneys for the education of the accomptant's son can be admitted; and though the same is inconsiderable, they are of opinion it ought to be rejected, that a precedent be not established; that they are of opinion that the charge for books ought to be admitted, on the ground of a practice which has obtained in different nations respecting their public ministers, and

which is mentioned by Mr. Adams in the explanations attending his vouchers; that they find the several charges in the said accounts conformable to the strictest principles of economy, and that, as far as Mr. Adams has been intrusted with public money, the same has been carefully and frugally expended."—Secret journals of Congress, vol. 11, p. 312.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *September* 19, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor of receiving your letter of the 16th of July, with the journals of Congress, in which I see with sorrow the proceedings with regard to those who in no moment of their lives ever neglected to do the utmost in their power for the public good.†

For myself, I trust that time and mature consideration will alter the opinion of those gentlemen, who appear desirous of fixing upon me a most public mark of suspicion and censure with some little precipitation, they will permit me to say, as it was before I had been heard. Among those gentlemen there are some whose education and profession should in a peculiar manner have taught them that it is laid down as a fundamental maxim of justice that he who gives judgment, the one party being heard and the other not, though he should happen to be right in his decision, commits an act of injustice.

I should have expected that not only Congress, but every member of it, my accusers excepted, would have been my advocates, because your records are filled with proofs of my early and unremitting endeavors to serve the public. Congress will bear with me while I express my surprise that the delicacy observed in wording Mr. Deane's recall was reversed in the proceedings against Mr. Izard, my brother, and myself, unless it were intended to hold us up to the world as persons who had been proved guilty of offenses against their country; which, if it were, may God in his infinite mercy forgive it.

I am fully persuaded that time and riper information will show you that, as nothing could have given a deeper wound to the honor and interests of the United States than harmony among your commissioners in doing ill, there was use and merit in the suspicions and dissensions that arose among them. In any event, they who consider that suspicions and dissensions may and have existed among the best of men will mix some moderation with the judgment they pass upon them. They who know with what long suffering and frequent forgiveness I endeavored to prevent them will not impute the blame to me.

[Among a thousand instances I could give of this, one only is sufficient; that is my having forgiven and buried a long time in oblivion the atrocious injury done me in the beginning by Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Deane, the one in putting into the hands of the other my dispatches in-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 568, with omissions.

† Journal of Congress, June 10, 1779.

trusted to him for the secret committee, knowing it was his crimina intention to open them, which the other immediately perpetrated. S it stands upon the confession of Mr. Carmichael himself, certified to m by three witnesses. His words are: "Mr. Deane informed me that h was ordered by Congress to correspond with Mr. A. Lee, and as thes dispatches might contain some information of the state of Europe, an might be very useful for his future conduct, desired me to deliver then to him." He (Mr. Carmichael) told Mr. Deane that if he opened then he must take the consequences upon himself, to which Mr. Deane re plied that he would. Mr. Carmichael delivered them to Mr. Deane, wh opened them in the presence of a Mr. Rogers, who wrote for him, now in America, and will, if required, certify the same. It was not th commission of an act which he knew to be wrong that troubled Mr Carmichael, but the fear of the consequence. It was not his honor pledged to me, nor his fidelity to the public, which restrained his min istering to the wicked intentions of another, but the apprehension o the punishment that might ensue. Shield me only from that, and, in violation of everything that is sacred among men, take, open, and em ploy the dispatches committed to me under the most solemn trust t what purposes you please. But they *might* contain some information useful to him in Europe. What! information destined for America useful to him in Europe? And was it necessary to commit the crime of violating the seal of him with whom he was directed to correspond upon a *surmise* of getting information which he might have received surely and fully from that correspondent in a week's time? But it is beneath me to refute such puerile pretenses.

These are my accusers; these are the witnesses. They sit among you they talk of their regard for the honor of the United States; they are heard; they are trusted. I am ashamed to add, these are the men under whose calumnies the feelings, the honor, the reputations of your most faithful servants have bled within your walls.] *

I will trouble Congress no more upon this vexed and unworthy busi ness. Sensible as I was of the honor of your confidence, I was equally sensible of the sacrifice I made of my private affairs to the public serv ice. I received your commission, therefore, not as a favor; I do not re tain it as favor; I will do my duty while I keep it, and resign it, when such is your pleasure, without a moments regret. When times less criti cal will admit of less reserve, it will be my duty to prove to my country and to the world, as I have done to you, that your confidence in me was not misplaced. This I trust I shall be able to do by evidence that will carry conviction to all and confusion to many.

Congress will permit me to hope that long before this they have hon ored me with full instructions relative to the additional articles and the boundary between the territories of Spain and the United States, on which I asked their commands as long ago as February and April,

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

1778. It is fortunate that I have not yet been called upon on that subject. But it is impossible to say how long it will be delayed; and no heavier misfortune could befall me than to be left uninstructed in a business of such moment.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

J. Adams to McKean.*

BRAINTREE, *September* 20, 1779.

It is a long time since I had the pleasure to see you; but my esteem is not at all diminished. None of us have anything to boast of in these

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* 9 J. Adams' Works, 484.

Thomas McKean was born of Scotch-Irish parentage, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on March 19, 1734. His early education was in the academy of the Rev. Francis Allison, and from this school he proceeded to study law in the office of David Finney, of New Castle, Delaware. Admitted to the bar at New Castle, and afterwards at West Chester, he crossed the ocean, became a student in the Middle Temple, London, where he was admitted on May 9, 1758. After his return to America he practised law in Philadelphia and in the adjoining counties. In 1765 he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania assembly, to which body he was elected for a series of years, holding his seat during the Revolution. In those days the division of Delaware from Pennsylvania was not absolute, and McKean, living on the border of Delaware, and having property therein, held from time to time office in that State. In 1765 he was appointed president judge of the court of common pleas, New Castle county, Delaware; and in 1774 he was elected a delegate to Congress from the lower counties in that State. He remained a member of Congress for an unbroken series of elections till 1783. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and as, will be hereafter seen, was President of Congress in 1781. During the political struggles in the provincial assembly he and Franklin differed in matters of public policy, and this difference continued for years. McKean sympathized in the main also with Samuel Adams, sharing for a time that eminent statesman's dread of executive power. In 1777 he was elected chief-justice of Pennsylvania, and in the same year president of Delaware, the constitution of which State was mainly drawn by him. As a judge he was industrious, energetic, and determined; and some of his decisions are still quoted with respect, though he occasionally allowed, as in Collett's case, personal and political sympathy to betray him into the use of language a little too vehement for his position. In Congress, sympathizing as he did with Samuel Adams, he was found frequently in what might be called the "mountain" in political divisions. As time passed on, however, his views became more comprehensive, though he sided, owing to his political sympathy with the "Lees and Adamses," with Arthur Lee in his controversy with Franklin. In 1776-'77 McKean commanded a battalion, which was active in the war then raging in New Jersey. When the Federal Constitution of 1787 came up for adoption, his opposition to executive co-ordinancy, like that of Samuel Adams, was so far modified as to enable him to give that Constitution his efficient support. In 1799 he was elected governor of Pennsylvania, resigning on his election his seat as chief-justice; and he held the office of governor, by successive elections, until 1808. In politics he was a supporter of Jefferson, and to his courage and energy the success of the Jefferson ticket in Pennsylvania in 1799 was in a large measure due. Towards the end of his political career, however, on a division of the democratic party, he took ground with what was called the more conservative wing, and was re-elected by the support of the federalists.

times in respect to the happiness of life. You have been in disagr
able scenes, I doubt not; mine have been much worse than I expect
I never heard of any jealousy, or envy, or malevolence among c
commissioners at Paris until my arrival at Bordeaux. Judge of r
surprise, grief, and mortification, then, when I heard at Bordeaux, a
found on my arrival at Paris, the heat and fury to which it had aris
Both sides most earnestly besieged me in order to get me to join th
party; but I saw the only part a man of honor and confidence cou
take in my situation was to join neither. Accordingly, I invariably a
firmly refused to have anything to do with their disputes, before r
arrival or after, any further than they should unavoidably interm
with the public questions in which my office obliged me to give
opinion; and then to give it impartially for the public good. I acco
ingly lived not only in peace, but in apparent friendship with bo
sides. If there was any animosity in either against me personally,
was very artfully concealed from me, and certainly never had any ju
cause. Since my arrival here I am informed that I have been honor
with a little of the ill humor of both sides, and I beg your assistance
Congress that I may be informed of the particulars as I have request
Congress have done the only thing that could dissolve the charm; th
is, left one alone.

An opposition in parliament, in a house of assembly, in a council,
congress, is highly useful and necessary to balance individuals a
bodies and interests one against another, and bring the truth to lig
and justice to prevail. But an opposition in a foreign embassy, in t
circumstances of this country and of Europe, is ruin. There can be
secrecy, no confidence, when such an opposition takes place, much le
where there are such infernal quarrels as were between my colleagu
It would be better to employ a single man of sense, even although
should be as selfish and interested as possible consistent with fealty
his country, than three honest men, even of greater abilities, any t
of whom should be at open variance with each other. It would be b
ter to employ a single stockjobber or a single monopolizer. It is bett
still, no doubt, to employ one man of virtue and ability.

I presume Congress intend to appoint a secretary to the commissio
and to appoint consuls for the management of commercial and ma
time matters. It is highly necessary. Franklin is a wit and a humori
I know. He may be a philosopher for what I know. But he is not
sufficient statesman for all the business he is in. He knows too litt
of American affairs, of the politics of Europe, and takes too little pai
to inform himself of either to be sufficient for all these things—to
ambassador, secretary, admiral, consular agent, etc. Yet such is h
name on both sides the water, that it is best, perhaps, that he shou
be left there; but a secretary and consuls should be appointed to
the business or it will not be done, or if done, it will be by people wh
insinuate themselves into his confidence, without either such heads

earts as Congress should trust. He is too old, too infirm, too indolent nd dissipated, to be sufficient for the discharge of all the important ıties of ambassador, board of war, board of treasury, commissary of isoners, etc., as he is at present in that department, besides an im- ense correspondence and acquaintance, each of which would be enough r the whole time of the most active man in the vigor of youth.

I write plainly, but confidentially. I write to you, because I believe ou have not been heated with any of the personal disputes between or oncerning the commissioners.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

THE HAGUE, *September* 20, 1779.

HONORED SIRS: Returned from Passy—where I have been detained me weeks longer than I had proposed to stay, and during which fairs have not suffered here from my absence, because I constantly ept up correspondence with our great and worthy friend in this untry; returned also from Amsterdam, where I was ordered to go for me business—I have now the honor to send you herewith the public pers, which will apprise you what has happened through Europe ese last months; you will see also by the extract of my letter to his cellency at Passy the present state of affairs in this republic.

Dr. Franklin has not yet had leisure to send me back the plan of a ture treaty with this republic, to which he is to join his remarks.

I am to set out after to-morrow for Texel with letters and secret in- ructions to Commodore Jones' squadron, whose arrival there I ex- ect every day; therefore I must finish here abruptly, and defer writing his excellency the President of Congress on the subject of his letter the 3d of January last to Dr. Franklin, also of a resolution of Con- ess about Colonel Diriks of December 23, 1778. I only add here that have no doubt the colonel is fitter for fighting battles than for manag- g treaties or loans.

Neufville, too, seems to me, as well as to the gentlemen at Passy, to ave promised more than he can now effectuate respecting a loan; owever, I still recommend him to other good American merchants as house very proper to deal with in the mercantile line.

Still begging your protection and praying heartily for the prosperity the United States, I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 267, with verbal changes and missions.

Adams to the President of Congress.*

BOSTON, *September* 23, 1779.

SIR: I had yesterday the honor of your letter of the 7th of this month. I thank you, sir, for your obliging congratulations on my return to my family and country.

The reason why my letters of the 27th of February and the 1st of March arrived so late was, that they were delivered at the time of their dates to gentlemen then bound to the seaports who expected to sail directly for America, but were disappointed of passages until the vessels sailed under the convoy of the *Sensible*.

I have not my letter-book here, but I don't remember that they contained anything of much consequence; so that I suppose the inconvenience of their late arrival was not much.

You will be pleased to make my most respectful compliments to the members of Congress, and believe me to be, with great esteem, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Congress.†

IN CONGRESS, *September* 25, 1779.

The committee to whom was referred the paper of intelligence communicated by M. Gerard, on the 7th instant, reported the draft of a letter in answer to the said communication, which was read, as follows:

SIR: The sentiments contained in the paper laid before Congress on the 7th instant have given us great uneasiness, as they admitted the possibility of an event which we can not contemplate without pain and regret. Nevertheless, as they demonstrate the anxieties of a faithful friend, Congress are willing again to testify their unalterable attachment to the terms and principles of the alliance, more especially as we wish you, on leaving America, to take with you a solemn assurance of our fixed dispositions.

"Reposing ourselves upon that Almighty Power, whose interposition in our behalf we have often seen and adored, confident of the unanimity and zeal of our fellow citizens throughout these States, assured of the assistance and support of our great ally, relying that the good and brave everywhere regard our cause with interested attention, we firmly repeat what we have already declared, that no offer of advantage, however great and alluring, no extremes of danger, however alarming, shall induce us to violate the faith we have given and the resolutions we have adopted, for the observance of which we have solemnly pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 600, with verbal changes.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 641.

After debate,

Ordered, That the President return the following answer:

SIR: Congress feel themselves obliged by your communication of the
instant, and are happy that M. Gerard will be able to contradict,
om the fullest evidence, every insinuation which may be made preju-
icial to the faith and honor of the United States.

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ngress—Proceedings as to Election and Commissioning of Plenipotentiaries.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, September 17, 1779.]

SEPTEMBER 25, 1779.

Congress resumed the consideration of their foreign affairs.

Resolved, That Congress proceed to-morrow to the election of a proper
rson for negotiating a treaty of peace and that persons be immediately
t in nomination; whereupon

Mr. John Adams was nominated by Mr. Laurens, Mr. J. Jay by Mr.
ith.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1779.

According to order Congress proceeded to the election of a minister
enipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of peace, and the ballots being
xen and counted, no election was made.

Congress proceeded again to ballot, and the votes being counted, no
ction was made.

On motion,

Resolved, That the election be postponed.

On motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Paca,

Resolved, That a minister plenipotentiary be appointed to negotiate
treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce between the United
ates of America and his Catholic majesty.

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required
Mr. Marchant,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	No.	No.
Massachusetts	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

Delaware	Mr. McKean	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Smith	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	
	Mr. Fleming	Aye.	
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hewes	Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Congress then proceeded to the nomination of a minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his Catholic majesty; when

Mr. Arthur Lee was nominated by Mr. Laurens;

Mr. John Adams by Mr. Paca;

Mr. John Jay by Mr. Mercer.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1779.

On motion,

Resolved, That the resolution passed yesterday relative to the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary, etc., be reconsidered.

On motion of Mr. Huntington, seconded by Mr. Gerry,

Resolved, That after the word "plenipotentiary" be inserted "in lieu of a commissioner."

On the question to agree to the resolution as amended, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Peabody,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	No.	No.
	Mr. Langdon	No.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Jay	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Shippen	No.	
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Searle	No.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carmichael	Aye.	
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	

Virginia	Mr. Smith—Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Griffin—Aye.	
	Mr. Mercer—Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh—Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet—Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hewes—Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe—Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens—No.	0.
	Mr. Mathews—Aye.	

So it was

Resolved, That a minister plenipotentiary in lieu of a commissioner be appointed to negotiate a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his Catholic majesty.

Congress then proceeded to an election, and the ballot being taken,

Mr. John Jay was elected minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his Catholic majesty. Mr. John Adams was elected minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.*

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*The following particulars respecting the election of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay are taken from a manuscript letter written by Mr. Gerard to Count Vergennes:

"*September* 25.—Congress proceeded to the choice of a minister to Spain. The friends of Arthur Lee made strong efforts to have his commission renewed. The motion was put in a direct form, and lost by so large a majority as to destroy all hope of his succeeding. A motion was then put that they should proceed to a choice of a person or persons who should be charged with the powers of making peace. This was carried. A member then proposed that Franklin and John Adams should be appointed jointly. Many members were opposed to a junction of any sort. The party from the east then proposed Mr. Adams, and the party from the south Mr. Jay. The decision of the question was deferred till the next day. The event of the election would seem to be problematical. Four States have declared for Adams and the same number for Jay. The accidental presence or absence of any of the deputies of the other States would decide the question. Your letter to Mr. Adams has produced an impression highly favorable to him.

"*September* 26.—The election of ministers plenipotentiary occurred to-day. The first ballot gave five States for Adams and four for Jay. The act of Confederation requires seven votes for a valid election. The second ballot gave six votes for Jay and five for Adams. The friends of the former, perceiving that Arthur Lee was perpetually the cause of division on this subject as on all others, put the motion, Shall a minister plenipotentiary to Spain be nominated? The affirmative was sustained by seven States against two. Only seven individuals of thirty-eight were for the negative. By this vote the commission of Arthur Lee was virtually revoked. One of his partisans then named him as minister plenipotentiary. There are now three candidates, and the election is deferred till to-morrow. It is hoped by some that Mr. Adams will be named for Spain and Mr. Jay for the peace. This arrangement promises to conciliate the parties, and M. de la Luzerne thinks with me that we shall have reason to be satisfied.

"*September* 27.—At length the plenipotentiaries are chosen. Mr. Jay is destined for Spain and the full powers for peace are confided to Mr. Adams. One vote only was found in favor of Arthur Lee. The choice of Mr. Jay leaves nothing to desire. To much intelligence and the best intentions he joins a conciliating spirit. As to Mr. Adams, I am not acquainted with him, nor is he known to but a few of the pres-

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *September* 26, 1779.

SIR: I received yesterday evening the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me, together with the packet for M. de la Luzerne, which I shall take care to forward with my dispatches. I could have wished it had been possible to write something positive to the Congress by this opportunity on the subject of the supplies they have asked, because I apprehend great inconveniences may arise from their being left in a state of uncertainty on that account, not only as the hope or expectation of obtaining those supplies may prevent their taking other measures, if possible, to obtain them, but as the disappointment will give great advantage to their enemies, external and internal. Your excellency will be so good as to excuse my making this observation, which is forced from me by my great anxiety on the occasion.

With the greatest respect, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

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ent members of Congress. He has the reputation of an honest man, and the presumption that he would be agreeable to you has influenced their opinions."—6 Sparks' Washington, 385.

Mr. Jay was appointed on the 27th of September, 1779, minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce between the United States and Spain. In reply to the above letter he wrote: "Your very friendly letter of the 7th instant gave me all the pleasure which accompanies marks of cordial esteem and attachment from those whose commendation is praise and whose friendship is discriminating. Among the objects of my mission are some which, however just, will not be easily attained, and therefore its success will be precarious, and probably partial. The only satisfaction I promise myself from the appointment will flow from the rectitude with which the duties of it will be discharged, and not from a prospect of general approbation. God grant that the time may not be far distant when peace and liberty shall lead you from the field to enjoy in silence and retirement the luxury of reflecting that you have saved your country. Adieu."—October 14.

Mr. Jay had given great satisfaction to all parties in discharging the duties of his office. When he was elected, it seems he did not intend retaining the post for a long time. On that occasion Mr. Duane, a member of Congress from New York, wrote to Governor Clinton as follows:

"Mr. Laurens, who has been in the chair thirteen months, resigned yesterday. A great majority of Congress immediately determined that one of the New York delegates should succeed to the chair. We held up General Schuyler, which seemed to be very agreeable. On account of his absence, Mr. Jay was prevailed on to take the chair, with a resolution on his part to resign in favor of General Schuyler as soon as he attends."—December 10, 1778. General Schuyler did not take his seat in Congress till several weeks after Mr. Jay was appointed minister to Spain."—6 Sparks' Washington, 377.

* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 382; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 441.

Lovell to J. Adams.*

[Confidential.]

PHILADELPHIA, *Monday, September* 27, 1779.

Not knowing, my dear sir, how certain things now in agitation may this day be terminated here, I choose to state at this time some proceedings two days old, that I may not be thought to give them a gloss in the style of an after-prophet turned historian or painter. For a groundwork I refer you to the report of the committee of thirteen, with its consequent yeas and nays, which is certainly now in your hands in print; and also to what you must have somehow or other come to the knowledge of respecting a long struggle about cod and haddock;† and, further, to your own reading and judgment concerning the parliamentary propriety of appointing a man to carry into effect by all the powers of skillful negotiation a measure to which he has been opposed tooth and nail in the whole preparatory progress of it; nor can I omit to call to your mind what I already must have written either to you or the lovely Portia, that the *lentor of proceedings here* should account for the appearances of injustice done you by an assembly nine-tenths of which profess, and probably have, an esteem for you.

Two things are to be transacted with Britain, a major and consequent minor, as soon as her madness and folly begin to subside. But only one agent is to manage them. The commissions are drawn, and instructions also. The blanks are to be filled. Dr. Franklin was nominated *out of order*. This led one man to suggest that he should find himself obliged, when such a nomination should again be attempted and *done in order*, to follow it with the nomination of Dr. Lee, as a *much more suitable character*, which he would endeavor to make plain by various testimonies in his possession, part known and part yet unknown to the assembly. A question was then moved by a gentleman in that company named Matthews, and seconded by one named Lovell‡ that no member, while there acting, or for nine months after, should be elected to a place for which he, or another for him, received any salary, etc. By yeas and nays the nine months' § part was lost; and the other part by the previous question. J. Adams was nominated by Mr. Laurens, and J. Jay by Mr. Smith. Adjourned to meet on the next day (Sunday) at 10 o'clock. Met. Balloted: five for J. A., four for J. J., three could not agree. On a second trial, six for J. A., four for J. J., one could not agree. The *mover* of the motion above not being likely to

* 9 John Adams' Works, 486.

† Secret journals, vol. 2, pp. 130–145, 149–167, 173–189, 201–210. An abstract of these proceedings, is to be found in the valuable report lately made for the Treasury Department by Mr. Sabine, on the American Fisheries, pp. 149–151.—(Note, 9 J. Adams' Works, 487.)

‡ According to the secret journals Mr. Gerry seconded this motion.—(*Id.*)

§ This was presented in the shape of an amendment to the original motion.—(*Id.*)

consent with his colleague to carry it into effect, the balloting was postponed.

It had been frequently pressed on the members to order some resolves now on the table, and but very lately passed, respecting points on which the temper of Spain towards us greatly depends, to be forwarded to the commissioner at that court as answers to the questions which he hinted to us in six days after the treaties with France; again on the 2d of April; again plainly and urgently for our answer on August 27; again more urgently on October 19; again on December 5, etc. A cut and-dried commission, such as must pass hereafter was produced, moved for, and seconded, *out of order*. A motion was then made and seconded for choosing a *minister* plenipotentiary to do exactly what a *commissioner* is now fully authorized to do; as much so exactly as were the three at the court of France. The pretense for this was the *accepted* second paragraph of a report (vide April 15) that *ministers* plenipotentiary were only necessary at Versailles and Madrid, the spirit and intent of which paragraph lay in the word *only*, and not in a technical use of *ministers*, as settled by France and us on the arrival of M. Gerard.

Some good and not *young* men on this question saw not the *trap* under the chaff. Who could deny that we have assented to additional parade and expense in a minister above a commissioner? Who could deny that two persons would be in pay, for a time, at once to do the same business? Who could deny that A. Lee's complete vindications were on the table of Congress? This last matter and all characterizing was said to be *untimely*, as much as in a question about creating a quartermaster-*general* when we had a quartermaster. For that A. Lee stood as fair for *nomination* to the new commission as any man else, and *then* we should be allowed full liberty to speak to character. A majority can thus kill, but it requires *seven* to make alive. But seven thus killed. For Mr. Laurens, though he spoke against the question, voted for it, and then nominated A. Lee. This act of his in such a desperate case does not make up for depriving a much injured man of the advantage of showing that he was artfully knocked down by six upon a presumption that seven could not be found to assist in recovering him from the violence of the blow. Mr. J. Adams was also nominated for Spain by Mr. Paca, Mr. J. Jay by Mr. Mercer, of Virginia.

This accommodation scheme had been proposed in whispers early in the morning, to provide places for the *two* nominated the day before; one to have a post of the highest honor and the other to take the post of a man murdered on purpose to make room. Are not these doings a complete appendix to the report of the committee of thirteen and the proceedings thereon months ago? Look at the names. Here I must join in an old exclamation of F. L. L., when he had seen a whole day wasted, "What d—d dirty work is this of politics!"

I will now state the votes, remarking that, being Sunday, Mr. McKean was able to attend; but your *sworn friend*, the farmer,* will alone finish

* John Dickinson.

it. New York is represented by Mr. Jay *and* Mr. Lewis, not by one. New Jersey by Mr. Fell *and* Mr. Houston, Connecticut by Mr. Huntington or Mr. Root.

First ballot.—J. A. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, five. J. J.—New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, four.

Second ballot.—J. A.—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, six. J. J.—New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, New Jersey, five.

Vote for a minister to Spain.—Yea: Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, seven. Nay: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Delaware, three. Divided: Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, two.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Election and Commissioning of the Peace Plenipotentiaries and other Ministers.†

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, September 25, 1779.]

SEPTEMBER 28, 1779.

On motion

Resolved, That to-morrow be assigned for the appointment of a secretary for the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles and for each of the ministers who are to negotiate treaties with the courts of Spain and Great Britain.

The following gentlemen were put in nomination:

For the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of alliance and amity and commerce with Spain, Mr. William Carmichael, by Mr. Hewes.

For the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, Mr. John Trumbull, by Mr. Laurens; Mr. Jonathan Trumbull, jr., by Mr. Holton; Mr. Francis Dana, by Mr. Peabody.

For the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, Mr. Peter Scull, by Mr. Atlee; Mr. John Laurens, by Mr. Gerry.

The committee, consisting of Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Marchant, appointed to prepare drafts of commissions, reported the same, which were agreed to, as follows:

For the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace:

The delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to all who shall see these presents send greeting.

It being probable that a negotiation will soon be commenced for putting an end to the hostilities between his most Christian maj-

* These ballots are not given in the journal.—Note, 9 J. Adams' Works, 489.

† MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

esty and these United States on the one part, and his Britannic majesty on the other part, and it being the sincere desire of the United States that they may be terminated by a peace founded on such solid and equitable principles as reasonably to promise a permanency of the blessings of tranquillity: Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of ———, have nominated and constituted, and by these presents do nominate and constitute, him, the said ———, our minister plenipotentiary, giving him full powers, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty, and of his Britannic majesty and those of any other powers or states whom it may concern vested with equal powers, relating to the re-establishment of peace and friendship, and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us and in our name to sign and thereupon make a treaty or treaties, and to transact everything that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the great work of pacification in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein; hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfill, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said minister plenipotentiary, and that we will never act nor suffer any person to act contrary to the same in whole or in any part.

In witness whereof we have caused these presents to be given in Congress, at Philadelphia, the — day of ——, in the year of our Lord 1779, and in the fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America. Signed by the President and sealed with his seal.

For the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain.

The delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, etc., in Congress assembled, to all who shall see these presents send greeting:

It being the desire of the United States that the peace which may be established between them and his Britannic majesty may be permanent and accompanied with the mutual benefits derived from commerce:

Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of ———, have nominated and constituted, and by these presents do nominate and constitute, him, the said ———, our minister plenipotentiary, giving him full power, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, agree, and conclude with the ambassador or plenipotentiary, of his Britannic majesty vested with equal powers of, and concerning a treaty of commerce, and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us and in our name to sign and thereupon make a treaty of commerce, and to transact everything that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the same in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfill, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said

minister plenipotentiary, and that we will never act, nor suffer any person to act, contrary to the same in whole or in any part.

In witness whereof we have caused these presents to be given in Congress, at Philadelphia, the —— day of ———, in the year of our Lord 1779, and in the fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America. Signed by the President and sealed with his seal.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare the draft of a commission for the minister plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce and of alliance between the United States of America and his Catholic majesty.

The members: Mr. Paca, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Gerry.

Ordered, That the said committee prepare the draft of a commission for the secretaries to be appointed.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to report proper salaries for the ministers plenipotentiary and their secretaries respectively.

The members: Mr. Mathews, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Root.

Congress proceeded to the [election] of secretaries; and, the ballots being taken,

Mr. William Carmichael was elected secretary to the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce and of alliance with the court of Spain.

Mr. Francis Dana, secretary to the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, secretary to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles.*

The committee, consisting of Mr. Smith, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Gerry, appointed to prepare instructions to the minister for negotiating with the court of Spain, having (see page 325) brought in a draft, the same was agreed to, as follows:

Instructions to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating with the court of Spain.

SIR: By the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America a power is reserved to his Catholic

*Colonel Laurens declined the appointment (as secretary to Dr. Franklin). He was absent in South Carolina when the election took place, but as soon as he returned to General Washington's headquarters he wrote as follows to the President of Congress:

"I have received your excellency's letter acquainting me that Congress have been pleased to appoint me secretary to their minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. Sensible of the honor which they have done me, and penetrated by their goodness, I entreat them to accept my most grateful acknowledgments. At the same time, conscious of my inexperience in politics, and diffident of answering their expectations in a commission of such importance, I must request their leave to persevere in a line of duty to which my inclination as well as duty attaches me until an honorable termination of the war. These motives for declining an appointment in every private view so flattering to myself will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse."—December 6.

majesty to accede to the said treaties and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper, it being well understood, nevertheless, that if any of the stipulations of the said treaties are not agreeable to the court of Spain, his Catholic majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance and conformable to the rules of equality, reciprocity, and friendship.

Congress is sensible of the friendly regard to these States manifested by his most Christian majesty in reserving a power to his Catholic majesty of acceding to the alliance entered into between his most Christian majesty and these United States, and therefore, that nothing may be wanting on their part to facilitate the views of his most Christian majesty and to obtain a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, have thought proper to anticipate any proposition which his catholic majesty might make on that subject by yielding up to him those objects which they conclude he may have principally in view, and for that purpose have come to the following resolution:

"That if his Catholic majesty shall accede to the said treaties, and in concurrence with France and the United States of America continue the present war with Great Britain for the purpose expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas. On the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic majesty; provided always, that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea."

You are therefore to communicate to his most Christian majesty the desire of Congress to enter into a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty and to request his favorable interposition for that purpose. At the same time you are to make such proposal to his Catholic majesty as in your judgment from circumstances will be proper for obtaining for the United States of American equal advantages with those which are secured to them by the treaties with his most Christian majesty, observing always the resolution aforesaid as the ultimatum of the United States. You are particularly to endeavor to obtain some convenient port or ports below the thirty-first degree of north latitude on the river Mississippi, for all merchant vessels' goods, wares, and merchandises belonging to the inhabitants of these States. The distressed state of our finances and the great depreciation of our paper money inclined Congress to hope that his Catholic majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with these States, will be induced to lend them money. You are therefore to represent to him the great distress of these States on that account, and to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding six per centum per annum, effectually to enable them to co-operate with the allies against

the common enemy; but before you make any propositions to his Catholic majesty for a loan you are to endeavor to obtain a subsidy in consideration of the guaranty aforesaid.

The committee appointed to prepare a commission for the minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of amnity and commerce and of alliance with his Catholic majesty brought in a draft which was agreed to as follows:*

Lovell to J. Adams.†

[Confidential.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 28, 1779.

Yesterday, in whispers, the proposal was made to send J. A. to Spain, the balloting for *that* business being first called for. But Connecticut and Pennsylvania discovered a total abhorrence of the consequences in the second ballot; therefore the plan was dropped and the ballots were:

A. Lee: New Hampshire.

J. Jay: My colleagues, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Dickinson, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina.

No vote: Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina.

For the two other commissions, J. A. the only nomination. All the States but one for Dr. Franklin. If this was not the *piddler*,‡ it might be the *oddity* of Virginia.

Prior to the choice for Spain I produced your two first letters as appertaining to the only one point which had ever appeared incontestable against A. Lee—"*Je crains Mr. Lee et ses entours*"—for the minister, disavowing, on February 13, his having adopted prejudices such as were attempted to be inspired in America, and proving his disavowal by an appeal to his conduct to you, "*ensemble et séparément*," shows either that he meant only *avec ses entours*, or that he felt convinced he had been drawn into unjust doubts, and intended to show double confidence in future.

The whole members, even Jay, praise "my perseverance;" but he says, "in friendship to Arthur." Time will show whether it has not been to prevent Congress from an act of injustice and to maintain the sacredness of the *approbation* or *disapprobation* of our united supremacy; which is what the servant of republics should look up to rather than to salaries and perquisites, which the levity of monarchies makes their servants *catch while they can* without striving to deserve them.

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* For subsequent proceedings, see *infra*, Oct. 4, 1779.

† 9 J. Adams' Works, 489.

‡ Dickinson. The allusion is to Mr. Adams' intercepted letter.—Note to 9 J. Adams' Works, 490.

I am freed from a load, for I have long practised upon David's rule. Away with sackcloth and ashes when evitables become inevitable. J. J. desires me to be as true to him "only while he continues to do honestly." That I most assuredly will, and to every name that the public choice shall fall on. But I can not forget the past so far as not to think that if Silas Deane is not stone blind he may *now* see from what source he got his fund of advice towards measures apparently his own.

Carmichael, Houston, and Mr. Jay's brother, Livingston, are talked of as secretaries to the embassies. Gerry tells me Dana may be induced to go with you.

And now, my very dear sir, as to the main point, America ought not to pardon you if you put its peace to the hazard of a second ballot. As an individual, I swear *I never will.* And as to Portia, if I can, by my utmost industry, find out that only one tear, or even a *sigh*, comes from her, I will burn all her past letters, much as I now regard them.

I will allow her a little regret, if she will not let it amount to a sigh, while she considers with me that you can not be here to manage the Vermont cause. You must give all possible information to Massachusetts government through some able man or committee before you go from thence or hence.

I have tired all my pens yesterday and to-day in conversing with those I love southward and eastward.

Heaven protect you.

JAMES LOVELL.

W. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

FRANKFORT, *September* 28, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have not had the honor of receiving any answer to the various letters I have written to you since my coming to this country, nor any letter from you since May, 1778, except a short one of the 28th of October last, which, added to my never receiving intelligence, information, or assistance of any kind from your minister at the court of Versailles, has rendered my situation extremely embarrassing; and therefore, if my success has not been so complete as could have been wished, I shall hope for the indulgence of Congress, especially when it is considered that the general system of affairs in Europe for eighteen months past has been so very critical as to puzzle the deepest and most refined politicians.

Not being able to prevail on your minister at the court of Versailles (as I mentioned to you in March last) to aid me in getting the French ministry to exert themselves in endeavoring to obtain a declaration of American independence by all the northern powers of Europe that were interested in the congress held at Teschin, in Silesia, last spring, I was

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 636, with verbal changes.

consequently disappointed in the full hopes I entertained of obtaining so desirable a point, which there was the greatest prospect of succeeding in if the court of Versailles had made a point of it; at least I am assured that the King of Prussia would not have had any objection, and from the very great influence he has in the cabinet of Petersburgh there is little doubt but that he could easily have prevailed with the Empress of Russia to have given her consent. Had this point been gained, our enemies would have been deprived of every ray of hope of obtaining any assistance to continue the war against us, for the great object of European politics has been, and is still, to draw the Empress of Russia into their quarrel.

We had not in this country got sufficiently quieted, after signing the peace of Teschin, on the 10th of May last, to make it prudent for me to take any public steps under the commissions I have from Congress, before the negotiations for peace under the mediation of Spain were drawn to a conclusion; but as the rescript delivered in June by the Spanish ambassador to Lord Weymouth in London said not one word in our favor, but rather seemed to look on the thirteen United States of America as being still colonies, or provinces, belonging to Great Britain, it became absolutely necessary for me to wait until this enigma could be cleared up, and till I could get sure information of the real designs of Spain and the measures she intended to pursue.

As soon as I had got this information I made a formal requisition to the Prussian minister, hoping that, as the late war in Germany had prevented his majesty's former declarations in our favor from being carried into effect, and as that obstruction was now removed, that his majesty would not delay to acknowledge the independence of the thirteen United States of America, which might be the means of putting a stop to the farther wanton effusion of human blood. To this requisition I received the following answer from the minister:

"With respect to the declaration, which you again desire of the king, in favor of the independence of the Americans, I have frequently explained that his majesty having, by the position of his dominions and those of his neighbors, very different interests from those powers that are properly called maritime ones, he had no right to expect a direct influence in maritime affairs, and that he could not in wise policy take any measures in those affairs, because they would always be unfruitful, as they could not be supported by a warlike marine. The support of the maritime powers will make the balance incline in your favor more effectually than all the declarations in the world, and Spain, by joining with France to make war on England, renders you the most essential services without having acknowledged your independence. The king, in making the declaration now which you desire, would only embroil himself with England, without rendering the smallest service to your country. These are the reasons which induce the king to confine himself at present to the facilities which his majesty has offered at different

times with respect to commerce, in assuring you, which I do again, that the merchant vessels of America that choose to enter into the ports of the king to sell their goods and to buy ours shall be received in a friendly manner, and treated on an equality with the merchants of any other country."

It has long been one object of my policy to engage the King of Prussia to act in our favor as a mediator for peace, whereby, if his mediation was agreed to, he might render us much more effectual service than by sending an army of fifty thousand men into Hanover, which step he could not take without arming the emperor and the whole German Empire against him. I have good reason to believe that the king is much disposed to act in the quality of a mediator, but he is too wise to offer his services without being previously assured that they would be accepted by both sides. However, we may expect very essential benefits from his influence with the court of St. Petersburg, who, it is said with confidence, has offered its mediation, and that it is accepted by the parties. I am informed that the first proposition to be made to England by the mediating powers as the commencement of the negotiation is, that America shall be treated as independent.* There is a strong inclination in Prussia to enter into the American commerce, and there is now a scheme in agitation under the direction of the minister to make the trial, which, if the commencements are successful, will be carried on upon a very large scale, and will more effectually engage the king in our interests than anything else. For this purpose, I think it would be of most essential service if two or three American vessels were to enter into the port of Embden, which is a good harbor, lying between Hamburg and Amsterdam, and as easily got into as any of the ports of Holland.

I have continued my correspondence at Vienna, but having no powers to treat with the empress queen, who is still sole sovereign over all the dominions of the house of Austria, and the emperor being much disgusted with some proceedings during the late war, and more so with its conclusion, is become, of course, much more disposed in favor of our enemies than he was, and consequently less inclined to serve us; therefore, little advantage can be expected from that quarter at present. Our friends in Holland increase every day, and I am still in regular correspondence with those who regulated with me the form of the treaty of commerce, copies of which have been sent you by various conveyances, and even now, if the stadtholder were to refuse to receive an American deputy, I have no doubt of his meeting a cordial reception from the city of Amsterdam, whose weight and decisive influence in their association you must be fully informed of.

* This was not true in regard to the "mediating powers," but it was the invariable reply of France to all the propositions made by other powers for a mediation between her and England that the independence of the United States must be assumed as a previously established point.—SPARKS.

Letters of good authority from England say that the British ministry would willingly agree to give up the independence of America to obtain peace; but it is feared that the obstinacy and folly of their master will prevent them from executing their plan. However, I am still firmly of opinion that the best security and success of America will depend on her own efforts—her wise, steady, and uniform conduct. As the obtaining a fresh supply of troops from this country has been a favorite point with our enemies, I have paid continual attention to that object, and have the pleasure to inform you that at present there is not any prospect of their getting fresh troops from this part of the world, as they have hitherto been defeated in all their various negotiations for that purpose. But as this campaign has passed away without any blow being struck in Europe, all the English fleets from the different parts of the world arrived safe without the least molestation, and the king's hands so much strengthened by the exertions of all parties in England to repel the invasion they have been threatened with all the year, I think it is most probable that the war will continue another year at least, for which I suppose proper provision will be made in America.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

Marbois to Adams.*

A PHILADELPHIE, *le* 29 *Septembre*, 1779.

MONSIEUR: Je n'ai que le tems que vous marquer combien j'ai pris de part aux choix que vos compatriotes viennent de faire de vous, pour aller négocier la paix en Europe. J'ai été réellement touché de l'unanimité et de l'impressement avec lequel tous les esprits se sont réunis dans l'opinion qu'ils ont conçue de vous, et dans la persuasion qu'un ministre sans préjugés et sans autre passion que celle du bonheur de son pays et de la conservation de l'alliance, étoit l'homme le plus propre à conduire l'important ouvrage de la paix.

Je désire beaucoup, Monsieur, que vous reconduisiez en Europe M. votre fils, malgré l'éloignement qu'il a pour la navigation. Il apprendra de vous les moyens d'être un jour utile à son pays, et vos préceptes et vos sentimens lui apprendront à chérir ma nation, qui sont de jour en jour davantage combien son union avec vous est naturelle et réciproquement avantageuse.

Je suis, avec respect, monsieur, votre très humble et très obéisant serviteur,

DE MARBOIS.

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 116.

Franklin to Nesbit.*

PASSY, *September* 29, 1779.

SIR: Captain Conyngham has not been neglected. As soon as I heard of his arrival in England I wrote to a friend to furnish him with what money he might want, and to assure him that he had never acted without a commission. I have been made to understand, in answer, that there is no intention to prosecute him; and that he was accordingly removed from Pendennis Castle and put among the common prisoners at Plymouth, to take his turn for exchange. The Congress, hearing of the threats to sacrifice him, put three officers in close confinement to abide his fate, and acquainted Sir George Collier with their determination, who probably wrote to the British ministers. I thank you for informing me what became of his first commission. I suppose I can now easily recover it to produce on occasion. Probably the date of that taken with him, being posterior to his capture of the packet, made the enemy think they had an advantage against him. But when the English Government have encouraged our sailors intrusted with our vessels to betray that trust, run away with the vessels, and bring them into English ports, giving such traitors the value, as if good and lawful prizes, it was foolish imprudence in the English commodore to talk of hanging one of our captains for taking a prize without commission.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, sir,

B. FRANKLIN.

Izard to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

PARIS, *September* 29, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have lately been favored with your letter of the 17th of July, referring me to a resolution of Congress of the 8th of June, by which I find that they have been pleased to recall me. It has long been my wish to resign a commission which did not put it in my power to be of any service to America; and therefore, if Congress had had the goodness to have expressed their resolution in such a manner as not to have conveyed a censure, which my conscience tells me I have not deserved, it would have given me a great deal of pleasure.

You say that if my letter of the 4th of March had been received before the 8th of June, it would "have founded a resolve of Congress more agreeable to you to communicate than the one referred to." [Dr. Franklin was probably of the same opinion, and therefore deceived me. He informed me in February that he had ordered the *Alliance* Frigate to take under her convoy the American vessels that were ready, and that she would sail in the course of a fortnight. I wrote my dispatches

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 442.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 704, with omissions, and verbal changes.

and expected they would have gone by that opportunity; but when Dr. Franklin thought he had effected his purpose, he lent the *Alliance* to some private adventurers, and the American vessels, after having been detained above two months, were obliged to avail themselves of the opportunity of a French West India convoy.]* I have received, likewise, the resolution of Congress of the 6th of August respecting the allowance to be made to the commissioners. Upon my applying to Dr. Franklin to know if he had received any directions from Congress to pay me any money, and whether he thought himself authorized by that resolution to do it, he answered me that he had received no orders about it. "On the other hand," said he, "there is a part of it which directs that every commissioner who has been intrusted with public money shall transmit without delay his accounts and vouchers to the board of treasury in order for settlement. Till such settlement is made I conceive it can not be known what or whether anything is due to you." I was in hopes that after what I had already written to Congress on this subject it would have been unnecessary to trouble them any more about it. Their resolution of the 7th of May, 1778, directs "that the commissioners appointed for the courts of Spain, Tuscany, Vienna, and Berlin should live in such style and manner at their respective courts as they may find suitable and necessary to support the dignity of their public character, keeping an account of their expenses, which shall be reimbursed by the Congress of the United States of America." I have repeatedly informed Congress of my reasons for not going into Italy. Had those reasons not been satisfactory they would doubtless have signified their pleasure to me on the subject, which should have been the rule of my conduct.

I do not conceive that the resolution of the 6th of August, which directs that those who have been intrusted with the public money shall transmit their accounts and vouchers to the board of treasury to be settled can have any reference to me. I have received two thousand five hundred louis d'ors of the public money, exclusive of the clothes and education of my children [and my expenses have amounted to 3,000].* This latter circumstance I should not have mentioned had not Dr. Franklin told me that he saw no reason why Congress should maintain my family. I can not believe that Congress intended any such distinction when they sent me a commission, nor when they entered into the resolution of the 7th of May, 1778; neither can I think that by calling for the accounts and vouchers of those who have been intrusted with public money their intention is to enter into an examination of my butcher's, baker's, or apothecary's bills. I hope they will be satisfied with being informed that my expenses during the two years that I have had the honor of being in their service have amounted to sixteen hundred louis d'ors a year. The resolution of the 6th of August set forth that the *reasonable expenses* of the commissioners shall be paid. It is impossible for me to tell what

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

ideas may be affixed to those words, but I am sure that whatever Con gress may think reasonable will be perfectly satisfactory to me, let th sum be what it will. All I desire is that I may not be subjected to b ill-treated by a man who is become my enemy because I have done m duty to the public.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RALPH IZARD.

Luzerne to Adams.*

A PHILADELPHIE, *le* 29 *Septembre* 1779.

MONSIEUR: Je m'applaudis bien cincèrement d'avoir prévu que votr séjour en Amérique ne seroit pas de longue durée, et je félicite vos com patriotes du choix qu'ils ont fait de vous, pour aller négocier la pai qui doit assurer le repos des treize États. Vous y porterez la modéra tion et l'équité qui m'ont paru faire le fond de votre caractère, et vou êtes sûr d'avance de trouver en France le ministère du roi dans le mêmes dispositions. Le choix du Congrès est approuvé par toutes le personnes bien intentionnées en Amérique: on y applaudira également en Europe, et je vous réponds des souffrages et de la confiance de toute les personnes dont vous serez connu. Vous travaillerez, Monsieur, à donner la paix à votre pays, et mes soins auront pour objet de resserre les nœuds qui unissent votre nation et la mienne. Nos travaux auron donc quelque analogie, et je vous prie d'être bien persuadé que je pren drai une part immédiate à vos succès.

La frégate la "Sensible" est toujous dans le port de Boston; i dépendra de vous, Monsieur, de vous concerter avec M. de Chavagne en cas que vous vous déterminiez à partir avec lui. Je suis persuad d'avance que le ministre de la marine trouvera qu'on ne pouvoit fair un meilleur usage de ce vaisseau qu'en l'employant à vous ramener e Europe.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec le plus inviolable attachement, Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant sérviteur,

LE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

Instructions to John Jay, Minister for Negotiating a Treaty with Spain.†

IN CONGRESS, *September* 29, 1779.

SIR: By the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America a power is reserved to his Catholic majesty to accede to the said treaties, and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper, it being well understood,

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*7 J. Adams' Works.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 122.

nevertheless, that if any of the stipulations of the said treaties are not agreeable to the court of Spain, his Catholic majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance, and conformable to the rules of equality, reciprocity, and friendship. Congress is sensible of the friendly regard to these States manifested by his most Christian majesty in reserving a power to his Catholic majesty of acceding to the alliance entered into between his most Christian majesty and these United States; and therefore, that nothing may be wanting on their part to facilitate the views of his most Christian majesty, and to obtain a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, have thought proper to anticipate any propositions which his catholic majesty might make on that subject by yielding up to him those objects which they conclude he may have principally in view; and for that purpose have come to the following resolution:

"That if his Catholic majesty shall accede to the said treaties, and, in concurrence with France and the United States of America, continue the present war with Great Britain for the purpose expressed in the treaties aforesaid, he shall not thereby be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas; on the contrary, if he shall obtain the Floridas from Great Britain, these United States will guaranty the same to his Catholic majesty; provided always, that the United States shall enjoy the free navigation of the river Mississippi into and from the sea."

You are therefore to communicate to his most Christian majesty the desire of Congress to enter into a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, and to request his favorable interposition for that purpose. At the same time, you are to make such proposal to his Catholic majesty as in your judgment, from circumstances, will be proper for obtaining for the United States of America equal advantages with those which are secured to them by the treaties with his most Christian majesty; observing always the resolution aforesaid as the ultimatum of the United States.

You are particularly to endeavor to obtain some convenient port or ports below the thirty-first degree of north latitude on the river Mississippi for all merchant vessels, goods, wares, and merchandises belonging to the inhabitants of these States.

The distressed state of our finances and the great depreciation of our paper money inclined Congress to hope that his Catholic majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with these States, will be induced to lend them money; you are therefore to represent to him the great distress of these States on that account, and to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars upon the best terms in your power, not exceeding six per cent. per annum, effectually to enable them to co-operate with the allies against the common enemy. But before you make any propositions to his Catholic majesty for a loan you are to endeavor to obtain a subsidy in consideration of the guaranty aforesaid.

Franklin to Lovell.*

PASSY, *September* 30, 1779.

SIR: I have within these few days received a number of dispatches from you, which have arrived by the *Mercury* and other vessels. Hearing this instant of an opportunity from Bordeaux, and that the courier sets out from Versailles at five this evening, I embrace it just to let you know that I have delivered the letters from Congress to the king, and have laid the invoice of supplies desired (with a translation) before the ministers; and though I have not yet received a positive answer, I have good reason to believe I shall obtain most of them, if not all. But as this demand will cost the court a vast sum, and their expenses in the war are prodigious, I beg I may not be put under the necessity, by occasional drafts on me, of asking for more money than is required to pay our bills for interest. I must protest those I have advice of from Martinique and New Orleans (even if they were drawn by permission of Congress) for want of money; and I wish the committee of commerce would caution their correspondents not to embarrass me with their bills.

I put into my pocket nothing of the allowance Congress has been pleased to make me. I shall pay it all in honoring their drafts and supporting their credit; but do not let me be burdened with supporting the credit of every one who has claims on the board of commerce or the navy. I shall write fully by the *Mercury*.

I send you some of the latest newspapers, and have the honor to be, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Arthur Lee.†

PASSY, *September* 30, 1779.

SIR: I received but yesterday morning, just as I was going out of town, the letter you did me the honor of writing to me, dated the 26th instant, respecting my supplying you with money for your support, in Spain. As I can not furnish that expense, and there is not, in my opinion, any likelihood at present of your being received at that court, I think your resolution of returning forthwith to America is both wise and honest.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 77; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 443.
† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 570; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 444.

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *October* 1, 1779.

DEAR SIR: It is a long time since I did myself the honor of writing to you, but I have frequently had the pleasure of hearing of your welfare.

Your kindness to my grandson in offering to take him under your wing in the expedition is exceedingly obliging to me. Had the expedition gone on it would have been an infinite advantage to him to have been present with you so early in life at transactions of such vast importance to great nations. I flatter myself, too, that he might possibly catch from you some tincture of those engaging manners that make you so much the delight of all that know you. Accept, however, my warmest and most grateful acknowledgments.

I send you inclosed a newspaper containing the particulars of Wayne's gallant attack of Stoney Point. This is good news, but it is followed by some bad, the loss of our little squadron from Boston at Penobscot, which it is said our people were obliged to blow up. I hope Count d'Estaing's arrival in America will give us our revenge. Six thousand troops are ordered to the West Indies to secure your conquests, and I hope make more. But I do not hear of any intention to send any to our country. I have no orders to request troops, but large ones for supplies, and I dare not take any farther steps than I have done in such a proposition without orders. Accept, in behalf of the Congress, my thankful acknowledgments for your zeal to serve America. Occasions may offer, which at present do not appear, wherein your bravery and conduct may be highly useful to her.

May every felicity attend you, is the wish of, dear sir, your humble and most obedient servant,

B. F.

Franklin to Bridgen.†

PASSY, *October* 2, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received your favor of the 17th past, and the two samples of copper are since come to hand. The metal seems to be very good and the price reasonable, but I have not yet received the orders necessary to justify my making the purchase proposed. There has, indeed, been an intention to strike copper coin, that may not only be useful as small change, but serve other purposes. Instead of repeating continually upon every halfpenny the dull story that everybody knows, and what it would have been no loss to mankind if nobody had ever known, that George the Third is King of Great Britain, France,

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 78; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 446.

and Ireland, etc., to put on one side some important proverb of Solomon, some pious moral, some prudential or economical precept, the frequent inculcation of which, by seeing it every time one receives a piece of money, might make an impression upon the mind, especially of young persons, and tend to regulate their conduct; such as on some, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;* on others, *Honesty is the best policy;* on others, *He that by the plow would thrive, himself must either lead or drive;* on others, *Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee;* on others, *A penny saved is a penny got;* on others, *He that buys what he has no need of will soon be forced to sell his necessaries;* on others, *Early to bed and early to rise will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise;* and so on, to a great variety.

The other side it was proposed to fill with good designs, drawn and engraved by the best artists in France, of all the different species of barbarity with which the English have carried on the war in America, expressing every abominable circumstance of their cruelty and inhumanity that figures can express, to make an impression on the minds of posterity as strong and durable as that on the copper. This resolution has been a long time forborne, but the late burning of defenseless towns in Connecticut on the flimsy pretense that the people fired from behind their houses, when it is known to have been premeditated and ordered from England, will probably give the finishing provocation and may occasion a vast demand for your metal. I thank you for your kind wishes respecting my health. I return them most cordially fourfold into your own bosom.

Adieu,

B. FRANKLIN.

Agreement between John Paul Jones and Captain Pearson.*

It is hereby agreed between John Paul Jones, captain in the American navy, commander of the Continental squadron, now in the road of Texel, and Richard Pearson, captain in the British navy, late commodore of the British Baltic fleet, and now a prisoner of war to the United States of North America, as follows:

First. Captain Jones freely consents, *in behalf of the United States*, to land on the island of Texel the dangerously wounded prisoners now in his hands, to be there supported and provided with good surgeons and medicine at the expense of the United States of America, and, agreeable to the permission which he has received from the States-General of Holland, to guard them with sentinel in the fort on the Texel, with liberty to remove them from thence at his free will and pleasure.

Second. Captain Pearson engages, *in behalf of the British Government*, that all the British prisoners that may be landed as mentioned in the last article shall be considered afterwards as prisoners of war to the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 268.

United States of America until they are exchanged, except only such as may in the mean time die of their wounds.

Third. Captain Pearson further engages, *in behalf of the British Government*, that, should any of the British subjects now prisoners of war in the hands of Captain Jones desert or abscond, either from the fort on the Texel or otherwise, in consequence of the first article, an equal number of American prisoners shall be released and sent from England to France by the next cartel.

Fourth. And Captain Jones engages, *on the part of the United States*, that if any of the prisoners who shall be landed should die while on shore in his custody in the fort, no exchange of them shall be claimed.

Done on board the American frigate the *Pallas*, at anchor in the Texel, this 3d day of October, 1779.

R. PEARSON.
JOHN PAUL JONES.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Election and Commissioning of the Peace Plenipotentiaries and other Ministers.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, September 28, 1779.]

OCTOBER 4, 1779.

On motion of Mr. Collins, seconded by Mr. Laurens,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a farther instruction to the minister plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate with the court of Spain relative to obtaining an article for allowing the inhabitants of the United States the liberty of taking salt from Sal Tortugas.

The members, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Paca, and Mr. Sherman.—

On motion of Mr. Marchant, seconded by Mr. Laurens,

Resolved, That the said committee be directed to prepare an instruction relative to the privilege of cutting logwood.

The commissions as agreed (see printed journal, 1779, pages 336, 338, and 343), being engrossed, with blanks left for inserting the names and titles of the ministers and the dates of the commissions,

A motion was made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Paca, that the blanks for the name and titles of the minister in the commission for negotiating a treaty of amity and commerce and of alliance with Spain be filled up with the words:

"The honorable John Jay, esq., late President of Congress and chief-justice of the State of New York;" and that the like blanks in the other two commissions, namely, for negotiating a treaty of peace and for negotiating a treaty of commerce with Great Britain be filled up with "the honoroble John Adams, esq., late commissioner of the United States of

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from th State of Massachusetts Bay, and chief-justice of the said State."

On debating the motion for filling up the blank in the first-mentione commission a motion was made by Mr. Marchant, seconded by M Partridge, to strike out the words "late President of Congress and chie justice of the State of New York," and onthe question Shall those word stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Marchant,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Langdon	No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	0.
	Mr. Collins	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	Aye.
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Hewes	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.	No.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question

Resolved, That the first blank in the commission for negotiating wit the court of Spain be filled up with the words "the honorable Joh Jay, esquire, late President of Congress and chief-justice of State New York."

On debating the motion for filling up the like blanks in the othe two commissions,

A motion was made by Mr. Mathews, seconded by Mr. Marchant, t strike out the words "late commissioner of the United States America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from th State of Massachusetts Bay, and chief-justice of the said State," an on the question shall those words stand the yeas and nays being require by Mr. Marchant,

It was resolved in the affirmative, the members answering as in th foregoing question.

On the question

Resolved, That the like blanks in the other two commissions, namel for negotiating a treaty of peace and for negotiating a treaty of com merce with Great Britain, be filled up with

"The honorable John Adams, esq., late commissioner of the Unite

States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts Bay, and chief-justice of the said State."

Resolved, That the commissions be dated the twenty-ninth day of September, 1779.

The committee, consisting of Mr. Mathews, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Root, appointed to report proper salaries for the ministers plenipotentiary and their secretaries, respectively (see page 339), brought in a report, which was taken into consideration.

And a motion being made to strike out "3,000," reported by the committee for the salary of the minister plenipotentiary.

On the question Shall "3,000" stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Marchant,

New Hampshire	Mr. Langdon	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Holton	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	

So the States were equally divided and that sum was struck out.

A motion was made by Mr. Gerry, seconded by Mr. Griffin, that the blank be filled with "2,500," and on the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Marchant,

New Hampshire	Mr. Langdon	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Holton	No.	
	Mr. Partridge	No	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	Aye
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	No.	0.
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	

Virginia	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Marchant, seconded by Mr. Langdon, to strike out "1,000," the sum reported as the salary for the secretaries, and on the question Shall "1,000" stand? the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Langdon,

New Hampshire	Mr. Langdon	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Gerry	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Root	No.	
New York	Mr. Lewis	Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Fell	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
Delaware	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Paca	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes	Aye.	
	Mr Jenifer	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Griffin	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Mercer	Aye.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens	No.	0.
	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question

Resolved, That each of the ministers plenipotentiary be allowed at the rate of 2,500 pounds sterling per annum and each of their secretaries at the rate of 1,000 pounds sterling per annum in full for their services and expenses, respectively.

That the salary of each of the said officers be computed from the time of his leaving his place of abode to enter on the duties of his office and be continued three months after notice of his recall.

Ordered, That so much of the report as relates to providing for the payment of the above salaries be referred to the committee of commerce.*

* For further proceedings, see *infra*, Oct. 9, 1779.

Franklin to Jay, President of Congress.*

PASSY, *October* 4, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor to write to me of the — of June last, enclosing acts of Congress respecting bills of exchange for two millions four hundred thousand livres tournois, drawn on me in favor of M. de Beaumarchais. The bills have not yet appeared, but I shall accept them when they do, relying on the care of Congress to enable me to pay them. As to the accounts of that gentleman, neither the commissioners, when we were all together, nor myself since, have ever been able to obtain a sight of them, though repeatedly promised, and I begin to give over all expectation of them. Indeed, if I had them I should not be able to do much with them or to controvert anything I might doubt in them, being unacquainted with the transactions and agreements on which they must be founded and having small skill in accounts. Mr. Ross and Mr. Williams pressing me to examine and settle theirs, I have been obliged to request indifferent persons, expert in such business, to do it for me, subject to the revision of Congress; and I could wish that my time and attention were not taken up by any concerns in mercantile affairs, and thereby diverted from others more important.

The letters of Congress to the king were very graciously received. I have earnestly pressed the supplies desired, and the ministers (who are extremely well disposed towards us) are now actually studying the means of furnishing them. The assistance of Spain is hoped for. We expect to hear from thence in a few days. The quantity is great, and will cost a vast sum. I have this day accepted three of your drafts, part of the three hundred and sixty thousand livres, drawn for on the 9th of June; but when I ask for money to pay them, I must mention that, as they were drawn to purchase military stores, an abatement equal to the value may be made of the quantity demanded from hence; for I am really ashamed to be always worrying the ministers for more money. And as to the private loans expected, I wrote in a former letter that our public credit was not yet sufficiently established, and that the loan in Holland had not exceeded eighty thousand florins, to which there has since been no addition. A Mr. Neufville came from thence to me last spring, proposing to procure great sums, if he might be employed for that purpose, and the business taken away from the house that had commenced it. His terms at first were very extravagant, such as that all the estates, real and personal, in the thirteen provinces should be mortgaged to him; that a fifth part of the capital sum borrowed should every year for five years be laid out in commodities and sent to Holland consigned to him, to

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 79, with verbal changes; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 448.

remain in his hands till the term (ten years) stipulated for final payment was completed as a security for the punctuality of it, when he was to draw the usual commission; that all vessels of merchandise coming from America to Europe should be consigned to him or his correspondents, etc. As I rejected these with some indignation, he came down to the more reasonable one of doing the business as it was done by the other house, who, he said, could do no more, being destitute of the interest which he possessed.

I did not care abruptly to change a house that had in other respects been very friendly and serviceable to us, and thereby throw a slur upon their credit, without a certainty of mending our affairs by it; and therefore told Mr. Neufville that if he could procure and show me a list of subscribers amounting to the sum he mentioned, or near it, I would comply with his proposition. This he readily and confidently undertook to do. But after three months, during which he acquainted me from time to time that the favorable moment was not yet come, I received, instead of the subscription, a new set of propositions, among the terms of which were an additional *one per cent.*, and a patent from Congress appointing him and his sons "*commissioners for trade and navigation and treasurers of the general Congress and of every private State of the thirteen United States of North America through the seven United Provinces*," with other extravagancies which I mention, that it may be understood why I have dropped a correspondence on this subject with a man who seemed to me a vain promiser, extremely self-interested, and aiming chiefly to make an appearance without solidity, and who, I understand, intends applying directly to Congress, some of his friends censuring me as neglecting the public interest in not coming into his measures.

The truth is, I have no expectations from Holland while interest received there from other nations is so high and our credit there so low; while particular American States offer higher interest than the Congress, and even our offering to raise our interest tends to sink our credit. My sole dependence now is upon this court. I think reasonable assistance may be obtained here; but I wish I may not be obliged to fatigue it too much with my applications lest it should grow tired of the connection.

Mr. Ross has lately demanded of me near twenty thousand pounds, due to him, from the committee of commerce, but I have been obliged to refuse him, as well as an application made last week by Mr. Izard for more money, though he has already had twenty-five hundred guineas, and another from Mr. Arthur Lee, though he has had five hundred guineas since the news of his being out of this commission. He writes me that he will return to America forthwith if I do not undertake to supply his expenses. As I see no likelihood of his being received at Madrid, I could not but approve his resolution.

We had reason to expect some great events from the action of the

fleets this summer in the channel, but they are all now in port without having effected anything. The junction was late, and the length of time the Brest fleet was at sea equal to an East India voyage, partly on the hot Spanish coast, occasioned a sickness among the people that made their return necessary. They had chased the English fleet, which refused the combat. The sick men are recovering fast since they were landed, and the proposed descent on England does not yet seem to be quite given up, as the troops are not withdrawn from the ports.

Holland has not yet granted the succors required by the English, nor even given an answer to the requisition presented by Sir Joseph Yorke. The aid is refused; and as the refusal must be disagreeable, it will be postponed from time to time. The expectations of assistance from Russia and Prussia seem also to have failed the English, and they are as much at a loss to find effective friends in Europe as they have been in America.

Portugal seems to have a better disposition towards us than heretofore. About thirty of our people, taken and set ashore on one of her islands by the English, were maintained comfortably by the governor during their stay there, furnished with every necessary, and sent to Lisbon, where, on inquiry to whom payment was to be made for the expense they had occasioned, they were told that no reimbursement was expected; that it was the queen's bounty, who had a pleasure in showing hospitality to strangers in distress. I have presented thanks by the Portuguese ambassador here in behalf of Congress; and I am given to understand that probably in a little time the ports of that nation will be open to us, as those of Spain. What relates to Spain, I suppose, Mr. Lee informs you of.

The sword ordered by Congress for the Marquis de la Fayette being at length finished, I sent it down to him at Havre, where he was with the troops intended for the invasion. I wrote a letter with it, and received an answer, copies of which I enclose, together with a description of the sword and drawings of the work upon it, which was executed by the best artists in Paris, and cost altogether two hundred guineas. The present has given him great pleasure and some of the circumstances have been agreeable to the nation.

Our cartel goes on, a second cargo of American prisoners, one hundred and nineteen in number, being arrived and exchanged. Our privateers have dismissed a great number at sea, taking their written paroles, to be given up in exchange for so many of our people in their jails. This is not yet quite agreed to on the other side, but some expectations are given me that it may take place. Certainly humanity would find its account in the practice of exchanging on parole, as all the horrors of imprisonment, with the loss of time and health, might be prevented by it.

We continue to insult the coasts of these *lords of the ocean* with our little cruisers. A small cutter, which was fitted out as a privateer at

Dunkirk, called the *Black Prince*, has taken, ransomed, burnt, and destroyed above thirty sail of their vessels within these three months. The owners are about to give her a consort, called the *Black Princess*, for whom they ask a commission. The prisoners brought in serve to exchange our countrymen, which makes me more willing to encourage such armaments, though they occasion a good deal of trouble. Captain, now Commodore, Jones put to sea this summer with a little squadron, consisting of a ship of forty guns, the *Alliance*, another frigate of twenty, with some armed cutters, all under American colors, with Congress commissions. He has sent in several prizes, has greatly alarmed the coast of Ireland and Scotland, and we just now hear that going north about he fell in with a number of ships from the Baltic, convoyed by a fifty-gun ship and a twenty-four gun frigate, both of which he took after an obstinate engagement, and forced several of the others ashore. This news is believed, but we wait the confirmation and the particulars.

The blank commissions remaining of those sent to us here are all signed by Mr. Hancock, which occasions some difficulty. If Congress approves of my continuing to issue such commissions I wish to have a fresh supply, with the other necessary instructions, rules, bonds, etc., of which none are now left.

M. le Comte de Mollebois, esteemed one of the best generals in this country and who loves our cause, has given me a memorial, containing a project for a corps here for your service, which I promised to lay before Congress, and accordingly enclose a copy. I know nothing of the sentiments of Congress on the subject of introducing foreign troops among us, and therefore could give no expectation that the plan would be adopted. It will, however, be a pleasure to him to know that his good-will to serve them has been acceptable to the Congress.

A Major Borre, who has been in America, and some other officers who have quitted our service in disgust, endeavor to give an idea that our nation does not love the French. I take all occasions to place in view the regard shown by Congress to good French officers, as a proof that the slight these gentlemen complain of is particular to themselves, and probably the effect of their own misbehavior. I wish for the future, when any of this sort of people leave our armies to come home, some little sketch of their conduct or character may be sent me, with the real causes of their resigning or departure, that I may be the more able to justify our country.

Here are returned in the last cartel a number of French sailors, who had engaged with Captain Cunningham, were taken in coming home in one of his prizes, and have been near two years in English prisons. They demand their wages and share of prize money. I send their claim, as taken before the officers of the classes at Dunkirk. I know nothing of the agreement which they allege was made with them. Mr. Hodge, perhaps, can settle the affair so that they may have justice done them.

These sort of things give me a great deal of trouble. . Several of these men have made personal applications to me, and I must hear all their stories, though I can not redress them. I enclose also the claim of two gunners upon a prize made by the *Boston*, Captain Tucker. I am persuaded that Congress wish to see justice done to the meanest stranger that has served them. It is justice that establishes a nation.

The Spanish ambassador here delivered me several complaints against our cruisers. I imagine that all the injuries complained of are not justly chargeable to us, some of the smaller English cruisers having pillaged Spanish vessels under American colors, of which we have proof upon oath; and also that no such American privateers as are said to have committed these robberies after coming out of Nantes have ever been known there or in any other part of France, or even to have existed. But, if any of the complaints are well founded, I have assured the ambassador that the guilty will be punished and reparation made.

The Swedish ambassador also complains of the taking of a ship of his nation by Captain Landais, the master of which lays his damages at sixty thousand livres. I understand it was his own fault that he was stopped, as he did not show his papers. Perhaps this, if proved, may enable us to avoid the damages.

Since writing the above I have received the following further particulars of the action between Commodore Jones and the English men-of-war. The forty-four-gun ship is new, having been but six months off the stocks. She is called the *Serapis*. The other, of twenty guns, is the *Countess of Scarborough*. He had before taken a number of valuable prizes, particularly a rich ship bound to Quebec, which we suppose he may have sent to America. The English, from mistaken intelligence, imagining he had a body of troops with him to make descents, have had all their northern coasts alarmed, and have been put to very expensive movements of troops, etc.

The extravagant luxury of our country in the midst of all its distresses is to me amazing. When the difficulties are so great to find remittances to pay for the arms and ammunition necessary for our defense, I am astonished and vexed to find, upon inquiry, that much the greatest part of the Congress interest bills come to pay for tea, and a great part of the remainder is ordered to be laid out in gewgaws and superfluities. It makes me grudge the trouble of examining and entering and accepting them, which indeed takes a great deal of time.

I yesterday learned from M. de Monthieu that everything necessary for equipping two frigates, of thirty-six guns each, such as sail cloth, cordage, anchors, etc., which we sent to the Congress from hence two years since, remains stored in the warehouses of his correspondent, Mr. Carrabass, at Cape François, having never been called for. Probably, by the miscarriage of letters, the navy board never heard of those goods being there. I shall, nevertheless, leave the application I have lately made for materials for a frigate of thirty-six guns to take its course.

But I send you herewith copies of two invoices of the cargo of the *Therese*, one of which is what was sent by us, the other by M. de Beaumarchais, to the end that inquiry may be made after the whole.

On this occasion give me leave to remark, that of all the vast quantities of goods we have sent you by many different vessels since my being in France, we never were happy enough to receive the least scrip of acknowledgment that they had ever come to hand, except from Mr. Langdon, of a cargo arrived at Portsmouth, and I think of one more. This is doubtless owing to the interruption our correspondence has met with, and not altogether to neglect. But as such advices of receipt may be made in short letters, it would be well to send more copies. The following is a matter of less importance: It is two years, I believe, since I sent the monument of General Montgomery. I have heard that the vessel arrived in North Carolina, but nothing more. I should be glad to know of its coming to hand, and whether it is approved. Here it was admired for the goodness and beauty of the marble and the elegant simplicity of the design. The sculptor has had an engraving made of it, of which I enclose a copy. It was contrived to be affixed to the wall within some church, or in the great room where the Congress met. Directions for putting it up went with it. All the parts were well packed in strong cases.

With the greatest respect, etc.,

B. Franklin.

October 28.

P. S.—I kept the packet in hopes of sending a more explicit account of what might be expected in regard to the supplies. The express which was daily expected from Spain when I began this letter, ar-arrived but a few days since. I am now informed that court is understood to be in treaty with the Congress in America to furnish a sum of hard money there, and on that account excuses itself from sharing in the expense of furnishing these supplies. This has a little deranged the measures intended to be taken here, and I am now told that the whole quantity of goods demanded can hardly be furnished, but that as soon as the court returns from Marly the ministers will consult and do the best they can for us. The arms I hear are in hand at Charleville. I am unwilling to keep the packet any longer, lest she should arrive on our coasts too far in the winter and be blown off; I therefore send away the dispatches; but if I have the result of the council in time to reach her by post I will send it in a separate letter. The hearty goodwill of the ministry may be depended on; but it must be remembered that their present expenses are enormous.

B. F.

Adams to Sartine.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 6, 1779.

SIR: The *Sensible* intending to sail in a few days, it is my duty to embrace the opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to his majesty and to your excellency for the favor of a passage in this frigate, which was rendered the more honorable and agreeable to me by the company of his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne and M. Marbois, two characters that I have every reason to believe will be peculiarly useful and acceptable in this country.

Your excellency will permit me also to express my obligations to Captain Chavagnes and the other officers of the frigate for their civilities, as these gentlemen upon all occasions discovered a particular attention and solicitude to render all the circumstances of the voyage as agreeable as possible to me and the other passengers, as well as to protect the merchant vessels under their convoy.

I hope and believe they have neither seen nor heard anything here among the people of this country but what has a tendency to give them a favorable opinion of their allies.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

The College of Admiralty of Amsterdam to the States-General.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 8, 1779.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: Captain Riemersma, commanding in the absence of Vice-Admiral Reynst, in the road of the Texel, has informed us by message of the entry into the said road of five vessels, viz, two French frigates, one American frigate, and two prizes made by them, under command of Paul Jones, who has addressed himself in person to said Captain Riemersma, and has asked him if he might put on shore the English captains, and also hire a house for the recovery of the wounded; the said captain demanding thereon our orders, and asking besides if he should return this visit.

On which we have answered to Captain Riemersma that we could not grant the request made by the commander of these vessels to put on shore the English captains, nor permission to hire a house on shore to put his sick and wounded in; that for the rest, we suppose that the instructions received from his most serene highness would enable the said captain to comport himself suitably.

Besides, that he, the captain, ought to look out that for unloading, or in advancing further into the roadstead than is necessary for protec-

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 117.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 269.

tion from storms and other accidents, he should not contravene by his vessels the placard of their high mightinesses of November 3, 1756.

We have the honor to submit all this to the view of your high mightinesses, hoping that our conduct will be so fortunate as to meet your approbation, etc.

PLACARD OF 1756, REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

The States-General of the United Provinces, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Be it known that, having been advised that some vessels of war or foreign privateers, abusing the liberty that was granted them of resorting to and anchoring in our harbors in case of want or accident and of bringing with them the vessels or effects taken by them from their enemies, have undertaken to sell or dispose of their said prizes, which is directly against our intention, and may give rise to a misunderstanding between us and our neighbors, which we desire to prevent as much as is in our power by all possible means, having considered what may best conduce to this end, we have thought good to declare, ordain, and resolve as follows:

Hereafter all vessels of war and foreign privateers, whatever they may be, which shall enter into the roadsteads, rivers, and waters of this state, shall hoist on their arrival the flag of the nation to which they belong, and not advance farther into said rivers and waters than to secure themselves from tempests and other perils without permission of the college of admiralty in the district in which they may be. They shall abstain from every act which may offend or aggrieve any one, whether stranger or subject of the state, but conduct, on the contrary, in said waters in a manner not to harm or give cause of complaint to any one, under penalty not only of not receiving any assistance, but also of being expelled by force. In case that any vessel of war or privateer having letters of reprisals refuse to hoist on arrival its flag, or may be in the said waters and rivers without permission of the college of admiralty in the district where they are, the crew will be regarded and treated as pirates. All officers of vessels of war or foreign privateers which shall enter into the mouths of the rivers of this state with their vessels and prizes, or with their prizes only, shall be bound to abstain from announcing or publishing in any manner said prizes, from discharging them in whole or in part, from selling or disposing of them; but they shall keep or retain them entire, and put to sea with them, returning in the same state as when they arrived, under pain of being deprived of said prizes, which shall be seized by the officers of this state and kept by the college of admiralty of the district till the counselors of said college, having taken cognizance of the fact, shall judge proper to dispose of them agreeably to the exigency of the case.

And to the end that these orders may be better executed, all officers and masters of privateers which shall anchor in the harbors of this state shall be holden to give notice at the first place where they shall come of the cause of their arrival to the officers charged by the state with the inspection of the entry of vessels, to present to said officers their commissions, and especially to declare what prizes they have made, on what nation they have made them, and in general in what their cargoes consist. Moreover, the said vessels of war or privateers shall permit the said officers to put persons on board said prizes to guard them and prevent anything from being sold or discharged contrary to the present decree, and in this manner they shall put to sea with their prizes and depart from the harbors of this state.

And to give more effect to our intentions, and the better to prevent all difference on this subject, we advise by these presents all the inhabitants of this state, and others who reside here, that they will have to conform to their provisions, and will be careful of taking upon themselves to purchase, accept, or take for their own accounts part or the whole of any prize brought into the harbors of this state under any pre-

text whatever, and also of aiding or facilitating with their persons, vessels, or boats the sale, discharge, or removal of said prizes, under penalty not only that all the effects they shall have acquired against the present decree (without receiving any compensation for what they have disbursed or their arrears of wages), shall be seized by the college of admiralty of the district and confiscated to the profit of whom it may concern, but also that the party shall be condemned to the payment of one thousand florins, one-third of which shall be to the use of the state, one-third to the informer, whose name shall remain secret, and the remaining third for the officer who shall have received the complaint.

And in order that no person may pretend ignorance, we desire and request the lords the committee of roads and the deputies of the states of the respective provinces immediately to announce, publish, and post up the present placard wherever need shall be and as it is custo mary to practise. We join, moreover, and command the counselors of the admiralty, the advocate of the treasury, the admirals, vice-admirals, captains, officers, and commandants as also the commissaries and commissioners of search in the harbors and other places, to execute and cause to be executed the present order: to proceed and cause proceedings to be had against offenders, without any connivance, favor, dissimulation, or agreement; for we have thus judged necessary for the service of the state.

Done and concluded at the assembly of their high mightinesses the States-General at The Hague the third of November, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Election and Commissioning of the Peace Plenipotentiaries and other Ministers.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, October 4, 1779.]

OCTOBER 9, 1779.

The committee appointed to prepare a commission for the secretaries brought in a draft, which was agreed to, as follows:

The United States of America in Congress assembled to ———, *greeting:*

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, ability, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you, during our pleasure, secretary to our minister plenipotentiary appointed to ———. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of secretary by doing and performing all things thereunto belonging; and in case of the death of our said minister, you are to signify it to us by the earliest opportunity, and on such event we authorize and direct you to take into your charge all our public affairs which were in the hands of our said minister at the time of his death or which may be addressed to him before notice thereof, and proceed therein according to the instructions to our said minister given until our further orders.

Witness ———, President of the Congress of the United States of America, at ———, the —— day of ———, 17—, and in the ——— year of our Independence.

The said committee reported the draft of a letter of credence to the

*MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

secretary of a minister plenipotentiary residing at a foreign court, which was agreed to, as follows:

[Insert the address of the king, prince, or potentate.]

Taking into consideration the various events which may deprive us of the services of our minister plenipotentiary at your court, and being desirous that at all times you should be assured of our constant goodwill and affection, we have nominated ——— secretary to our minister ——— in case of the death or the necessary absence of our said minister to reside at your court, and to transact all such matters and things relating to us as may from time to time be necessary. We beseech you to give entire credit to everything which he shall deliver on our part, especially when he shall assure you of the permanency of our friendship. And we pray God that he will keep your ——— in His holy protection.

Done at ———, the —— day of ———, in the year of our Lord ———, and in the ——— year of our Independence.

Ordered, That the said committee prepare the form of a letter of credence to Mr. Jay to represent these States at the court of Spain in case a treaty shall be signed with that court.*

From the College of Admiralty of Amsterdam to the States-General.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 12, 1779.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: To satisfy the orders of their high mightinesses and their resolution of the 8th of this month, wherein it has pleased them to demand our opinion and our consideration of the annexed memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador extraordinary from his majesty the King of Great Britain near the republic, we take the liberty to answer respectfully their high mightinesses that we had the honor to inform them by our letter of the 8th of this month of the entry of five ships, and, at the same time, of the answer we had given to Captain Riemersma, commanding at that time in the roads of the Texel, on the request that had been made to him by Captain Paul Jones, the said answer containing in substance that, in the belief that these ships would depart on the first opportunity, we should not grant the debarkation and the stay on shore which was asked for of two English captains, nor permit the hiring of a house to transport the sick and wounded, and that, moreover, we charged the said captain to keep watch there; that to provide that these ships should be in security and safe from storms and other accidents, would not contravene the placard of your high mightinesses of November 3, 1756, which we regard as the rule according to which all foreign ships of war, whatever they be and from whatever port they

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* For further proceedings, see *infra*, October 13, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 272.

come, which enter into the harbors or roadsteads of the republic ought to be treated, and as having been given with the view that the said foreign ships should put to sea with their prizes without discharging them in whole or in part, and without selling them or disposing of them in any manner; that for these reasons it has appeared to us that the seizure of the said ships and officers and sailors would be a contravention of the said placard; that, besides, humanity requires that the said ships may stay to effect any repairs of which they have need and to procure to the sick and wounded all the alleviations necessary, for the administering of which it is expedient that they be brought on shore.

On which we have judged it proper to make representation to their high mightinesses whether it would not be proper to charge Captain Riemersma, commandant at the roadstead of the Texel, and to give him order to permit the debarkation of the sick and wounded from said ships, to enable them to receive the most prompt assistance; which we should have already granted ourselves upon the requests which have been addressed to us on behalf of said sick and wounded if we could have thought we had a right to do it without the authorization of their high mightinesses; submitting in this respect all final determinations to their high wisdom and to their better opinion.

Deliberating on this, the deputies of the province of Holland and of West Friesland have taken a copy of the above letter, to be more amply communicated; and, nevertheless, it has been found good and determined that a copy of said letter should be put into the hands of M. de Linden de Hemme and other deputies for marine affairs to see, examine, and take into consideration the opinion of the commissioners of the respective colleges of admiralty and to make report thereon to the assembly.

PERMISSION TO LAND THE SICK AND WOUNDED OF THE ENGLISH VESSELS TAKEN BY PAUL JONES.

[Extract from the records of their high mightinesses.]

OCTOBER 15, 1779.

M. de Heekeren de Brantzenburg, president of the assembly, has imparted to their high mightinesses that he was informed by Sir Joseph Yorke of the deplorable condition of the sick and wounded who are on board the English vessels *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, taken by Paul Jones and brought into the Texel, and who, as humanity requires, not only has not refused them accommodation, but even has procured them all the assistance and all the supplies possible, and submitted to the consideration of their high mightinesses if it would not please them, without delay, to authorize the college of admiralty of Amsterdam to have put on shore the said sick and wounded, to be there tended and nursed.

On which, having deliberated, it has been thought good and decreed that, without prejudice to ulterior deliberations of their high mightinesses on the memorial which has been sent to them on this subject by Sir Joseph Yorke the 8th of this month, *everything continuing in this respect in the same state*, it be written to the college of admiralty of Amsterdam to authorize it, and it is authorized by the present resolution to permit not only that the sick and wounded who are in said vessels be landed or put on board a hospital ship as soon as one can be prepared for this purpose, but

besides that they be furnished by the ships of war of the republic now in the roadstead with the medicines and provisions necessary, and that the surgeons of said ships of war may bestow their care in the treatment of those sick and wounded who shall be debarked. It being well understood that by this arrangement nothing shall be accounted to be changed relative to the condition of said sick and wounded; that their high mightinesses will not be responsible for those who may be able to take advantage of the opportunity for escape, and that under any pretext, either to guard the prisoners or to maintain discipline, there may not be allowed to go on shore armed men more than three or four, and armed only with their swords; that, finally, nothing may be done in said department and dependencies but with the knowledge and under the authority of the officer commanding the vessels of the republic which are in the roadstead and of those in whose jurisdiction shall be the place where the sick and wounded may be debarked.

INSTRUCTIONS OF HOLLAND AND WEST FRIESLAND TO THEIR DEPUTIES.

Their noble and grand mightinesses the lords states of Holland and of West Friesland, in their assembly of Thursday, the 21st of October, 1779, having resolved to qualify their deputies in the generality to conform in the assembly of their high mightinesses to the following advice—

They are of the opinion that they should answer the memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, presented the 8th of this month, that their high mightinesses be informed that a short time since there entered into the Texel three frigates, viz, two French and one styling itself American, commanded by Paul Jones, having with them two prizes made by them at sea, named *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, designated in his memorial.

That their high mightinesses, having for more than a century constantly observed and manifested by successive placards that they would not in any manner give any judgment for or against the legality or illegality of the acts of those who, not sailing under these provinces, make prizes at sea and bring them into the roadsteads of this country, not opening their ports to them on any other terms than for them to put in in case of tempest or other disasters, and obliging them to return with them to sea as they brought them in, they would not undertake to examine whether the prizes brought in by said three frigates belong to the French or to the Americans, whether they are legal or illegal, but must abandon all this to the decision of those who have jurisdiction; and that they would compel them altogether to return to sea, for that, subject here to be retaken as if they had never landed in this country, they will be judged by the proper tribunal; inasmuch as the ambassador will acknowledge himself that he would have no less a right to reclaim them if they belonged to English subjects than if they were vessels of the king, which they happened to be in this case, and by consequence this would not authorize their high mightinesses to bring it before the tribunals of this country any more than the person of Paul Jones.

That with respect to acts of humanity, their high mightinesses have already manifested to the ambassador their eagerness to exercise them in regard to the wounded on board said vessels, and that they have given orders in consequence.

They would be of opinion, moreover, that they ought to answer the college of admiralty of Amsterdam that their high mightinesses approve what is done; that in conformity to their placard of the 3d of November, 1756, which prohibits the overhauling and breaking up of the cargoes of prizes for the purpose of securing them from recapture and allowing to the captor the right of disposing of them, they persist in it also in the case of the prizes *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, authorizing said college to do what is in their power that the said five frigates depart, the sooner the better, and to take care that there be not delivered to them, nor carried on board any munitions of war or naval stores, but such things only as they want in order to put to sea and reach the first foreign port, to prevent all suspicion of their equipment and arming in this country.

Congress—Proceedings as to the Election and Commissioning of the Peace Plenipotentiaries and other Ministers.*

[For prior proceedings, see *supra*, October 9, 1779.]

OCTOBER 13, 1779.

On motion of Mr. Lovell, seconded by Mr. Morris,

Resolved, That Mr. Arthur Lee be informed of Mr. Jay's appointment, and that agreeably to his request he is at liberty to return to America.

Mr. Jay having desired to be informed (1) In what manner he is to be supplied with money for his expenses on his arrival in Europe; (2) Whether he will be allowed any money for secret services; (3) Whether he is to advance money to distressed Americans who may apply to him.

Ordered, That the same be referred to a committee of three.

The members: Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jenifer, Mr. Langdon.

A letter of 10th July, 1779, from J. G. Derricks, at Amsterdam, and sundry letters between Governor Trumbull and the said Mr. Derricks being laid before Congress were referred to the said committee.

Ordered, That Mr. Witherspoon and Mr. Lovell, members of the committee for foreign affairs, be added to the foregoing committee.

Ordered, That the said committee prepare the instruction to the minister plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate with the court of Spain to endeavor to obtain for the United States the liberty of taking salt from Sal Tortugas and cutting logwood and mahogany in the Bay of Honduras, and that the former committee (see page 344) be discharged of that business.

A motion was made by Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. Morris,

That the minister of these States to his Catholic majesty be privately instructed to recede from the claim of a free navigation of the river Mississippi, mentioned in his instructions (see pages 341–342) below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, on condition of the grant of a free port therein, also mentioned, if the obtaining such navigation shall be found an insuperable bar to the proposed treaties of amity and commerce between these States and his Catholic majesty; provided always, that the power herein contained be confined to the said minister, and not in case of his death or absence to be exercised by any other person.

A division was called for, and on the question to agree to the first clause as far as to the proviso, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Mercer,

New Hampshire	Mr. Peabody	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Langdon	Aye.	
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Lovell	No.	0.
	Mr. Holton	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Marchant	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Sherman	No.	No.
	Mr. Huntington	No.	
	Mr. Root	No.	

* MSS. secret journals of Congress, comparing printed journals.

New York	Mr. Morris ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lewis ..... Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Fell ..... Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Armstrong ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Atlee ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Muhlenberg ..... No.	
Maryland	Mr. Plater ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Forbes ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Griffin ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Mercer ..... No.	
	Mr. Fitzhugh ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Harnet ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Hewes ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Sharpe ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Laurens ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Mathews ..... No.	

So it passed in the negative.

OCTOBER 14, 1779.

Ordered, That the first blank in the commission to the secretary of the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating with Spain be filled up with "the honorable William Carmichael, esq., a delegate in Congress from the State of Maryland," and the second blank (see page 350) with "negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce and of alliance with his Catholic majesty," the blank after "witness" with "his excellency Samuel Huntington, esq.," and the other blanks successively with "Philadelphia," "twenty-ninth," "September," "1779," "fourth."

That the first blank in the commission to the secretary to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of peace, etc., be filled up with "The honorable Francis Dana, esq., a delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts Bay and a member of the council of the said State," the second blank with "negotiate a treaty of peace and of commerce with Great Britain," and the other blanks as above.

That the first blank in the commission for the secretary to the minister at the court of Versailles be filled with "John Laurens, esq., member of the House of Representatives for the State of South Carolina, and lieutenant-colonel in the Army of the United States," the second blank with "at the court of Versailles," striking out "appointed to" and the other blanks as above.

OCTOBER 15, 1779.

The committee, consisting of Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jenifer, Mr. Langdon, Mr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Lovell (see page 352), appointed to prepare an instruction to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, and for other purposes, brought in a report, which was taken into consideration; and thereupon

Resolved, That the following additional instruction be given to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty.

SIR: You are to use your utmost endeavors for obtaining permission for the citizens and inhabitants of these States to have and take on board their vessels salt at the Island of Sal Tortugas; and also to cut, load, and bring away logwood and mahogany in and from the Bay of Honduras and its rivers, and to build on the shores storehouses and magazines for the wood-cutters and their families in the extent ceded to his Britannic majesty by the seventeenth article of the definitive treaty, concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, or in as great extent as can be obtained.

Resolved, That a letter be written to the minister plenipotentiary of these States at the court of France, desiring him to take the most effectual means for supplying the ministers appointed to treat with his Catholic majesty and with his Britannic majesty and their secretaries, with two thousand louis d'ors, to be distributed in proportion to their respective salaries, and giving the strongest assurances to the said minister that Congress will immediately take measures for replacing the said sum, as well as for establishing a fund in Europe for the future support of all the embassies from these States.

Resolved, That should the minister appointed to treat with his Catholic majesty advance or procure advances of money to be made upon necessary occasions for the relief of distressed Americans, he shall be reimbursed and indemnified for such advances.

J. Paul Jones to Morris.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 13, 1779.

As the history of my proceedings since I left the *Ranger* has not afforded much of the agreeable, I have in that time written very seldom to my much honored and esteemed Mr. Morris. I last winter, however, had the honor to write you some letters, whereof I forwarded various copies enclosing papers respecting the conduct of Lieutenant Simpson while under my command, and as they were addressed to you as president of various committees of Congress, I rest perfectly satisfied that they have not been disregarded. I am now in the chamber of our mutual friend Mr. Ross, who informs me that a vessel sails this day for Boston. I am exceedingly sorry that, being at a distance from my papers, I can not enclose a copy of the accounts which I have lately given of my proceedings to his excellency Dr. Franklin. I will forward copies as soon as political reasons will admit of my returning to Texel, where I have the satisfaction to inform you that I arrived with the remains of my little squadron on the 3d instant, and brought on with me two of the enemies' ships of war, the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns.

* N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1778, 442.

I sailed from L'Orient on my late expedition on the 13th of August with the *Bon Homme Richard*, an old East Indiaman, of forty guns; the *Alliance*, of thirty-six guns; the *Pallas*, an armed ship, thirty guns; the *Cerf*, a cutter of eighteen guns; and the *Vengeance*, an armed brig of twelve guns; joined by the *Monsieur* and *Grandville*, two French privateers. Monsieur de Chaumont, who had something to say to my little armament, made such wrong arrangements, that both the privateers and the cutter soon separated from me. I established my cruise for some time on the southwest of Ireland, and proposed to have remained there for some time longer had not the remonstrances of Captain Landais determined me otherwise, and thereby lost me the opportunity of intercepting eight of the enemies' East India ships, which entered the port of Limerick three days after I left the Blaskets. I passed by the north of Scotland, took some prizes, and was within the smallest trifle of laying Leith under a heavy contribution, though I had then with me only the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Pallas*, and the *Vengeance*.

We alarmed their coasts prodigiously from Cape Clear round to Hull; and had I not been concerned with sons of interest I could have done much. On the 23d September, off Flamboro' Head, the Baltic fleet appeared. The action between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* was dreadful. An hour from the commencement I found that I had to deal with a far superior force, and the *Serapis* being a much more manageable ship than the *Bon Homme Richard*, I was under the necessity of closing with her. I found means to get the enemy's bowsprit over the *Bon Homme Richard's* quarter, and immediately made him fast to the mizzenmast. The ships then swung alongside of one another, the enemy's stern opposite to our bows and the yards being locked. In that situation the action continued two hours and a half, both ships being on fire for the greatest part of the time, and the *Bon Homme Richard* making as much water as all the pumps could discharge. At last the *Alliance* appeared, but not to our assistance, for, instead of laying the enemy alongside, or of assisting us with fresh men, he sailed round and fired into the *Bon Homme Richard;* even after every tongue had exclaimed that he fired into the wrong ship, and I had even hoisted a signal which *could not be mistaken.* He killed a number of our men and mortally wounded a good officer. At last the enemy struck the English flag, but the victory was too dear. The mainmast of the *Serapis* fell overboard soon after the captain had delivered me his sword, and the fire continued unextinguished on board the *Bon Homme Richard* for eight hours afterwards, having at last gained its way within a few inches of the magazine. In short, we found it impossible to preserve the good old ship, and I endeavored to do it so long that I had only time to save the sick and wounded. The *Alliance* contributed much to the loss of the *Bon Homme Richard* by hitting her between wind and water and under water.

I am in hopes to be able to return immediately to the continent. My

ardent wishes impel me to seek after the means that I may justify myself in all respects—*for I can* in America.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and respect, dear sir, your very obliged servant,

JNO. P. JONES.

N. B.—The first copy of this letter was forwarded alone.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *October* 13, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have certain intelligence that Admiral Rodney is to sail immediately from England, with five sail of the line, to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. I am well informed that the plan he proposed was by dividing his fleet into three divisions, with some landed forces on board of each, to block up and harass continually the whole of our coast. It is probable they have adopted his plan with him. His abilities and activity are great. Count d'Estaing is expected here in the winter with twelve ships, which will leave the enemy a decided and dangerous superiority. Our hope is that by some mortal blow on New York before his departure he will in a great measure frustrate their intentions.

The combined fleet is ordered into the British channel and the troops to prepare for the invasion of England. Upon the issue of this will depend the continuance of the war.

I have not yet received any instructions from Congress relative to Spain, nor any answer from that court relative to my reception there. The public funds which were in my hands being nearly exhausted, and Dr. Franklin having positively declined supplying my expenses at that court, I must beg Congress to take some immediate order in this business, so that it may not remain in the power of any individual to counteract their intentions, and drive gentlemen away from Europe who are so unfortunate as not to be in his good graces.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Lovell, for Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Arthur Lee.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 13, 1779.

SIR: This is officially to convey to you the knowledge of the appointment of a minist r plenipotentiary in lieu of a commissioner at the court of Spain, and also a resolve of Congress of this day upon the reading of your letter of the 31st of May.‡

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 570.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 571.

‡ In Congress, Oct. 13, 1779.—A letter of the 31st of May last from A. Lee was read; whereupon

"*Resolved*, That Mr. A. Lee be informed of Mr. Jay's appointment, and that, agreeably to his request, he is at liberty to return to America."

Mr. Jay will probably be in a short time in Europe to execute his commission.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Franklin to John Paul Jones.*

PASSY, *October* 15, 1779.

DEAR SIR: I received the account of your cruise and engagement with the *Serapis*, which you did me the honor to send me from the Texel. I have since received your favor of the 8th from Amsterdam. For some days after the arrival of your express scarce anything was talked of at Paris and Versailles but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than on that of others, but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion.

The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and M. de Sartine has signified to me in writing that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance, by which means, it is supposed, the States lost some of their valuable citizens, and the king lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

I have accordingly written to him this day, acquainting him that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defense. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court-martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the mean time it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under arrest, and in that case as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command or take it upon yourself, for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station. I am uneasy about

* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 1296; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 459.

your prisoners. I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons, for there are not so many there as you have now taken. I have the pleasure to inform you that the two prizes sent to Norway are safely arrived at Bergen.

With the highest esteem, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I am sorry for your misunderstanding with M. de Chaumont, who has a great regard for you.

Franklin to Landais.*

PASSY, *October* 15, 1779.

SIR: I received the letter you did me the honor of writing me the 4th instant, with an abstract of your journal. I thank you for your care in sending it so early, and I congratulate you on the success of your cruise. But I am sorry to find there are charges against you for disobedience of orders, and also that the ministry here think the great loss among the king's subjects, viz, the French volunteers on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, was owing to your not coming up sooner to her assistance, as it is supposed you might have done. M. de Sartine has in consequence written to me that it is expected I should cause an immediate inquiry to be made into your conduct. A court-martial is the regular way, if you choose it; but as that may occasion a long discussion, and be in many respects at this time inconvenient to the service, I have (with the advice, too, of your friend M. de Chaumont) thought it better to give you an opportunity of justifying yourself both to the ministry and to me, coming directly to Paris, which I do hereby accordingly desire (or, to use a stronger expression, as you may think such necessary to justify your leaving your ship, I do require) that you render yourself here as soon as possible. I need not advise you to bring with you such papers and testimonials as you may think proper for your justification, and will only add that you may be sure of finding in me every disposition to do that justice to your character which it shall appear to merit.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to John Neufville & Son.†

PASSY, *October* 15, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I received the letter you did me the honor writing to me the 7th instant, acquainting me with the arrival of Commodore Jones at Amsterdam, for which I am obliged to you, as well as for the friendly

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 461.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

reception and assistance you have afforded that brave officer. I suppose M. De Chaumont, who is your correspondent and had the care of equipping that squadron, writes to you on the subject of the supplies it may want. I hope it will not, through the influence of the English, meet with any unfriendly treatment from your government. America will remember, and one day be in a condition to return with gratitude, the kindness she receives from other nations in her infant state.

Your friend Mr. Dumas being here at the time in correspondence with you, I communicated to him my sentiments on your proposition concerning the loan, which made it less necessary for me to write to you, as I should otherwise have done, that the terms were such as I could not agree to, as they exceeded my orders and otherwise impracticable, and that I had long given over all expectation of a loan from Holland while other powers gave so much higher interest.

I have, etc.

Franklin to Commissioners of the Navy, Boston.

PASSY, *October* 17, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I received the letters you did me the honor of writing to me the 30th of July and 18th of August last by the *Mercury*, packet boat and by a French cutter. The other dispatches Captain Samson was intrusted with came all safe to hand, and I should have dispatched him sooner if I had not found it necessary to detain him in order to send by him to Congress some advices of importance which could not be sooner obtained.

The cruise of our little American squadron under Commodore Jones, intended partly to intercept the Baltic trade, has had some success, though not all that was hoped for. The coasts of Britain and Ireland have been greatly alarmed, apprehending descents, it being supposed that he had land forces with him. This has put the enemy to much expense in marching troops from place to place. Several valuable prizes have been made of merchant ships, particularly two, one from London, three hundred tons and eighty-four men, with twenty-two guns, laden with naval stores for Quebec; the other from Liverpool, bound to New York and Jamaica, of twenty-two guns, and eighty-seven men, laden with provisions and bale goods. These two are safely arrived at Bergen, in Norway; two smaller prizes are arrived in France, and a number of colliers have been burnt or ransomed.

The Baltic fleet was met with, and the two men-of-war who convoyed them, viz, The *Serapis*, a new ship of forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns, are taken, after a long and bloody engagement, and are brought into the Texel. But the merchant ships escaped during the conflict, for which the *Alliance* and one of the other ships are blamed, whether justly or not may be inquired into. Our commodore's ship was so shattered that she could not be kept afloat, and the peo-

ple being all taken out of her, she sank the second day after the engagement. The rest of the squadron are refitting in the Texel, from which neutral place they will be obliged soon to depart with their prizes and prisoners near—four hundred. I wish they may arrive safe in France, for I suppose the English will endeavor to intercept them. Jones' bravery and conduct in the action have gained him great honor.

I condole with you on the loss of your armament against Penobscot; but I suppose the sugar ships since taken and brought into your port have more than compensated the expense, though not the disappointment, of the well-intended expedition. The Congress write for naval stores. I have acquainted them that I have lately been informed that stores for fitting out two thirty-six gun frigates, which we brought here and sent out two years ago, are still lying in the warehouses of Mr. Carrabas, at Cape François, having been forgotten there or never sent for. Perhaps you may obtain them. The Quebec ship, if we can get her safe home, will afford large supply.

I am much obliged to you for the newspapers. I shall direct Mr. Schweighauser to send you an account of the advances made to the officers of the *Alliance*, if he has not already done it.

With great respect, etc.

J. Adams to Lovell.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 17, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR: What shall I say to your favors of the 27th and 28th of September, which came by the last post? The unanimity of my election surprises me, as much as the delicacy, importance, and danger of the trust distress me. The appointment of Mr. Dana to be secretary pleases more than my own to be minister, commissioner, negotiator, call it what you will. I have communicated to him your letters in confidence and all other material intelligence I had, and hope he will not decline; but you know the peculiarities of his situation, and if he should refuse, I hope you will not force your name out of nomination again. I did not suppose that such characters would be willing to go as secretaries, because I did not know your plan; otherwise I should not have mentioned Mr. Jennings to Mr. Gerry for one to Dr. Franklin. Your mastery of the language and your indefatigability would make you infinitely useful in any of these departments.

I rejoice that you produced my letter to the Count de Vergennes and his answer before the choice, because it contained a testimony in favor of Mr. Lee, which was his due. I am very much affected at his recall, because I know his merit, and therefore I am glad I was not

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 600; 9 J. Adams' Works, 499.

placed in his stead, for suspicions would have arisen and reflections would have been cast upon me as having favored his removal in order to make room, which I certainly did not. I am infinitely obliged to you for those letters and for that received post before last, but I really tremble for your health. Let me entreat you, for the sake of our country, to take care of it. If I was to apply myself as you do, I should soon go to study politics in another sphere. Yet I am so selfish as to beg the continuance of your favors to me, and I pledge myself to you I will not be in debt any more than may be made by the intrinsic difference in the value of the letters, which will be unavoidable.

I thank you for the extract from Mr. Izard's letter. I am not a little surprised at its contents. It was written, I see, to his friend, and I suppose intended in confidence. I am fully persuaded he did not intend that the whole should have been laid before Congress. I utterly deny that I ever used to him any such language as the indecent paragraph that closes what he says about me.* Indeed, that is manifestly his own inference and in his own words from what he says he had heard me say, and he draws the same from what Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane had said upon the same subject. I further deny that I ever *threatened* him with the displeasure of Congress for writing his opinion concerning these articles to Congress or for suggesting them to the commissioners. But to enter into all the conversations that have passed between Mr. Izard and me respecting those articles and many other points, in order to give a full and fair representation of those conversations, would fill a small volume. Yet there never was any angry or rude conversation between him and me that I can recollect. I lived with him on good terms, visited him and he me, dined with his family and his family with me, and I ever told him, and repeated it often, that I should always be obliged to him for his advice, opinions, and sentiments upon any American subject, and that I should always give it its due weight, although I did not think myself bound to follow it any further than it seemed to me to be just. As Congress have declined giving me the charges against me by their authority, and have upon the whole acquitted me with so much splendor, it would look like a littleness of soul in me to make myself anxious, or give them any further trouble about it. And as I have in general so good an opinion of Mr. Izard's attachment to his country and of his honor, I shall not think myself bound to take any further notice of this fruit of his inexperience in public life, this peevish ebullition of the rashness of his temper. I have written a few other observations to Mr. Gerry on the same subject. You and he will compare these with them for your private satisfaction, but be sure that they are not exposed where they will do harm to the public, to Mr. Izard, or me unnecessarily.

If I should go abroad, can not you lend me twenty or thirty complete

* See, as to Izard's, Introduction, §§ 149, 177.

sets of the journals? They are much wanted in Europe. A set of them is a genteel present, and perhaps would do me and the public more service than you are aware of. If Congress or some committee would order it, I should be very glad.

I am, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Adams to Luzerne.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 17, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor of your letter from Philadelphia of the 29th of September, and return you my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations on the honor which has been done me in my election to an important negotiation in Europe. The sentiments your excellency is pleased to express of my character and of the good opinion of my own countrymen in general are exceedingly flattering to me.

There is no character in which I could act with so much pleasure as in that of a peacemaker. But alas, sir, when I reflect upon the importance, the delicacy, intricacy, and danger of the service, I feel a great deal of diffidence in myself. Yet when I consider the remarkable unanimity with which I was chosen, after Congress had been so long distressed with the appearance of their foreign affairs and so divided in sentiment about most other characters, I am penetrated with a sense of the honor done to me, more than I can express.

Your excellency may be assured that, wherever I go, I shall carry with me the highest opinion of the wisdom, the equity, and policy of the present minister from France, and the fullest persuasion that his negotiations will be reciprocally advantageous to the allies, and incessantly tending to strengthen the ties of interest and good-will that at present unite them.

Your excellency will be pleased to accept of my thanks for the favor of a passage in the frigate the *Sensible*. I have not yet received from Congress any dispatches. As soon as they arrive I shall immediately wait on Captain Chavagnes, and the frigate shall not be unnecessarily detained on my account. I will either embark immediately or inform the captain that I can not have the pleasure to go with him.

I must also request of your excellency to present my respectful compliments and thanks to M. Gerard for so obligingly joining his instances with yours to the captain of the frigate for my passage in her.

I have the honor to be, with the sincerest attachment, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 117.

Franklin to James Lovell.*

PASSY, *October* 17, 1779.

SIR: The foregoing is a copy of my last. I have now before me your several favors therein mentioned, viz, of June 13, July 9 and 16, and August 6. I received the journals of Congress from January 1 to June 12, which you took care to send me, but the volumes one and two which you mention, are not yet come to hand. I hear they are at Madrid. I know not how they came there, nor well how to get them from thence. Perhaps you can easier send me another set.

As I hear of the arrival of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, by whom I wrote a long letter to your committee, I presume you have received it, and that it is not necessary to send more copies. By this opportunity I write largely to the President. You ask, "Will no one under a commission from the United States," etc. Enclosed I send you a copy of the instructions I gave to Commodore Jones when it was intended to send with him some transports and troops to make descents in England. Had not the scheme been altered by a general one of a grand invasion I know he would have endeavored to put some considerable towns to a high ransom or have burnt them. He sailed without the troops, but he nevertheless would have attempted Leith, and went into the Firth of Edinburgh with that intention, but a sudden hard gale of wind forced him out again. The late provocations, by the burning of Fairfield and other towns, added to the preceding, have at length demolished all my moderation, and were such another expedition to be concerted I think so much of that disposition would not appear in the instructions. But I see so many inconveniences in mixing the two nations together that I can not encourage any further proposal of the kind. This has ended better than I expected, and yet a mortal difference has arisen between Captains Jones and Landais that makes me very uneasy about the consequences. I send you the journal of the cruise.

I am glad to understand that Congress will appoint some person here to audit our accounts. Mine will give but little trouble, and I wish much to have them settled; and for the future I hope I shall have none to settle but what relate to my expenses.

The quarrel you mention between Mr. Deane and Mr. Lee I have never meddled with, and have no intention to take any part in it whatever. I had, and have still, a very good opinion of Mr. Deane for his zeal and activity in the service of his country; I also thought him a man of integrity. But if he has embezzled public money, or traded with it on his private account, or employed it in stockjobbing, all of which I understand he is charged with, I give him up. As yet I think him innocent. But he and his accusers are able to plead their own causes, and time will show what we ought to think of them.

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* 2 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 86; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 465.

I send you with this a piece written by a learned friend of mine on the taxation of free states, which I imagine may give you some pleasure; also a late royal edict for abolishing the remains of slavery in this kingdom. Who would have thought a few years since that we should live to see a king of France giving freedom to slaves, while a king of England is endeavoring to make slaves of freemen?

There is much talk all over Europe of an approaching peace by the mediation of Russia and Holland. I have no information of it to be depended on, and believe we ought to lay our account on another campaign, for which I hope you will receive in time the supplies demanded. Nothing is wanting on my part to forward them, and I have the satisfaction to assure you that I do not find the regard of this court for the Congress and its servants in any respect diminished. We have just heard from Norway that two of the most valuable prizes taken by the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, in the squadron of Commodore Jones, are safe arrived at Bergen, viz, the ship from London to Quebec, laden with naval stores, and that from Liverpool to New York and Jamaica. They were letters of marque, of twenty-two guns and eighty-four men each. I wish we may get them safe to America. The squadron itself is got into Holland with the two prize men-of-war, where they are all refitting. Great damage has been done to the English coal trade, and four hundred prisoners have been taken, which will more than redeem the rest of our people from their captivity in England if we can get them safe from Holland to France; but I suppose the English will endeavor to intercept us and recover their ships, if possible.

With great esteem for yourself and the committee, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to Huntington, President of Congress.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 19, 1779.

SIR: I had in Paris an opportunity of procuring information concerning the British whale fishery on the coast of Brazil which it is proper to communicate to Congress, that if any advantage can be made of it the opportunity may not be lost.

The last year and the year before the English carried on this fishery to a very great advantage off the River Plate, in South America, in the latitude of thirty-five degrees south and from thence to forty degrees, just on the edge of soundings, off and on, as the sailors express it, and about longitude sixty-five degrees from London. They had about seventeen vessels in this fishery, which all sailed from London in the months of September and October; all the officers and men Americans from Nantucket and Cape Cod, two or three from Rhode Island, and one from Long Island. Four or five of these vessels went to Greenland,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 602.

to which place they sail yearly the last of February or the beginning of March.

The year before last there was published in the English newspapers a letter from the lords of the admiralty to Dennis de Bredt, in Coleman street, informing him that a convoy should be appointed to the Brazil fleet; but this I had certain information was a forgery, calculated merely to deceive American privateers, and no convoy actually went or was appointed either last year or the year before, although the imposture was repeated both times, and will no doubt be renewed this.

For the capture or destruction of a fishery so wholly defenseless, not one of the vessels having any arms, a single frigate, or indeed a privateer of four and twenty guns, would be sufficient. The beginning of December would be the best time to proceed from Boston or Philadelphia, because the frigate would then find the whaling vessels nearly loaded. The cargoes of bone and oil are very valuable, and at least four hundred and fifty of the best kind of seamen would be taken out of the hands of the English and might be gained into the American service. Most of the officers and men wish well to this country, and would gladly be in its service if they could be delivered from that they are engaged in. Whenever the English men-of-war or privateers have taken an American vessel they have given to all the whalemen found among the crew, by order of government, their choice, either to go on board a man-of-war and fight against their country, or into the whale fishery. Such numbers have chosen the latter as have made the crews of seventeen vessels.

I thought it my duty to communicate this, that if so profitable a branch of commerce and so valuable a nursery of seamen can be taken from the English it may done. I prevailed with my colleagues last year to represent these facts to his excellency M. de Sartine, but it appears that his majesty's service would not admit of any enterprise from France in consequence of it. Since my return I have represented them to the council of this state, but whether any thing can be done by them after the disaster at Penobscot I doubt. If Congress should not deem it consistent with the public service to send a frigate upon this service, nothing will be lost but the trouble of this letter.

I have the honor to congratulate your excellency on your advancement to the chair, and to subscribe myself, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *October* 19, 1779.

I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 14th instant relating to the claim of François Vermeille to be paid wages and prize money due to him from Captain Cunningham,

* MSS. Dep. of State.

commander of the *Revenge* privateer. I find on inquiry that the said Vermeille and several other French sailors who said they had belonged to that vessel, having been a long time imprisoned in England, were exchanged by the last cartel.

When they passed through this place on their return to Dunkirk I gave them some money to help them on their journey, and advised them to apply to Mr. Coffin, our present agent there, who I supposed could inform them who it was that did the business of equipping Captain Cunningham, and must therefore know what men were shipped, on what terms, what they had received in advance, and what prizes were taken (of all which I was totally ignorant), and by that means ascertain their claims, in which I desired Mr. Coffin to assist them, so that I might take the proper means of obtaining for them what is their due. Mr. Coffin wrote me a letter in answer to my request, of which I enclose a copy. Mr. Deane and Mr. Hodge, who were concerned in that enterprise, are neither of them at present in France, but Mr. Deane is soon expected here. Captain Conyngham is now a prisoner in England, but I hope will soon be exchanged and appear here. Nothing is more just than that these men should be paid what is really due to them; but as I had no concern in the affair and never saw any account of the prizes taken and know nothing of the agreement made with the sailors, it is impossible for me to adjust their claims. All I can do is to communicate them to the proper persons and solicit, which I shall do warmly, that justice be done.

With great respect, etc.,

Huntington, President of Congress, to John Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 20, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit you herewith enclosed two commissions, wherein you are authorized and appointed minister plenipotentiary from these United States to negotiate treaties of peace and commerce with Great Britain, accompanied with instructions in each case for your government in the execution of those several commissions. For your further information and benefit are enclosed copies of the instructions to the honorable Benjamin Franklin and John Jay, esq., our ministers plenipotentiary at the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

Also two acts of Congress of the 4th and 15th instant, ascertaining your salary and making provision for your subsistence on your arrival in France.

The nature and importance of the trust committed to your charge will, I persuade myself, engage your immediate attention, and induce you to undertake the service and embark for France without loss of time.

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 119.

Wishing you a prosperous voyage and success in your embassy, I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and regard, your humble servant,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

P. S.—The Hon. Francis Dana, esq., is appointed your secretary.

Franklin to Austin.*

PASSY, *October* 20, 1779.

SIR: I received your several favors of June 10, July 12, and 27. It gave me pleasure to hear of your safe arrival in your native country, and I am obliged to you for the intelligence your letters contain, which I hope you will continue, and for the newspapers. This campaign in Europe has not been so active as was expected, owing to contrary winds and other accidents, which a long time prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, and afterward the meeting with that of the English. But something may yet be done before winter. The American flag has, however, disturbed the British coasts, interrupted their home trade a good deal, and alarmed them with apprehensions of descents in different places. Our little squadron, under Commodore Jones, has also lately taken two of their men-of-war and brought them into Holland with near four hundred prisoners, which will be a means I hope of delivering the rest of our countrymen who are confined in English prisons. Here is nothing worth your acceptance that can be proposed to you. I wish you success in any business you may undertake,

Being with much regard, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

My grandson presents his respects.

J. Adams to Huntington, President of Congress.†

BRAINTREE, *October* 20, 1779.

SIR: M. Schweighauser, of Nantes, who is a native of Switzerland, observing me as I was one day at his house looking with some attention upon a stamp of the heroic deed of William Tell, asked me to take a few of them to America as a present from him, which I agreed to do with pleasure. He accordingly sent on board the frigate a box, containing, as he told me, one stamp for each State, neatly framed and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 468.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 604.

glazed, which he desired me to present to Congress as a small token of his respect. The box has never been opened, but I hope the pictures are safe; and with permission of Congress I will deliver it to the navy board in Boston, to be by them transmitted to the delegates from the several States, or to their order.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to President of Congress.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 21, 1779.

SIR: So many advantages might be derived to the United States in the conduct of the war, in furnishing the army and navy, in augmenting the value or at least in preventing the further depreciation of their currency, in lowering the prices of goods, in supplying the wants of the people, and in preventing murmurs and discontents, that I have ever thought it of very great importance, in some way or other, to procure convoys to their trade to and from the West India Islands and Europe.

France and Spain have such advantages of England in carrying on the war in the American seas, and would receive such assistance from our commerce, privateers, and growing navy, that I have ever thought it a main principle of their policy to maintain a constant and decided superiority of naval power in the West Indies and upon the coasts of this continent. I would therefore, with due deference to the superior wisdom of Congress, beg leave to submit to their consideration whether it would not be expedient for them, either by a direct representation from themselves to the French and Spanish courts, or by instructions to their plenipotentiary ministers, to convince those courts that their true interest lies in adopting this plan. It is certainly their interest, reasoning upon French and Spanish principles simply, to conduct this war in such a manner as has a tendency in the shortest time and with the least expense to diminish the power of their enemies and increase their own. Now I would submit it to Congress whether it may not be easily demonstrated that these ends may be obtained the most easily in this way. A representation from Congress, either directly or by instructions to their ministers, showing what assistance in provisions, artists, materials, vessels of war, privateers, land armies, or in any other way, France and Spain might depend upon receiving from these States, either for money or as the exertions of an ally, would have great weight.

Much has already been said to the French ministry upon these subjects, and not wholly without effect; yet much more may be said to greater advantage and perhaps to better purpose, for they are extremely well disposed to do what can be made to appear to them for the advantage of the common cause.

I have the honor to enclose some papers on this subject. One is a

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 604.

letter from the commissioners to his excellency the Count de Vergennes, which he received the beginning of January last; * the other is a letter from me to the Marquis de la Fayette † in February, with his answer.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.‡

PARIS, *October* 21, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: It may be material for Congress to know that all disposition in the court of England towards peace seems at present to be removed. The appointment of Lord Bute's son upon an extraordinary embassy some time since to the court of Turin, announced a desire in the English cabinet to engage mediators, and the late ambassador from Spain to the court of London had taken up his residence here, apparently to embrace the more readily the opportunity of negotiating which that mediator might offer. But the embassy of Lord Mountstewart is talked of no more, and Count d'Almadovar has within these few days quitted this place entirely and returned to Madrid.

It is no new alliance, as far as is known, that has inspired this confidence and hardiness into the British ministry. Probably they flatter themselves that, as this campaign has passed away without their suffering much from the great superiority of the combined fleet and the land armaments prepared against them, they will continue to be equally fortunate. I compute that, with the supplies for the next campaign, their debt must amount fully to 200,000,000.

The siege of Gibraltar goes on in form both by sea and land, nor does there seem any probability of their saving that important place.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to the Commercial Committee of Congress.§

PASSY, *October* 21, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I received the honor of yours, dated the 21st July, containing an extract from Mr. Pollock's letter to you, in which he mentions his drafts on Mr. Delap for 10,897 dollars and his expectation that in case of any difficulty I will see those bills paid. I should certainly do everything in my power to support the credit of the States and every person acting under their authority; but I have been so exhausted by great and

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* See the Correspondence of the Commissioners in France, vol. 1, p. 366.

† See above, p. 216. The answer of M. de la Fayette is missing.—SPARKS.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 572.

§ MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 469.

unexpected drafts and expenses that I am glad those bills have never been proposed to me, as I could not have taken upon myself to pay them, and I beg that you would not in future have any dependence of that kind upon me without knowing beforehand from me that I shall be able to pay what is desired. I hope you will excuse my giving this caution, which is forced from me by the distress and anxiety such occasional and unforeseen demands have occasioned me.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to a Friend in America.*

PASSY, *October* 25, 1779.

I received your kind letter of February 14, the contents of which gave me a kind of melancholy satisfaction. The greater ease you will now enjoy makes some compensation in my mind for the uncomfortable circumstance that brought it about. I hope you will have no more affliction of that kind, and that after so long and stormy a day your evening may be serene and pleasant. The account you have had of the vogue I am in here has some truth in it. Perhaps few strangers in France have had the good fortune to be so universally popular; but the story you allude to, mentioning "mechanic rust," is totally without foundation. But one is not to expect being always in fashion. I hope, however, to preserve, while I stay, the regard you mention of the French ladies; for their society and conversation, when I have time to enjoy them, are extremely agreeable.

The enemy have been very near you indeed. When only at the distance of a mile you must have been much alarmed. We have given them a little taste of this disturbance upon their own coasts this summer; and, though we have burnt none of their towns, we have occasioned a good deal of terror and bustle in many of them, as they imagined our Commodore Jones had four thousand troops with him for descents.

I am glad to learn that my dear sister continued in good health and good spirits, and that she had learnt not to be afraid of her friend, fresh air.

With the tenderest affection, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

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8 Sparks' Franklin, 401; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 470.

J. Adams to Henry Laurens.*

BRAINTREE, *October* 25, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 4th of this month gave me great pleasure, but I am afraid that you and some others of my friends felt more for me in the awkward situation you mention than I did for myself, though I can not say that I was wholly insensible. I could compare it to nothing but Shakspeare's idea of Ariel, wedged in the middle of a rifted oak, for I was sufficiently sensible that it was owing to an unhappy division in Congress; and pains enough were taken to inform me that one side were for sending me to Spain and the other to Holland, so that I was flattered to find that neither side had any decisive objection against trusting me, and that the apparent question was only *where.*

That I was sent without the least solicitation of mine, directly or indirectly, is certainly true; and I had such formidable ideas of the sea and of British men-of-war, such diffidence in my own qualifications to do service in that way, and such uncertainty of the reception I should meet, that I had little inclination to adventure. That I went against my interest is most undoubtedly so, for I never yet served the public without losing by it. I was not, however, as you suppose, kept unemployed. I had business enough to do, as I could easily convince you. There is a great field of business there, and I could easily show you that I did my share of it. There is so much to do and so much difficulty to do it well, that I am rejoiced to find a gentleman of such abilities, principles, and activity as Colonel Laurens undoubtedly is, without a compliment, appointed to assist in it.† I most sincerely hope for his friendship and an entire harmony with him, for which reason I should be very happy in his company in the passage, or in an interview with him as soon as possible in Europe. He will be in a delicate situation, but not so much so as I was; and plain sense, honest intentions, and common civility will, I think, be sufficient to secure him and do much good.

Your kind compliments on my safe return and most honorable re-election are very obliging. I have received no commission, nor instructions, nor any particular information of the plan; but from the advice and information from you and several other of my friends at Philadelphia and here, I shall make no hesitation to say that, notwithstanding the delicacy and danger of this commission, I suppose I shall accept it without delay, and trust events to Heaven, as I have been long used to do.

The convulsions at Philadelphia are very affecting and alarming, but

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 605.

† This alludes to the appointment of Colonel John Laurens to be secretary to the minister plenipotentiary in France (Secret journals, vol. 2, p. 261). It does not appear that Colonel Laurens accepted the appointment. He was the son of Henry Laurens, to whom this letter from Mr. Adams is addressed.—SPARKS.

not entirely unexpected to me. The state of parties and the nature of their government have a long time given me disagreeable apprehensions. But I hope they will find some remedy. Methods will be found to feed the army, but I know of none to clothe it without convoys to trade, which Congress, I think, will do well to undertake, and persuade France and Spain to undertake as soon as possible. Your packets for your friends in Europe will give me pleasure, and shall be forwarded with care and dispatch.

With great truth and regard, I am, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the President of Congress.*

OFF REEDY ISLAND, *October* 25, 1779.

SIR: I received at Chester the copies of the resolves you did me the honor to enclose me, and shall punctually comply with your request, by forwarding them, as soon as I arrive, to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Johnson. I am sorry that the business with respect to the latter is left in its present state, because there are very few men who neglect a certain and profitable occupation to engage in another, where they are sure of offending, without an equal certainty of an adequate reward for their trouble and impartiality.

I am much obliged to you for your good wishes, though I must candidly own they would be still more agreeable accompanied by a ship of the line, for we are informed that the *Roebuck* and *Romulus* are waiting to intercept us, and were they animated would, like the Death and Sin of Milton, "bless their lucky Mars destined to that good hour." I beg you to make the proper compliments for me to the gentlemen of your family. [How strangely am I rusticated on the wing to the regions of politesse, and yet forget to mention the ladies. This you will naturally do for me, or palliate this sin of omission, with many others of, sir, your most obedient servant.]†

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Franklin to Le Brun.‡

PASSY, *October* 25, 1779.

SIR: Mr. Arthur Lee has not been recalled, the States in Congress being equally divided on the question; but he has mentioned to me his intention of returning immediately to America, as no certain provision has been made for his support in Spain.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 15, with verbal corrections and omissions.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State.

Captain Conyingham was sent to England in irons, to be tried for his life as a pirate. The Congress ordered some English prisoners of equal rank to be put in irons, by way of reprisal, to abide his fate. Since his arrival in England his irons have been taken off and he is treated as the other prisoners, and will probably soon be exchanged. Here are a number of Frenchmen that had served with him, and being put on board one of his prizes afterwards carried into England, were kept prisoners there till lately, when he exchanged them. They demand their wages and a share of his prizes. I shall be obliged to Messrs. de Lagraner for any information they may be pleased to send me. What has been done with the produce of these prizes sold in Spain.

With great respect, etc.

Instructions to Henry Laurens.*

IN CONGRESS, *October* 26, 1779.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on instructions to the person appointed to negotiate a loan in Holland; whereupon

Resolved, That he be instructed to borrow a sum not exceeding ten millions of dollars at the lowest rate possible, not exceeding six per cent. per annum.

Resolved, That he be empowered to employ, on the best terms in his power, some proper mercantile or banking house in the city of Amsterdam, or elsewhere, in the United Provinces of the Low Countries to assist in the procuring of loans, to receive and pay the money borrowed, to keep the accounts, and to pay the interest.

That he be also empowered to pledge the faith of the United States, by executing such securities or obligations for the payment of the money as he may think proper; and also that the interest shall not be reduced nor the principal paid, during the term for which the same shall have been borrowed, without the consent of the lenders or their representatives.

That he be directed to give notice to Congress of any loan made by him or under his authority, and to direct the house by him employed to accept and pay the bills of exchange which may be drawn under the authority of Congress.†

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 709.

† For an account of the appointment of Henry Laurens to "negotiate a foreign loan," and also as a "commissioner to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce, with the United Provinces of the Low Countries," see the secret journals of Congress, vol. 2, pp. 283, 285, 290, 314, 320.

Franklin to Cooper.*

PASSY, *October* 27, 1779.

DEAR SIR: It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you. The intelligence you were used to favor me with was often useful to our affairs. I hope I have not lost your friendship together with your correspondence. Our excellent Mr. Winthrop I see is gone. He was one of those old friends for the sake of whose society I wished to return and spend the small remnant of my days in New England. A few more such deaths will make me a stranger in my own country. The loss of friends is the tax a man pays for living long himself. I find it a heavy one.

You will see by the newspapers that we have given some disturbance to the British coasts this year. One little privateer out of Dunkirk, the *Black Prince*, with a Congress commission and a few Americans, mixed with the Irish and English smugglers, went round their islands and took thirty-seven prizes in less than three months. The little squadron of Commodore Jones, under the same commission and colors, has alarmed those coasts exceedingly, occasioned a good deal of internal expense, done great damage to their trade, and taken two frigates, with four hundred prisoners. He is now with his principal prizes in Holland, where he is pretty well received, but must quit that neutral country as soon as his damages are repaired. The English watch with a superior force his coming out; but we hope he will manage so as to escape their vigilance. Few actions at sea have demonstrated such steady, cool, determined bravery as that of Jones in taking the *Serapis*.

There has been much rumor this summer throughout Europe of an approaching peace through the mediation of Russia and Holland, but it is understood to arise from the invention of stockjobbers and others interested in propagating such opinions. England seems not to be yet sufficiently humbled to acknowledge the independence of the American States or to treat with them on that footing, and our friends will not make a peace on any other. So we shall probably see another campaign.

By the invoices I have seen and heard of, sent hither with Congress interest bills of exchange to purchase the goods, it would seem that there is not so great a want of necessaries as of superfluities among our people. It is difficult to conceive that your distresses can be great when one sees that much the greatest part of that money is lavished in modes, and gewgaws, and tea! Is it impossible for us to become wiser, when by simple economy and avoiding unnecessary expenses we might more than defray the charge of the war? We export solid provision of all kinds, which is necessary for the sustenance of man, and we import fashions, luxuries, and trifles. Such trade may enrich the traders, but never the country.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 471.

The good-will of all Europe to our cause as being the cause of liberty, which is the cause of mankind, still continues, as does the universal wish to see the English pride humiliated and their power curtailed. Those circumstances are encouraging and give hopes of a happy issue; which may God grant, and that you, my friend, may live long a blessing to your country.

I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Vauguyon to John Paul Jones.*

THE HAGUE, *October* 29, 1779.

SIR: I ought to advise you that M. de Sartine has informed me that he has renounced the intentions that I had been charged to communicate to you, and that you will find at Dunkirk orders for your final destination. I learn with much pleasure that the necessary repairs of the ships which you command will be completed immediately, and that you have received all the assistance you could and ought to expect. I desire very earnestly that success shall again reward your valor. No person will be more rejoiced at it than myself.

Believe me, with the sincerest sentiments, etc.

THE DUC DE LA VAUGUYON.

Yorke to the States-General.†

THE HAGUE, *October* 29, 1779.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: In thanking your high mightinesses for the orders your humanity has dictated in relation to the wounded who were on board two vessels of the king, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, I only discharge the orders of his majesty in renewing the most strong and urgent demand for the seizure and restitution of said vessels, as well as for the enlargement of their crews, who have been seized by the pirate Paul Jones, a Scotchman, a rebellious subject and state criminal.

The sentiments of equity and justice of your high mightinesses leave no room to doubt that, in taking into a more mature deliberation all the circumstances of this affair, you will recognize readily the justice of a demand founded as well on the most solemn treaties, which have subsisted more than a century between the crown of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as on the principles of the law of nations and the custom of friendly and allied states.

The stipulations of the treaty of Breda, of the 31st of July, 1667,

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 276.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 276.

confirmed and renewed expressly in that of 1716 and in all the subsequent ones, are too clear and incontestable in this respect not to be felt in all their force.

The king considered it derogatory to his dignity, as well as to that of your high mightinesses, to expose the particulars of a case so notorious as that in question, or to cite to the ancient friends and allies of his crown analogous examples of other princes and states.

I shall confine myself to the remark that the placard of your high mightinesses, in prescribing to the captains of foreign ships of war to show their letters of marque or commissions, authorize you, according to the general custom of admiralties, to treat as pirates those whose letters are found to be illegal for not being issued by a sovereign power.

The character of Paul Jones, and all the circumstances of the affair, can not by their notoriety be unknown to your high mightinesses. Europe has her eyes fixed on your resolution. Your high mightinesses know too well the value of good faith not to give an example of it on this important occasion. The least deviation from a rule so sacred, in weakening friendship among neighbors, produces often unfortunate consequences.

The king has always made it his pride to cultivate the friendship of your high mightinesses. His majesty persists steadfastly in the same sentiments; but the English nation does not think itself bound by any of its proceedings to have its citizens detained prisoners in a port of the republic by an outlaw, a subject of the same country, and who enjoys the liberty of which they are deprived.

It is for all these reasons, and many others equally solid, which can not escape the great penetration and sagacity of your high mightinesses, that the undersigned hopes to receive a ready and favorable answer to the above, conformable to the just expectation of the king, his master, and of the British nation.

JOSEPH YORKE.

John Paul Jones to Lieutenant-Colonel Weibert.*

NOVEMBER 1, 1779.

Their high mightinesses the States-General of Holland have granted permission for us to land on the Island of Texel a number of wounded British prisoners of war now in our hands, to guard them by our American soldiers in the fort of that island, with the drawbridges hauled up or let down at our discretion, and to remove them again from thence to our ships at our free will and pleasure, and dispose of them afterwards as though they had not been landed. Therefore you are hereby appointed governor-general over the wounded and the soldiers,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 278, with verbal changes.

etc., that are destined this day to conduct them there, until further orders.

These wounded prisoners are to be supported and provided with good surgeons and medicine, and with necessary attendance, at the expense of the United States. The commissary of the admiralty, who resides on the Texel, has undertaken, by our orders, to furnish you with the necessary provisions; and surgeons, medicine, and bedding, etc., are sent from the squadron. In short, these prisoners, together with such other sick and wounded as we may hereafter see fit to send to your care in that fort on the Texel, are to be treated with all possible tenderness and humanity. And you are to take care that no person under your command may give any cause of complaint whatever to the subjects or government of this country; but, on the contrary, to behave towards them with the utmost complaisance and civility.

For which this shall be your order.

Given on board the American ship of war the *Serapis*, at anchor in the road of Texel, November 1, 1779.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

John Paul Jones to the Duc de la Vauguyon.*

TEXEL, *November* 4, 1779.

MY LORD: This morning the commandant of the road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship. He had before him on the table a letter, which he said was from the Prince of Orange. He questioned me very closely whether I had a French commission, and if I had, he almost insisted upon seeing it. Cet avis donné au commencement n'étoit plus de saison depuis admission de l'escadre sous Pavillon Americaine [*sic*]. In conformity to your advice, I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the *Bon Homme Richard*, I feared that it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that if it was really lost it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate of it from France. The commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him that, as there are eight of the enemy's ships laying wait for me at the south entrance and four more at the north entrance of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force; but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

I should be very happy, my lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago if I had met with common assistance; but for a fortnight past I have every day expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns, and I am last night only informed that it can not be had without I send up water

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 278, with verbal changes.

casks. The provision, too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from The Hague is not yet sent down, and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making. None of the iron work that was ordered for the *Serapis* is yet completed, so that I am even to this hour in want of hinges to hang the lower gun ports. My officers and men lost their clothes and beds in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and they have as yet got no supply. The bread that has been twice a week sent down from Amsterdam to feed my people has been, literally speaking, rotten; and the consequence is, that they are falling sick. It is natural also that they should be discontented while I am not able to tell them that they will be paid the value of their property in the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* if either or both of them should be lost or taken after sailing from hence.

Thus you see, my lord, that my prospects are far from pleasing. I have but few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorize me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, etc., or money to buy them with, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humor. In the mean time, I will send a vessel or two out to reconnoiter the offing and to bring me word. Whatever may be the consequence of my having put into this harbor, I must observe that it was done contrary to my opinion, and I consented to it only because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it.

I am under a very singular obligation to you, my lord, for your kind letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 29th of last month. It shall be my ambition to get clear of my present embarrassment, and to merit, what I so much esteem, the good opinion of your excellency and of the court by my future services in support of the common cause.

I am, etc.,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

BRAINTREE, *November* 4, 1779.

SIR: I had yesterday the honor of receiving your letter of the 20th of October, enclosed with two commissions, appointing me minister plenipotentiary from the United States to negotiate peace and commerce with Great Britain, together with instructions for my government in the execution of these commissions, copies of instructions to the ministers plenipotentiary at Versailles and Madrid, and two acts of Congress of the 4th and 15th of October.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 607, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 120.

Peace is an object of such vast importance, the interests to be adjusted in the negotiations to obtain it are so complicated and so delicate, and the difficulty of giving even general satisfaction is so great, that I feel myself more distressed at the prospect of executing the trust than at the thought of leaving my country and again encountering the danger of the seas and of enemies. Yet when I reflect on the general voice in my favor, and the high honor that is done me by this appointment, I feel the warmest sentiments of gratitude to Congress, and shall make no hesitation to accept it, and devote myself without reserve or loss of time to discharge the duties of it. My success, however, may depend in a very great degree on the intelligence and instructions that I may receive from time to time from Congress and on the punctuality with which several articles in my instructions may be kept secret. It shall be my most earnest endeavor to transmit to Congress the most constant and exact information in my power of whatever may occur and to conceal those instructions which depend in any measure on my judgment. And I hope I need not suggest to Congress the necessity of communicating to me as early as possible their commands from time to time, and of keeping all the discretionary articles an impenetrable secret; a suggestion, however, that the constitution of that sovereignty which I have the honor to represent, might excuse.

As the frigate has been some time waiting, I shall embark in eight or ten days at furthest. Your excellency will please to present my most dutiful respects to Congress, and accept my thanks for the polite and obliging manner in which you have communicated their commands.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *November* 6, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: The campaign in Europe seems to be concluded, and the resolution of the enemy unabated. The siege of Gibraltar continues.

I am yet without any instructions for Spain or overtures from that court relative to the conclusion of a treaty. I am satisfied that the same means have been employed, and by the same persons, to injure me there as here, with what success my inquiries have not yet been able to discover. By the advice of those in whose knowledge and integrity I can most confide, among whom is the late ambassador from this court now a minister, I have not entered into any vindication of myself to the Spanish minister.

Disagreeable as it is for me to remain here after what has passed, it is, in my best judgment, more proper than going thither without definite instructions, and without new credentials to show that the calum-

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 572.

nies of my enemies have not withdrawn from me the confidence of Congress, which by no means appears from my *only being not recalled.* I must, therefore, entreat Congress to decide distinctly upon the accusations that have been brought against me, and either declare them unjust or commit the public business to a fitter person, and give me leave and leisure to vindicate my character to my country and to the world.

Unless a demand on the part of the Spanish court should make it necessary I will not hazard the public interest and my own honor in undertaking the negotiation uninstructed, unvindicated, and unsupported. Is it possible that any one gentleman in Congress can help feeling the unexampled cruelty of leaving me in such a situation?

Uncertain as the decisions of all public bodies are, yet conscious that there was not any colorable pretense for impeaching my conduct, I could not but flatter myself that the last dispatches would have brought an explicit censure of Congress against the indecent attempts that have been made to injure it; insomuch that I thought it my duty to consult this court through your minister here upon the propriety of my moving the court of Spain on the negotiation with which I was intrusted, so that I might avoid giving offense to that court by my silence and inactivity, and yet receive in time your final instructions and a renewed assurance of your confidence.

Though I have constantly transmitted to Congress triplicate copies of the invoices and bills of lading which account for the expenditure of the small sum of public money that was in my hands, yet as the order of the 6th of August is general, I have had triplicate copies made out of the whole, which, when there is a proper person to authenticate them, will show how the money has been expended. With regard to the funds with which I was jointly intrusted with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, my absence in Spain and Germany, with the orders for the application of a great part, which my colleagues thought proper to give without consulting me, disenables me from furnishing any further vouchers than the accounts of the banker and of Mr. Williams, which I have also transmitted to Congress.

I perceive by the journals that a committee is appointed for framing a plan of a foreign loan. It is my duty to say that there is not the least probability, in the present situation of things, of obtaining any adequate loan in Europe, and to beseech Congress not to let the vain expectation of that divert their attention from trying every resource at home. It is necessary that the impressions to our discredit which have arisen from the unsuccessful attempts that have been already made should be allowed to wear off and some favorable event occur, such as the enemy being obliged to draw off their troops, before it will be possible to succeed in such a plan. In the mean time the repetition of ineffectual attempts will only debase your credit more, and especially if they are accompanied with the offer of more than ordinary interest, which ever

augments the suspicion of the insecurity of the principal and that th borrowers are themselves conscious of their insufficiency.

It gives me pain to mention what regards myself so often; but Co gress will permit me to repeat, that if it should not please them to reca me it is absolutely necessary that some provision should be made for th support of my mission independent of Dr. Franklin. If, in the mea time, the State of Virginia should reimburse me what I have advance for them, that will be a fund, and I will immediately give Congre advice of it. I must also beg that Congress will fix a sum for m expenses, both that I may not exceed what is thought reasonable, n have my time and attention employed in keeeping accurate accoun of expenses, which I never did do, nor ever shall to my own satisfactio or I believe to that of any one else. So that if this is expected it wi expose me to censure, which I wish to avoid.

The little time that remains from daily attention to public busine and in collecting and digesting what relates to it I wish to devote private correspondence and reading. I have, therefore, thought always sufficient to proportion my expenses in general to my situati and means, without a minute attention to them in detail. Whatev Congress fixes as reasonable will be the rule of my conduct, and it wi spare both them and myself a great deal of, as I conceive, unnecessa trouble.

I can not learn with any certainty what probability there is of a other powers entering next year into the present war. On that subje your minister here, as his situation gives him the means, will furni you with earlier and surer information than it is possible for me obtain. But the following are nearly the plans of the French a British cabinets for the next campaign. Fourteen ships of seventy-fo guns and eight thousand troops are to be sent from hence to the We Indies. The twelve expected home with Count d'Estaing being refitte with eight new ones, added to the sixteen remaining of those whi form the present fleet, and fifteen Spanish ships, will make fifty-o sail, which are to convoy fifty thousand troops from Brest, where th are all to be collected, to whatever part of the coast of England is fix upon for a descent. By this disposition of the fleet and army it is e pected that the delay and disappointments which render this campai abortive will be avoided. The bulk of the Spanish fleet is to secure t Mediterranean and press Gibraltar, while the army continues its a proaches by land.

The English cabinet are resolved to send all the troops they c possibly collect, which they say will amount to eight or ten thousa against you, and stand upon the defensive at home. Their situati however, is not a little embarrassing. The Irish nation are so genera determined upon having a free trade, that the court was obliged to all it to be inserted in the address of both houses that a free trade is th right and they must have it. To support this there are, besides t

unanimous voice of the people, upwards of fifteen thousand men in volunteer companies actually in arms without the permission or control of government. To delay or refuse the granting of free trade will endanger a general and most formidable insurrection in that kingdom; to grant it will produce commotions of no less magnitude in England, of which they have already had some fearful examples in and about Manchester. These insurrections, whenever they happen, will be exasperated by great and real distress; for the fact is that if it be refused to Ireland that country will be undone; and if it be granted the woolen and other manufactures of England will be ruined. In such a situation it is difficult to imagine a medium by which the violences will be prevented that must otherwise call for the troôps at home which they have destined for us.

In Scotland the discontent is such that a Highland regiment actually seized the castle of Edinburgh, and shut the gates against their officers. This mutiny has been quelled, but the spirit that produced it is not altered.

The inactivity of this campaign has left their credit unimpaired, and their fleets have generally got in safe from all quarters. They will, therefore, find money for the next campaign; but it is not probable that with all their efforts they will be able to equip a fleet equal to that which will go against them. Without some accident, therefore, they must either suffer the French army to land, or hazard an unequal combat, which, if they are overcome, will leave their coast at the mercy of the invaders. To add to their counsels, already enfeebled by the death of the only man of ability and business among them, Lord Suffolk, they have put Lord Stormont, the most insufficient man in the kingdom, into his place. Such is the present situation and prospect of things in Europe.

Congress will, I hope, consider that various events may change or delay the plans above stated, and not let it impeach the veracity of the intelligence that they are not executed. Much, for example, will depend upon Count d'Estaing's movements and success, which were not foreseen when these plans were formed. His expedition is entirely of his own planning, and therefore could not be taken into consideration here.

I enclose a copy of the Spanish ultimatum, which, by mistake, was omitted being sent some time ago. The following passage in the manifesto published by the court of Great Britain in answer to that of France seems to me a proof how little she herself expects from the war with us:

"Two years have not passed since the day the rebels declared their criminal resolution of shaking off the yoke of the mother country, and this term has been filled with the events of a bloody and obstinate war. Success has been balanced, but the army of the king, which occupies most important maritime cities, has continued to menace the interior provinces. The English flag predominates in all the American seas."

When all they can boast of, as the fruit of two years' bloody and ob stinate war, in which, though they do not choose to say it, all Europ knows they have expended forty millions of treasure and sixty thousan lives, is a balanced success, and the possession of a few maritime towns from whence they threaten us, it is plain enough that they themselve have not a hope of success. Their war, therefore, is a war of desperat vengeance, which nothing can justify.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

BRAINTREE, *November* 7, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to Congress a copy of the letter book of the commissioners at the court of Versailles during the time had the honor to be one of them. As the letter-book was kept by me and almost wholly in my handwriting, the minister plenipotentiary con sented that I should bring it home with me, leaving him a copy, whic was done.

As there may be many things in it which Congress may have occa sion to know, I have prevailed with Mr. Thaxter to copy it. I sha submit to the consideration of Congress whether he ought to hav any allowance for this service, and how much. As Mr. Thaxter wi accompany me to Europe in the character of my private secretary, Congress think proper to allow him anything for these copies I ca pay him in Europe if it is thought proper.

I chose to mention Mr. Thaxter's going with me to Congress becaus jealousies have arisen heretofore concerning private secretaries. M Thaxter is known to Congress, and I think I can safely confide in h fidelity, diligence, and discretion, and from the experience I have ha in Europe I am fully convinced that it is my duty to take with me som one of this character.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the Duc de la Vauguyon.†

HELDER, *November* 9, 1779.

SIR: To fulfill my promise, it is my duty by the first post to give in formation to your excellency that, in spite of the bad roads and dar nights, I arrived here this morning. I saw immediately M. Cottineau from whom here is a letter enclosed to your excellency. There was violent storm, which prevented me from going on board the *Serapi*

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 612.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 280.

Nevertheless, having found means to make known my arrival to the commodore, he came on shore this evening for half an hour only, in order that he might reach his ship again before night. He will send his boat to-morrow for me to breakfast with him, to converse longer on our affairs, and it may be to make a visit together to the vice-admiral.

In the mean time, I have already learnt that not only the commodore has not written anything at all on what has given us uneasiness, but even that he has not said anything of which they can make an authentic use; that he showed to M. Riemersma on his arrival, as well as to the other captains, his commission, which is American, not having any other; that he will give me a copy, with a declaration signed at the bottom by himself that he had shown it; and that, as to the cartel made between himself and Captain Pearson, they have had no other surety for its basis than the permission of this government to put on shore the wounded prisoners without changing in any manner their condition, having taken upon them besides, each one on his part, to engage their respective sovereigns. All, therefore, that I shall be able to do further in this respect will be to get signed by Mr. Jones the copy he sent me of this cartel.

The crowded inns leave me no place for a lodging but the house of a peasant, where I write this letter as I can. I fear that, notwithstanding the good-will of the commodore, he will not be in condition to depart in fifteen days; and on examining things closely, and comparing the complaints of one with those of another as to the delays, I find that the great and true cause is this bad roadstead, distant from Amsterdam twenty-five leagues by water.

The copy of the resolution of the 21st of October, which I have sent to the commodore, is a paper very necessary to him.

They will not be able longer to impose on him or spread snares for him. His way will be clear. He regrets only that it had not been sooner.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *November* 10, 1779.

DEAR SIR: My answer to the questions contained in the letter you have honored me with must be very short. I can only say that I know nothing before the order you mention, and I now know nothing of your reasons. I can therefore give no opinion, having no materials on which to form it.

A vessel from North America, arrived at Cadiz, reports that Count d'Estaing's fleet arrived off the capes of Virginia the 14th of September;

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

since which date we hear nothing of him, and this account seems not very certain.

American news there is none but what [letter-book *we see*] in the English papers. They talk of Clinton's going with a strong force to Charlestown. But possibly D'Estaing's arrival may prevent that, and I hope much good from his visit to our coasts. There are four strokes for him to make, New York, Rhode Island, Halifax, and Newfoundland. If he is really gone there; but perhaps he went to Jamaica.

General Prevost has certainly desired to be recalled. He complains much of having been neglected, and not furnished with the re-enforcements, and other aids and necessaries that he had required, and that had been promised to him. We are in the way of filling England with discontented generals and admirals.

Many, many thanks for your kindness to my grandson, and may God's blessing ever attend you.

With the sincerest esteem and affection, I am, etc.,

Vauguyon to Dumas.*

THE HAGUE, *November* 11, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter that you addressed to me the 9th of this month, and that of M. Cottineau, which was annexed. I learn with pleasure what you tell me relative to the object which induced me to urge your departure. I hope you will not delay to give me, in this respect, details yet more satisfactory and perfectly conformable to the intentions I have unfolded to you.

M. Cottineau represents to me the extreme inconvenience which results from the impossibility of putting on shore the sick and wounded among the prisoners.

I think it would be proper that you might see, with prudence and discretion, if it would not be possible to obtain permission of the admiralty. But it would be necessary, in order to ask it, to be very sure beforehand that you will not be refused.

You know the truth of my inviolable sentiments.

THE DUC DE LA VAUGUYON.

Dumas to Vauguyon.†

ON BOARD THE SERAPIS, *November* 11, 1779.

SIR: According to my letter of the day before yesterday, I was yesterday morning on board the *Serapis*. The weather was so thick in the evening that there was no chance of sending anything on shore tha

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 282.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 281.

night. The commodore and myself, with great difficulty, went to make a visit to the Dutch vice-admiral, in which all that has been said was so well cleared up, that nothing can (at least on our part) cause a change in the state of things as they were after the 21st of October. The result of the visit is, in substance, that they do not much approve the expedient of providing two different flags, in order to make use of one in default of the other; that they rather preferred that the whole squadron should have been entered under the flag and commission of France, as not being liable to any difficulties; but since what had been done could not be otherwise, they desire and expect that the squadron shall depart with the first fair wind; as also that there shall not be in this roadstead any transportation of prisoners on board the king's cutters that are here; which the commodore promised.

To-day we have been with M. Ricot on board one of the cutters, where we found the two captains, Messrs. de la Laune and de la Bourdonnoie, who received us with all the cordiality and manifested all the good-will imaginable. They do for us what they can, and M. de la Laune will inform your excellency of it.

I hope to be able to depart for Amsterdam the morning after to-morrow, if I can, without danger, be put on shore to-morrow, with the satisfaction of having by my journey hither cleared up and much accelerated affairs—in a word, of having been useful. I see no possibility of being able to write to Dr. Franklin. He can not, therefore, know anything, nor consequently the minister, except what your excellency shall judge worthy to be communicated in your dispatches, of the contents of my letters, etc.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Vauguyon to Dumas.*

THE HAGUE, *November* 12, 1779.

SIR: I have just received orders from the minister of the marine which I must communicate to you, and it is necessary that you return here immediately. You will please to say to Mr. Jones that he ought not to set sail before I have imparted to him the instructions which have been sent, as it will be necessary to suspend his departure till a new order, but not to lose an instant in hastening the repairs.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

THE DUC DE LA VAUGUYON.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 282.

Dumas to Vauguyon.*

NOVEMBER 13, 1779.

SIR: Yesterday I was at the Texel, with the commodore, to adjust affairs with a commissioner of the admiralty as to the light-house dues, so as to satisfy everybody; but this morning the Dutch vice-admiral sought me, in his boat, to repeat to me what he had already said to the commodore, that he ought to depart with the first good wind; in consequence, I have been with Captain Ricot and the commandant of the *Scarborough* on board of the French cutter to adjust things, of which I will give a verbal account to your excellency.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS

Reception of the French Minister by Congress.†

IN CONGRESS, *November* 17, 1779.

According to order the Chevalier de la Luzerne was introduced by Mr. Matthews and Mr. Morris, the two members appointed for that purpose, and being seated in his chair, the secretary of the embassy delivered to the President a sealed letter from his most Christian majesty in the terms following:

THE KING OF FRANCE TO CONGRESS.

To our dear great friends and allies the President and members of the general Congress of the United States of North America.

Very dear great friends and allies:

The bad state of health of M. Gerard, our minister plenipotentiary to you, having laid him under the necessity of applying for a recall, we have made choice of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, a colonel in our service, to supply his place. We have no doubt that he will be agreeable to you, and that you will repose entire confidence in him. We pray you to give full credit to all he shall say to you on our behalf, especially when he shall assure you of the sincerity of our wishes for your prosperity, as well as the constancy of our affection and our friendship for the United States in general and for each one of them in particular.

We pray God to keep you, our very dear great friends and allies, in His holy protection.

Done at Versailles the 31st of May, 1779.

Your good friend and ally,

LOUIS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 283.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 651.

The ceremonial of the introduction of M. de la Luzerne to Congress was the same as had been adopted in the case of M. Gerard.—SPARKS.

The minister being announced, he addressed Congress in the following speech:

[Translation.]

GENTLEMEN: The wisdom and courage which have founded your republic, the prudence which presides over your deliberations, your firmness in execution, the skill and valor displayed by your generals and soldiers during the course of the war, have attracted the admiration and regard of the whole world.

The king, my master, was the first to acknowledge a liberty acquired amidst so many perils and with so much glory. Since treaties dictated by moderation have fixed upon a permanent basis the union of France with the American republic, his majesty's whole conduct must have demonstrated how dearly he cherishes your prosperity, and his firm resolution to maintain your independence by every means in his power. The events which have successively unfolded themselves show the wisdom of those measures. A powerful ally has acknowledged the justice of those motives which had compelled the king to take arms, and we may reasonably hope for the most solid success from the operations of the united fleets. The naval force of the enemy has been diverted from your continent, compelled to flee to the defense of their own possessions. All their efforts have been too feeble to prevent our troops from conquering a considerable part. Other British islands feared the same lot, when the French general stopped the current of his success to seek new dangers here. In conforming to his majesty's intentions, he has acceded to his own inclinations, to the desires of the French, and to the request of the Americans, who invited him to join his arms to those of your republic. Events have not completely answered his courage and his efforts, but his blood and that of my countrymen, shed in a cause so dear to us, has cemented the basis on which the alliance is founded, and impressed on it a character as indelible as are all those by which it is already consecrated.

That alliance, gentlemen, becomes daily more indissoluble, and the benefits which the two nations derive from it have given it the most perfect consistency.

The relations of commerce between the subjects of the king, my master, and the inhabitants of the thirteen United States continually multiply, and we may already perceive, in spite of those obstacles which embarrass the reciprocal communication, how natural it is, how advantageous it will be to the two nations, and all who participate in it, and how much the monopolizing spirit, the jealous attention and prohibitory edicts of the enemy to your freedom, have been prejudicial to your happiness. It is under these circumstances, gentlemen, that the king has been pleased to appoint me his minister plenipotentiary to your republic. You have seen in the letter which I had just now the honor to deliver from him fresh assurances of his friendship. I consider as the happiest circumstance of my life a mission, in the course of which

I am certain of fulfilling my duty when I labor for your prosperity, and I felicitate myself upon being sent to a nation whose interests are so intimately blended with our own, that I can be useful neither to France nor the American republic without rendering myself agreeable both to the one and the other.

It was certainly desirable that the affairs with which I am charged had remained in the hands of that enlightened minister whom I succeed and whose health compels him to return to France. I have not his abilities, but, like him, I have an unbounded zeal for the welfare and success of the common cause. Like him, I am directed to concur in everything which can be useful or agreeable to your republic. I have the same attachment to the people whom you, gentlemen, represent, and the same admiration of their conduct. I have the most fervent wish to give you the proof of it, and I hope by these different titles to merit your confidence and your esteem.

LUZERNE.

The translation of the foregoing speech being read to the house by the secretary of Congress, the President returned the following answer:

SIR: The early attention of our good friend and ally to these United States is gratefully felt by all their virtuous citizens, and we should be unfaithful representatives if we did not warmly acknowledge every instance of his regard, and take every opportunity of expressing the attachment of our constituents to treaties formed upon the purest principles.

His most Christian majesty in rendering himself a protector of the rights of mankind became entitled to assistance from the friends of man. This title could not but be recognized by a monarch whose diadem is adorned with equity and truth. That monarch, by joining his arms to those of our great ally, has given a fatal blow to the common enemy, and from the justice of the motives which unite the combined fleets we expect the most solid benefits will crown their operations. Nor can we doubt that other powers will rejoice to see that haughty nation humbled in proportion as they have been insulted by her presumptuous arrogance. We well know, and all the world must acknowledge, the moderation and friendship of the most Christian king in neglecting conquests which courted his acceptance for the benevolent pleasure of succoring his allies. In this, as in every other instance, we perceive his strict adherence to the principles of our defensive alliance. We are sensible of the zeal of the French general in executing his majesty's orders. We esteem his courage, we lament his wounds, and we respect that generous valor which has led your countrymen to contend with ours in the same common cause in the same field of glory—a noble emulation—which has poured out the blood of the two nations and mingled it together as a sacred pledge of perpetual union.

The consequences which have followed from the appearance of the French fleet upon our coasts, particularly by disconcerting the enemy's plans of operations and destroying a considerable part of their naval

force, demonstrate the wisdom of the measure. That they have not been still more beneficial is to be attributed to those incidents which, in the hand of Providence, determine all human events. But our disappointment is compensated by reflecting on the perfect harmony that subsisted between the generals and the troops of the two nations.

The prosperous course of this campaign gives a pleasing hope that the moment of peace may soon arrive, when the reciprocation of mutual good offices shall amply recompense our mutual labors and cares, and we doubt not but in that moment the commerce between the allied nations, now struggling under great inconveniences, will shoot forth with vigor and advantage, and happily demonstrate the injuries we once suffered from the restraints of our enemies.

While we lament, sir, the loss of your worthy predecessor, we are led, from your personal character, to the pleasing expectation that you will possess that confidence and esteem which he enjoyed. They are due to the servant of our benefactor. We are happy in his choice, and being thoroughly convinced of the intimate connection between the interests and views of the allied nations, we can not but persuade ourselves that the more attentively you shall perform your duty to your sovereign and the more sedulously you shall guard and promote the welfare of your country, the more agreeable and respectable you will render yourself to the citizens of America.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Vauguyon to Dumas.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 17, 1779.

SIR: They write me from The Hague that the states of Holland adopted yesterday, by a majority, a resolution to compel Mr. Jones to depart. I inform you of it that you may lose no time in returning to the Texel and executing the necessary arrangements.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

THE DUC DE LA VAUGUYON.

Deane to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 23, 1779.

SIR: As I have received no answer to my memorial of the 16th of August last, I conclude none will be given, and consequently that I am laid under the necessity of returning to Europe in the best manner I can and at my own expense.

I must confess that, when I reflect on the part I have acted and the returns made me for my services, I have nothing but the consciousness

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 283.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 157, with omissions and verbal changes.

of having done my duty to my country with zeal and integrity and of having been successful in the important affairs I engaged in to support me. Previous to my embarking, permit me to assure Congress that my respect for them as the representative body of these States is not lessened, nor my zeal for the service, prosperity, and happiness of my country abated by the treatment I have met with. The expense of time and money which I have suffered by my detention in this city, with the further expense I am now unavoidably forced to make, fall heavy on the small remains of a very moderate fortune; but as I go to vindicate what is dearer to me than either life or fortune, my honor and character, as the faithful servant of these States, and confident that in doing this I shall render essential services to my country, I cheerfully submit.

On the 26th of August last I received an order on the Continental treasurer, signed by Joseph Nourse, for ten thousand five hundred dollars said to be *in full consideration of my time and expenses during my attendance on Congress from the 4th of June*, 1778, *until the 6th day of August last.*

I mean not the least disrespect to that honorable body, nor do I feel the slightest emotions of resentment towards those of them who opposed the grant even of that sum to me, but the same feelings which prompt me to farther sacrifices forbid my acceptance of a sum so inadequate to my actual expenses, and confident that the day is not far distant in which I shall demonstrate not only that the public moneys and supplies from abroad have been at first obtained principally by my agency, but that the disposition of them, so far as depended on me, was made with the utmost possible economy and perfect integrity. I refer to that time the discussion of what recompense is due me for fourteen months' attendance in Philadelphia, in obedience to the orders of Congress, and for the other services I have been so fortunate as to render the United States. I have so often troubled Congress with my letters, and been so particular in them respecting my situation and affairs, that I need only to refer to them at this time, particularly to my letter of the 22d of May last, and to submit the whole to their wise and mature consideration.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect to your private as well as public character, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

Miralles to Congress.*

NOVEMBER 24, 1779.

Don Juan de Miralles, commissioned with sufficient authority by order from his excellency Don Diego Joseph Navarro, governor and captain-general of the island of Cuba, dated at the Havana, the 19th

* MSS. Dep. of State; see Miralles to French minister, Nov. 25, 1779, *infra*. The text shows that this paper was, in its English form, issued as such by Miralles.

and 22d of July last, proceeding from them that have been communicated to him by his Catholic majesty, my master's ministry, to instruct and represent to the honorable Continental Congress of the thirteen United States of America to attend to each of the respectable members by whom it is formed of the following particulars:

That having, the said majesty, employed all the prudent and best endeavors that always dictates his regards towards peace and good to mankind to terminate the war between France and England, he has seen that this power delayed with bad view and refused in very improper terms accepting the just propositions which his majesty has offered in quality of a powerful mediator, and his sovereign sufferance not been able to keep any longer the capricious ends of the court of London, his majesty has determined to declare war against the King of England, and has ordered his subjects the publication of it, with the greatest formality and solemnity, in all his royal dominions, and accordingly was published in the town of Havana the 22d of July last.

Having been offered by the honorable Continental Congress the conquest or taken of the town of St. Augustin, of Florida, and deliver it to Spain, it is encharged to me to inspire and request said conquest, as well as by the importance of its issue, as to call by that part the attention of the English, to the end that they may not employ their strength in the defense of Pensacola, the Mobila, and ports at Mississippi, against who have already begun the hostility by the arms of his Catholic majesty under command of the governor-general of Luciana.

In the same manner, to enable the governor and captain-general of Havana to direct his operations according to the strength under his command, I am desired to let him know in what time and with what force by sea and by land will the honorable Continental Congress be able to undertake the conquest or acquisition of St. Augustin, of Florida.

Likewise it is wished that the honorable Congress should endeavor to attract the conquest of the territories in the possession of the English on the back of the province of Luciana and its neighborhood, and as for the better exit of the enterprise great deal may contribute the directions that the governor-general of Luciana may give. It's wished to know the intentions of the honorable Congress, to communicate them to that of the Havana, to the end that this should send them to that of the Luciana, for him to call for the plan of operations, that said enterprise may be facilitated; to which end said governor of Luciana will do everything in concord with what will lay in his power.

Also could wish the said captain-general of Havana to be informed with what kind of provisions and productions of these United States could abundantly be supplied the said town and island of Cuba, as likewise the rest of his majesty's possessions in America, to the end

that with full knowledge of all may be directed in future plans or projects that may be intended.

N. B.—To facilitate the easier way to instruct the honorable Congress of the preceding representation, and that they should resolve what may think proper, enclosed is a translation in English.

Miralles to Luzerne.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 25, 1779.

SIR: I had the honor of communicating to you on the 22d instant two letters which I received from the governor-general of the island of Cuba, dated the 13th and the 22d of July last. He informs me, by order of the king, my master, that the declaration of war against the King of Great Britain made by his majesty was solemnly published at Havana on the 22d of the said month of July, and he requests me to ask for the co-operation of the United States of America in the measures, the substance of which I am now to have the honor of recalling to your recollection.

The honorable Congress having formerly proposed to lay siege to the town of St. Augustine, in East Florida, in order to restore it, in case of success, to the troops of his Catholic majesty, I am ordered to urge the said Congress to direct the arms of the United States against that place, in the hope that this diversion will give powerful assistance to those which the forces of the king have made by their attack on Pensacola, and that, consequently, the English troops may be more readily driven from the territory of the American republics. I am to inform the governor-general of Havana at what time the honorable Congress will be able to undertake this conquest, as well as what land and naval forces that body will be able to employ in effecting it, in order that the Spanish generals may arrange their operations agreeably to the information which I shall transmit to them.

I am also ordered to invite the honorable Congress to undertake the conquest of the territory and the possessions held by the English to the northeast of Louisiana; and as the governor of that province may, by his experience, contribute greatly to the success of such an enterprise, he is desirous of knowing the plan of operations which Congress will adopt in this affair, in order that on his part he may second it by every effort in his power.

The governor-general of Havana is desirous of knowing the quantity and kind of provisions, productions, and supplies with which the United States of America will be able to assist Havana and the island of Cuba, as well as the other possessions of his majesty in America, in order that

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 655.

he may decide, according to such information, upon the measures to be adopted for procuring his supplies of provisions.

I had yesterday the honor of communicating these various requests to the honorable Congress, which body was pleased to appoint three of its members to confer with me upon them. They declared, sir, that they should be much gratified to see my proposals supported by you, and I entreat you to be pleased, by your intervention, to give all requisite weight to the importance of these great objects.

The sending as soon as possible of such forces and stores as Congress shall think proper is of the greatest consequence. Of equal importance are the means of securing their arrival at their place of destination with all the security which circumstances will allow. It is then desirable, sir, that you would have the kindness to persuade the Count de Grasse to be pleased to take them on board of his squadron and to conduct them under his convoy to South Carolina or Georgia; and the deputies of Congress have desired me to make this request of you. I have answered them, in consequence of the communications which you have been pleased to make to me, that you had already made some overtures to that commander in relation to the operations in which he might engage, and that you were now expecting his answer.

The interests of our sovereigns, sir, are so closely connected, the independence and welfare of united America are objects so dear and so important to you, that I have no doubt you will use all efforts to secure a compliance with the requests which I have the honor to make of you in the name of the king, my master, and on the success of which depends, in a great degree, the success of the general operations of the allied powers.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DON JUAN DE MIRALLES.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 26, 1779.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor of communicating to the Congress of the United States a letter of Don Juan de Miralles, containing sundry propositions which appear to him to deserve the most serious attention. Although the Chevalier de la Luzerne has no instructions from his Catholic majesty, he is too sensible of the good understanding and intimate connection subsisting between the courts of Versailles and Madrid not to recommend these overtures in the most pressing manner to the consideration of Congress.

The great design is to act against the common enemy, and the more

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 657.

pains that are taken to unite the strokes aimed against them the more certain will be their effects. As to what regards the concurrence of the royal fleet in the operations proposed, the underwritten has the honor to observe that he is entirely uninformed touching the part it will be able to take. He has, however, written a letter to the Count de Grasse, which that commander will receive on his arrival at Hampton. As soon as the underwritten shall have received an answer and the necessary information he will take the earliest opportunity of communicating them to such of the delegates as Congress shall be pleased to appoint.

LUZERNE.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *November* 30, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: Since my last, of the 6th and 25th, some material changes have taken place in the British ministry. Lord Bathurst is made lord president of the council; Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state; and Lord Carlisle first lord of trade. Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth are out.

I communicate this change to you, because it marks the entire ascendency of that influence which began this war, and which will assuredly continue it to every extremity. The two ex-ministers are chiefs of the Bedford party, which of late has been for peace with us.

I know they are using every means with Russia and the German princes to procure troops against you, but I can not learn that they have succeeded. It is impossible to say what changes in the politics of those powers the very unexpected inefficacy of this campaign may produce. One thing is sure, that as it confirms their credit, it will supply them with money and enable them to continue the war in a manner that appeared impossible six months ago. New York and Charleston, if they can compass the possession of this latter, are the strongholds from whence they purpose carrying continual desolation and distress through all the States. The driving them from New York is therefore an object of the last importance to the welfare of our country.

It is certain that Holland will remain neuter, and under that neutrality furnish us supplies, and I hope free from that unexampled extortion in price and imposition in quality to which we have been subject from other quarters.

I still wait here for instructions, and must repeat to Congress that the refusal of Dr. Franklin to furnish any money for my expenses should I go to Spain makes it necessary, if I am to serve, that some other means of supplying me should be adopted; and I beg it may be with a sum fixed, that future discussions and disputes may be avoided.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 577.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 6, 1779.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that he has received from St. Domingo intelligence of the capture of the *Greyhound* by eight American sailors. He annexes a summary of some facts relative to this capture.

In the terms of the intelligence given on the 4th of August of the present year, by the officers of the admiralty of Port Paix, "the eight American sailors, having taken the said schooner without being provided with any commission, have been sent back before Congress, in order that this affair may be decided in conformity with the laws of their country."

The undersigned minister is, then, desirous that Congress would be pleased to inform him what use they shall judge proper to make of the thirteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine livres, ten sols which remain in the registry of the admiralty of Port Paix; whether it be thought proper that this sum should be remitted to the agent of Congress at St. Domingo, in order that he may transmit it to the eight men interested in such manner as he shall think fit, or whether Congress shall adopt an entirely different mode of proceeding. The Chevalier de la Luzerne will hasten to communicate to the commandants of the island of St. Domingo whatever resolution may have been adopted, in order that they may, without delay, make arrangements accordingly. The undersigned would have wished to spare Congress the detail of this affair by addressing himself directly to the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in order to ascertain their intentions; but the intelligence upon which the order of the general and intendant of St. Domingo has intervened obliges the parties to come before Congress; besides, this form is the best adapted to prevent all delays, and to cause this money to arrive promptly at the destination which shall be determined upon.

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to Franklin.†

FERROL, *December* 8, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that, Congress having judged it proper to appoint me to a new mission in Europe, I embarked on the 13th of November, at the instance of the Chevalier de la Luzerne and M. Gerard, on board the same frigate that carried me to America. Soon after we got to sea a formidable leak in the ship discovered itself, so as to oblige us to keep two pumps constantly going

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 658. † 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 612.

by night and day, which induced the captain to think it necessary to put into this place, where we have just now cast anchor. Whether I shall go to Paris by land or wait for the frigate is uncertain; I believe the former, as the latter might detain me four or five weeks. I have dispatches for your excellency from Congress, which I shall carry with me, and newspapers. These latter contain little remarkable save the evacuation of Rhode Island by the enemy, and the Count d'Estaing's progress in Georgia, in coöperation with General Lincoln, which was in a fair course of success.

I hope the *Confederacy*, which sailed from Philadelphia three or four weeks before us, with M. Gerard and Mr. Jay, who is appointed minister plenipotentiary for Spain, has happily arrived, and made it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the general state of affairs in America, which were upon the whole in a favorable train. I hope to have the honor of saluting you at Passy in a few weeks,

And am, with great respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *December* 8, 1779.

SIR: As Baron de Holtzendorff has thought fit to trouble your excellency with a memorial to me relating to his affairs, and complains highly, as I understand, of the Congress and of me, I beg leave to acquaint you with a few circumstances in our vindication, most of which I have from himself in one of his former papers.

Mr. Deane, soon after his arrival here, is said to have encouraged, upon strong recommendations made to him, a great number of officers to go over to America, advancing them money to bear their expenses thither and giving them expectations of commissions and employ in our armies, conceiving that he should thereby serve his country. As the Congress had given no orders for this operation, had no expectation of the arrival of such a number of officers, nor any vacancies in their armies to place them in, it occasioned a great embarrassment. Mr. Deane, who was not at the time a minister of Congress, but agent only for the committee of commerce, was disavowed, and his proceedings, without authority, declared not binding on the Congress. But it was, however, resolved that the thanks of Congress should be given to the gentlemen for their zeal in passing to America to offer their services to the United States, and that their expenses in coming and returning should be paid. Baron Holtzendorff, however, they seem to have had some intention of retaining, for they gave him a commission of lieutenant-colonel and sent him to the Army, probably with a purpose of placing him when there should be a convenient vacancy.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *December* 8, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor of transmitting to you the King of England's speech to his Parliament, and a memorial from his ambassador at The Hague, demanding assistance from the United Provinces. It is not probable he will obtain it.

The speech shows, what I before wrote you was resolved in the British cabinet, a determination to continue the war. His total silence about alliances seems as if he had not formed any, which I believe to be the fact.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

THE HAGUE, *December* 9, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: On the 16th and 17th of November, the French ambassador having given us a meeting at Amsterdam, apprised us of the intention of the king, to-wit, that the cruise should terminate at the Texel, and that the prizes should be conducted into France by two French captains of the squadron. Captain Jones, on his part, had an order from Dr. Franklin to go on board the *Alliance*. On the 18th and 19th we returned to the Texel. The following days we effected these changes. The Dutch vice-admiral (a decided tory, who had succeeded the brave Captain Riemersma, a good republican and a friend to the Americans) perceived it, and disturbed us very much, particularly after having received the resolution of the 19th of November and the instructions of his court on this subject.

Every day he pressed and threatened us, though the wind was always contrary. On the 24th of November, among others, the officer second in command came to read to us a paper, which he afterwards put in his pocket. I had anticipated the contents, and made on my part a writing which I likewise read to him, as follows:

"The commodore loses not a moment in providing for his departure with the first good wind in his vessel the *Alliance*, and he will give the signal for departure to the others, which will follow him if they can. He thinks he can not give a stronger proof of his respect for the resolution of their high mightinesses. Thus the threats of the vice-admiral are superfluous, and against the very terms of this resolution of their high mightinesses. He can not go on board any other vessel than the *Alliance* without counteracting the designs of his superiors.

"As to the prizes, the placard of 1756, and of course the designs of their high mightinesses, are scrupulously observed, in that they have not disposed of or changed anything, and that when they depart they

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 578.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 283.

may be recaptured. I require for the future every order or threat in writing, in order to send copies to the general Congress and to Dr. Franklin."

November 28.—Having sent again to hasten us, I made him confess with a loud voice, in presence of our crew and of his own rowers, that he required an impossibility; a declaration which I made the pilot sign afterwards. Then he let us alone during ten days.

December 8.—The wind appearing favorable, his officer found us ready to depart; but the wind changing, it was necessary to cast anchor again after it had been already weighed.

By the extract of the resolution of the 26th November you will see, gentlemen, that the stadtholder had taken on himself to apply to the *Alliance* only what had been resolved in regard to the whole squadron, and especially to the prizes, that the States-General have approved it, and that thus they have thought they might dispense with consulting the province of Holland on this new case. They are not content with this arbitrary procedure, and will make new protests, copies of which they have promised to furnish me. The others, on their side, appear to think that they have gone too far, as may be seen by the letter of the vice-admiral, which certainly is not written without order. As to the arrangement made on the 16th and 17th, I suspend my opinion till I see where the whole will end. But I highly applauded Mr. Jones for having answered the Dutch admiral as he did.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

DECEMBER 10, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: The following intelligence will show in what manner the States-General have proceeded respecting Sir Joseph Yorke's demand for the seizure of Paul Jones' prizes:

LEYDEN, *November* 25.

The publicity of the claims which Sir J. Yorke, ambassador of Great Britain, has made by order of his court on the occasion of the entry of Paul Jones with his prizes into the road of the Texel having excited the attention of Europe to this affair, on which subject the spirit of party on both sides has spread sundry unfounded reports, we think ourselves under obligation to communicate to our readers the definitive resolution which the States-General took in relation to it last Friday; a resolution which reconciles the most scrupulous obligations of neutrality with the friendship which subsists between Great Britain and this republic. Here is the translation of it:

"*Wednesday, November* 19, 1779.—Having deliberated by resolution on the memorial presented by Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his majesty the King of Great Britain to their high mightinesses, on the 29th of last month, to renew, in pursuance of the precise orders of his said majesty, the most urgent instances for the seizure and restitution of two of the king's ships, *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, as well as for the release of their crews, which a certain Paul Jones

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 285.

had seized, as is more fully related in the registers under date of the 29th of last month, it has been resolved and determined to answer the aforesaid memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke that upon the reiterated instances which the ambassador has made, by order of his court, for the seizure and restitution of the ships *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, as well as for the release of the crews of said vessels, which a certain Paul Jones has taken, and with which he has entered into the road of the Texel, their high mightinesses have repeatedly taken into mature consideration all the circumstances of this affair, and they find themselves under the necessity of requesting his majesty to consent that their high mightinesses should persist in their ancient maxim, which is that, without interfering in any decision upon the legality or illegality of prizes brought into their ports they should compel them to put to sea, their high mightinesses judging that this maxim itself is founded on treaties.

"But for evident proof that they do not desire that any supplies may be furnished from this country to the inhabitants of his majesty's American Colonies, they gave orders immediately on the arrival of Paul Jones that he should not be furnished with any munitions of war or other articles, except those of which he would have need in order to put to sea and reach the nearest port in which he might be admitted. That their high mightinesses will also give orders that he set sail as soon as his vessels can put to sea and when wind and weather will permit, and even will compel him, in case it should be required. That their high mightinesses are assured that it will be evident thereby that they persist invariably in the declaration made to his majesty, 'that they desire to do nothing from which it might lawfully be inferred that they recognize the independence of the Colonies of his majesty in America;' and that they grant to Paul Jones neither supplies nor harbor, but that, following solely the treatment which they have at all times been accustomed to give to those who come into their roads to obtain for a time shelter against the disasters of the sea, they do not concern themselves with what passes on the sea; and without taking cognizance of it, they leave and cause to be restored everything to the state in which it was a short time before the vessels came into the country. That their high mightinesses flatter themselves that his majesty and the English nation, for whom their high mightinesses have all possible respect, will be satisfied with these dispositions, without insisting further on the claim they have made.

"That an extract from the resolution of their high mightinesses will be sent to Sir Joseph Yorke by the agent, Vander Burch de Spierinxhoek.

"That, moreover, directions shall be given to the college of admiralty at Amsterdam to cause it to be signified and made known to Paul Jones that their high mightinesses are assured that, having only put in to place his injured vessels in shelter from the dangers of the sea, there has been sufficient time to put them in condition for sea, and that consequently they desire that he should make sail as soon as possible, when the wind and weather shall be favorable, and withdraw from this country, forasmuch as their high mightinesses can not permit him to continue here and as the season of winter, which is approaching, may create greater inconveniences in this respect; so that to avoid them it is necessary that he allow no favorable opportunity to escape of putting to sea. That this is the serious intention of their high mightinesses, and that they can not delay; but if he should not comply, it would oblige them to take measures that would not be agreeable to him.

"That, however, to allow no mistake on this point and to prevent delays, his serene highness will be required, and he is hereby required, to give orders to Vice-Admiral Reynst, or to the officer commanding in the roadstead of the Texel, to effect with all possible discretion that the aforesaid Paul Jones depart with his prizes as soon as wind and weather will permit; not to admit any delay in this respect that the nature of the case does not require, and to provide, if need be, by all suitable means, not excepting force, that the orders of their high mightinesses be executed in the roadstead."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

FERROL, *December* 11, 1779.

SIR: I have the honor to inform Congress that on the 13th of November I embarked on board the French frigate *La Sensible*, and on the 14th came on board Mr. Francis Dana, the secretary to my commission, when we fell down to King's Roads, and on the 15th sailed for France.

A leak was soon discovered in the ship, which obliged us to ply the pumps; as it seemed a steady leak, it gave little alarm at first, but continuing to increase to such a degree as to make two pumps incessantly necessary night and day, obliging the passengers to take their turns in common with the ship's people, the captain judged it necessary to make the first port he could find. Accordingly, on the 7th of December, we happily discovered Cape Finisterre, and on the 8th arrived in the magnificent Spanish port of Ferrol, where we found a squadron of French ships of the line, the officers of which think we were very happy in making this port, as the frigate, since she has been in this harbor, is found to make seven or eight feet of water an hour.

The advice of all of the gentlemen here is to make the best of my way to Paris by land, as it is the opinion of many that the frigate will be condemned, but if not, she certainly will not be ready to sail again from this port in less than four or five weeks.

This is unfortunate to me, because, by all the information I can obtain, traveling in this kingdom is attended with many difficulties and delays, as well as a very great expense, there being no regular posts, as in France, and no possibility of passing over the mountainous part of this country in carriages.

I find there has been no engagement in the European seas between the English and the combined fleets of France and Spain, as was reported in America. There has been an epidemic sickness on board the French fleet, which obliged them to return rather sooner than was intended. There are twenty-five Spanish ships of the line in Brest harbor with the French. It is reported that M. du Chauffault is appointed commander-in-chief of the French fleet, and that the Count d'Orvilliers has retired.

Captain Jones has done another brilliant action, by taking a forty-four-gun ship after an obstinate engagement, which he carried into the Texel; but I can not learn the particulars with much certainty or exactness.

I have been treated with the utmost attention and politeness since my arrival in this place both by the Spanish and French officers, particularly by the Spanish lieutenant-general of marine, Don Joseph St. Vincent, who is commander-in-chief of the marine; by M. de Sade, the French *chef d'escadré;* and by the French consul and vice-consul, who have all obligingly offered me every assistance in their power.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 613. with verbal changes.

I shall endeavor to inform Congress of every step of my progress as I may find opportunity.

I have heard nothing as yet which makes it probable to me that I shall have any thing to do openly and directly in pursuance of my commission very speedily. There is a confused rumor here of a mediation of Russia and Holland, but I am persuaded without foundation. It seems to be much more certain that the English continue in their old ill humor and insolent language, notwithstanding their impotence grows every day more apparent.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

THE HAGUE, *December* 11, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I send you the following intelligence relating to further proceedings in regard to Captain Paul Jones:

Circumstances having changed in regard to the squadron of Paul Jones in the Texel, the States-General have thought proper to suspend the effect of their resolution of the 19th of November by another, which their high mightinesses adopted on the 26th of the same month. It appears that on the 4th instant they received a letter from the prince stadtholder, in which his serene highness informs them "that, conformably to their said resolution of the 19th of November, he had sent the necessary orders to Vice-Admiral Reynst, commanding in the road of the Texel, that he would conduct with all possible discretion, and that he would effect by all suitable means, not excepting even force, that Paul Jones should put to sea with the vessels under his command and with his prizes. But that after Paul Jones had declared he was ready to obey the orders of their high mightinesses, and that as soon as he should be in a condition he would profit by the first occasion to take the sea, it happened on the 25th of November that Vice-Admiral Reynst, having sent Captain Van Overmeer on board the *Serapis* to notify again, in the most formal manner, the commanding officer that he must be provided with a pilot and depart with the first favorable wind, he was answered that this vessel was no longer commanded by Paul Jones, but by the French captain, Cottineau de Cosgelin, who had taken possession in the name of the King of France." The prince stadtholder referred, besides, to the letter itself of Vice-Admiral Reynst, as well as to the pieces thereto annexed; and his serene highness added, "that in awaiting the final orders of their high mightinesses he had provisionally written to Vice-Admiral Reynst not to use force till further orders in regard to those vessels whose commanders should prove that they were provided with a commission from the King of France, the preceding orders remaining, nevertheless, in their full force in regard to the *Alliance*, actually commanded by Paul Jones;" and that he at the same time charged the above-named vice-admiral "to take care that, conformably to the placard of their high mightinesses of the 3d of November, 1756, none of the prisoners who were not brought into the road on board said ship *Alliance* should be carried away in this ship," his serene highness flattering himself that their high mightinesses would approve his proceedings in this business. Upon which their high mightinesses, having deliberated, immediately thanked the prince stadtholder for the communication that his serene highness had made, and approved in all respects his procedure in the affair of which he had written them, reserving to themselves a further deliberation in the part to be taken on this occasion.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 287.

Lovell et al., Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Henry Laurens.*

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 11, 1779.

SIR: By the enclosed resolves of Congress you will find that we are become more dependent upon your vigorous exertions for the amelioration of our currency, than you perhaps expected when you left Philadelphia. We think it of so much importance that you should be early apprised of the measures determined upon respecting bills of exchange, that we do not choose to omit this good opportunity of conveying them, though unattended with a full explanation of the reasons which urge Congress to draw, more especially as you are so well enlightened by your late presence in that assembly.

We are, with every wish for your prosperity, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.
WILLIAM HOUSTON.

John Paul Jones to Dumas.†

ALLIANCE, *December* 13, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR: I have receive your esteemed favor from Amsterdam. I leave the enclosed letter for his excellency Dr. Franklin open for your perusal, and I also send a copy of my letter to the Duc de la Vauguyon. I shall be glad of your remarks on both. The occasion that produced them was the most extraordinary that ever happened to me, and language can not express my astonishment at so unworthy a proposition. Adieu, my dear friend.

I am, in cool blood, yours,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

John Paul Jones to Franklin.‡

ALLIANCE, TEXEL, *December* 13, 1779.

HON. AND DEAR SIR: I have this day had the honor to receive your excellency's orders of the 6th current respecting the prisoners taken in merchant ships and at present on board the *Alliance*. And I hope that the within copy of my letter to the Duc de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation; for I am persuaded that it could never be your intention or wish that I should be made the fool to any great R——— whatsoever, or that the commission of America should be overlaid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected! They have played upon my good nature too long already; but the spell is at

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 710.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 291.
‡ *Ibid.*, 290.

last dissolved. They would play me off with assurances of the personal and particular esteem of the king, to induce me to do what would render me contemptible even in the eyes of my own servants. Accustomed to speak untruths themselves, they would also have me give, under my hand, that I am liar and a scoundrel! They are mistaken, and I could tell them what you did your naughty servant, "We have too contemptible an opinion of one another's understanding to live together." I could tell them, too, that if M. de C—— had not taken such sage precaution to keep me honest by means of his famous *concordat*, and to support me by means of so many able colleagues, these great men would not now have been reduced to such mean shifts, for the prisoners would have been landed at Dunkirk the day that I entered the Texel, and I should have brought in double the numbers.

We hear that the enemy still keeps a squadron cruising off here; but this shall not prevent my attempts to depart whenever the wind will permit. I hope we have recovered the trim of this ship, which was entirely lost during the last cruise; and I do not much fear the enemy in the long and dark nights of this season. The ship is well manned and shall not be given away.

I have sent to Congress three copies of my late transactions in Europe down to the 7th of this month, and M. Dumas has undertaken to forward them.

I need not tell you I will do my utmost to take prisoners and prizes in my way from hence.

I am ever, with sentiments of the most lively affection and esteem, your excellency's most obliged and most humble servant,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

John Paul Jones to Vauguyon.*

ALLIANCE, TEXEL, *December* 13, 1779.

MY LORD: Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honor the commission that I have this day refused. My rank from the beginning knew no superior in the marine of America; how, then, must I be humbled were I to accept a letter of marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inexcusable were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination with that I bear, unless I were previously authorized either by Congress or some other competent authority in Europe; and I must tell you that on my arrival at Brest from my expedition in the Irish channel Count d'Orvilliers offered to procure for me from court a commission of capitaine des vaisseaux, which I did not then accept for the same reason, although the war between France and England was not then begun, and of course

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 289.

the commission of France would have protected me from an enemy of superior force.

It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the court should offer the present insult to my understanding and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I have not merited all the praise that has been bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practice are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me, for where I can not continue my esteem praise or censure from any man is to me matter of indifference.

I am much obliged to them, however, for having at least fairly opened my eyes and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood.

The prisoners shall be delivered agreeable to the orders which you have done me the honor to send me from his excellency the American ambassador in France.

I will also, with great pleasure, not only permit a part of my seamen to go on board the ships under your excellency's orders, but I will also do my utmost to prevail with them to embark freely, and if I can, now or hereafter, by any other honorable means facilitate the success or the honor of his majesty's arms, pledge myself to you, as his ambassador, that none of his own subjects would bleed in his cause with greater freedom than myself, an American.

It gives me more pain, my lord, to write this letter, because the court has enjoined you to propose what would destroy my peice of mind and my future veracity in the opinion of the world.

When, *with the consent of the court* and by order of the American ambassador, I gave American commissions to French officers, I did not fill up these commissions to command privateers, nor even for a rank *equal* to that of their commissions in the marine of France; they were promoted to a rank *far superior*. And why? Not from personal friendship, nor from my knowledge of their services or abilities (the men and their characters being entire strangers to me), but from the respect which I believed America would wish to show for the service of France. While I remained eight months, seemingly forgotten by the court, at Brest, many commissions such as that in question were offered to me, and I believe (when I am in pursuit of plunder) I can still obtain such a one without application to court.

I hope, my lord, that my behavior through life will ever entitle me to the continuance of your good wishes and opinion, and that you will take occasion to make mention of the warm and personal affection with which my heart is impressed toward his majesty.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

CORUNNA, *December* 16, 1779.

SIR: By the opportunity of a small vessel accidentally in this harbor, bound to Newburyport, I have the honor to inform Congress that I have been detained by violent rains and several accidents in Ferrol until yesterday, when I set out with my family for this place, and arrived last evening without any accident. I awaited immediately on the governor of the province and on the governor of the town, and received many civilities from both, and particularly from his excellency the governor of the province of Galacia an assurance that he was not only disposed personally to render me every hospitality and assistance in his power, but that he received expressed orders from his court to treat all Americans who should arrive here like their best friends. These personages were very inquisitive about American affairs, particularly the progress of our arms and the operations of the Count d'Estaing, and more particularly still about the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid. They requested his name, character, nativity, age, whether he was a member of Congress, and whether he had been President, with many other particulars.

To all these questions I made the best answers in my power; and with regard to his excellency the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, I gave them the most exact information, and such a respectable character as the high offices he has sustained and his own personal merit require. It is the prevailing opinion here that the court of Madrid is well disposed to enter into a treaty with the United States, and that the minister from Congress will be immediately received, American independence acknowledged, and a treaty concluded. The frigate *La Sensible* is found to be in so bad a condition, that I am advised by everybody to go to France by land. The season, the roads, the accommodations for traveling are so unfavorable, that it is not expected I can get to Paris in less than thirty days. But if I were to wait for the frigate, it would probably be much longer. I am determined, therefore, to make the best of my way by land. And it is possible that this journey may prove of some service to the public, although it will be tedious and expensive to me—at least I hope the public will sustain no loss by it.

There are six battalions of Irish troops in Spain, in three regiments, several of whose officers have visited me to assure me of their respects to the United States. I have been this afternoon to the Tower de Fer to see the Island of Cezarga, which was rendered famous in the course of the last summer by being appointed the rendezvous of the French and Spanish fleets. The French fleet arrived at this island on the 9th of June last, but were not joined by the Spanish fleet from Ferrol till some time in July, nor by the fleet from Cadiz till much later, so that

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 615, with verbal changes.

the combined fleets were not able to sail for the English channel until the 30th of July. To prevent a similar inconvenience another campaign, there are about twenty-five Spanish ships of the line now in Brest, which are to winter there, and to be ready to sail with the French fleets the approaching summer at the first opening of the season.

God grant them success and triumph, although no man wishes for peace more sincerely than I, or would take more pleasure, or think himself more highly honored, in being instrumental in bringing it about, yet I confess I see no prospect or hope of it, at least before the end of another summer. America will be amused with rumors of peace and Europe too, but the English are not yet in a temper for it.

The court of Russia has lately changed its ambassador at the court of London, and some time in the month of October, M. Simolin, the new minister plenipotentiary from the court of Petersburg to the court of London, passed through France in his way to England, and resided three weeks in Paris. From this circumstance a report has been spread in Europe that the court of Russia is about to undertake the office of mediator between the belligerent powers. But from conversation with several persons of distinction since my arrival in Spain, particularly with the Count de Sade, the chef d'escadré, commanding the French men-of-war now in Ferrol, I am persuaded that if Russia has any thoughts of a mediation, the independence of the United States will be insisted upon by her as a preliminary, and Great Britain will feel much more reluctance to agree to this than to the cession of Gibraltar, which it is said Spain absolutely insists upon.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Huntington, President of Congress, to Luzerne.*

IN CONGRESS, *December* 16, 1779.

SIR: I am directed to inform you that Congress, in order to testify their attention to the interest of his Catholic majesty, appointed a commissioner to confer with General Washington on the subject of your letter accompanying the representation of Don Juan de Miralles;† and though from the result of their conference they have reason to believe that our grand army can not be weakened while the enemy retain their present force at New York without considerable danger, yet they have, upon mature deliberation, determined rather to incur that danger than not to comply, as far as is consistent with our circumstances, with the views of his Catholic majesty, to whom they feel themselves bound by that union of interest which a common enemy creates, by the favorable disposition manifested by his Catholic majesty to these United

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 659.

† See Luzerne to Congress, Nov 25, 1779, *supra*.

States, and by those ties which connect the house of Bourbon with the happiness of mankind.

Under these impressions they have ordered a considerable detachment from the grand army to join the troops in Carolina, which, together with the forces already there or on the way, will amount to about four thousand men, exclusive of the militia of the southern States, whom Congress have called for upon this occasion. Congress have also ordered three of their frigates to Charleston, to be put under the direction of the commanding officer in that department.

This force they conceive will make so powerful a diversion in favor of his Catholic majesty's army as to afford probable hopes of their being crowned with success. You will perceive, sir, that any other co-operation with the troops of Spain is impossible while Savannah opposes a barrier to a junction of our force. This, from its present strength, it will not be easy for us to remove till a more decided superiority in this quarter enables us to transfer a greater proportion of our army thither. Unless, in the mean time, the governor of Havana shall think proper to furnish such aid as, when joined with the forces of the United States in that quarter, will be sufficient to effect the purposes before mentioned. But as Congress were desirous of extending their views still further, and conceiving the conquest of East Florida to be an object of great importance as well to his Catholic majesty as to these States, they have therefore directed me to inform you, and through you Don Juan de Miralles, by whom the intentions of his Catholic majesty are communicated, that they have given full power to their general commanding in the southern department to correspond and concert with the governor of Havana, or any other person or persons authorized by his Catholic majesty for that purpose, such plan as can be agreed upon between them for carrying our views into execution.

I am, sir, directed further to inform you that, though Congress cannot promise any considerable quantity of provisions until the army of the United States are supplied, yet as soon as that can be done every means will be used to furnish provisions for his Catholic majesty's islands and fleet. But in the mean time they conceive that a large supply of rice may be afforded by the State of South Carolina, while Congress will readily aid the agents of Spain in procuring the same.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

A. Lee to Florida Blanca.*

PARIS, *December* 16, 1779.

SIR: Your excellency will have the goodness to permit my recalling to your consideration what I have already had the honor of stating to you, relative to the plan of the common enemy to establish themselves

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*1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 578.

in Georgia and South Carolina, in order to carry on more effectually the war against the possessions of Spain in America and against the United States. I have most undoubted intelligence that they are more and more determined on pursuing this plan. The good intentions of Count d'Estaing to drive them from Georgia having unfortunately failed, and the departure of the French fleet having left them again a decided superiority on our coast, must give them fresh encouragement to prosecute their enterprise, and will render the assistance of his Catholic majesty's squadron at the Havana absolutely necessary to prevent its succeeding. Suffer me, therefore, to entreat most earnestly your excellency's attention to this, if other more near and important objects of the war should have hitherto diverted it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Reynst to John Paul Jones.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 17, 1779.

SIR: I made a request to you yesterday that you would take the trouble to come on board my vessel, from which you excused yourself, and again this morning. I also make request by this present that you will have the goodness to inform me how I ought to consider the *Alliance*, on board of which you are—as a vessel of the King of France or of America? In the first case I expect you will show me the commission of his majesty, and that you will hoist the French flag and pendant, confirming it with a salute from your guns; and, in the second case, I expect that you will not neglect any opportunity to depart according to the orders of their high mightinesses.

I am, sir, etc.,

P. H. REYNST.

John Paul Jones to Reynst.†

ALLIANCE, TEXEL, *December* 17, 1779.

SIR: In answer to the letter which you have done me the honor to write me this day, I must observe that I have no orders to hoist the flag of France on board the *Alliance*; nor can I take upon me to hoist in this port any other than American colors, unless I receive orders for that purpose from his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esq.,

In the mean time, it is my wish to find a favorable opportunity to sail from hence, and whenever the pilot will take upon him to conduct this ship to sea I will give him my best assistance. Should I receive new orders, I shall not fail to communicate my situation to you.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292, with verbal changes.

John Paul Jones to Dumas.*

ALLIANCE, TEXEL, *December* 17, 1779.

I am, my dear sir, to acknowledge your sundry kind favors from Amsterdam. I thank you for your advice, which by my last, as well as the enclosed, you will see I had followed before the appearance of your letters. Let not that circumstance disquiet you; because I have made myself some compliments on my thinking in many points so like you. Know me always your affectionate friend,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

Livoncourt, French Navy Agent at Amsterdam, to John Paul Jones.†

HELDER, *December* 17, 1779.

SIR: I thank you for your politeness in communicating to me what Vice-Admiral Reynst had written you. I perceive by this letter that you would give great pleasure if you would display the royal flag. Meanwhile I can make no more entreaty, if you persist in not using the commission which I was charged to send you. Reflect that all the French here in the service of the king have strongly at heart to maintain the republic in sentiments favorable to the allies of his majesty. It is in conformity with these views, and for the good of the common cause, and only for this transient object, that the commission, for the origin of which you imagine a thousand ill-natured motives and which finally you refuse to accept, has been addressed to you.

You know all that I have had the honor to say to you on this subject has been as well for your personal quiet as for the honor and satisfaction of the common allies.

I am still at your service, if you desire it, and I will continue to act with the same earnestness as heretofore for the advantage of this cause and for your own interests. The ambassador has expressed to you the same sentiments. My dispositions and my orders are entirely conformed thereto.

I am, sir, etc.,

DE LIVONCOURT.

Deane to the President of Congress.‡

WILLIAMSBURGH, *December* 18, 1779.

SIR: When I did myself the honor of writing you on the 16th of November last, the order of Congress in my favor on the Continental

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 293

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr. 293.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 158.

treasurer for $10,500, being mislaid, was not enclosed. I now take the liberty to enclose it, and have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect and attachment, etc.,

SILAS DEANE.

J. Adams to the Governor of Corunna.*

CORUNNA, *December* 18, 1779.

Mr. Adams presents his compliments to the governor of Corunna, and informs him, according to his desire expressed last evening, that the names of the persons for whom he requests a passport from his excellency the governor of this province, are as follows:

John Adams, a minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

Francis Dana, secretary to Mr. Adams' commission, a member of Congress, and a member of the council of Massachusetts Bay.

John Thaxter, private secretary to Mr. Adams.

John Quincy Adams, a son of Mr. Adams, about twelve years of age.

Charles Adams, another son of Mr. Adams, nearly ten years of age.

Jeremiah Allen, of Boston, in Massachusetts, a private gentleman, accidentally in company; he is a merchant, traveling with the view of establishing a private commerce in Spain as well as France.

Samuel Cooper Johonnot, ten or eleven years of age, a grandson of a particular friend of Mr. Adams in Boston, going to Paris for an education in the university there.

Joseph Stevens, a servant of Mr. Adams.

John William Christian Frieke, a servant of Mr. Dana.

Andrew Desmia, a servant of Mr. Allen.

Mr. Adams requests a passport for all these persons to go to Madrid and from thence to Bilboa and from thence to Bayonne, in their way to Paris, with liberty at the same time to go directly to Bayonne by the nearest road without going to Madrid or to Bilboa, as it is uncertain whether Mr. Adams will have the time to gratify his inclination with the sight of those cities.

Jay to the President of Congress.†

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINQUE, *December* 20, 1779.

SIR: This is the only opportunity of transmitting a letter to Philadelphia since our arrival, and as the route which this is to take will be very circuitous and doubtful, it will be short and general.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 617.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 124.

Having lost our bowsprit, all our masts, and many of our sails, as well as split our rudder, off the banks of Newfoundland, we steered for this island, and arrived yesterday afternoon. The governor and admiral are at Port Royal. They are informed of our being here, and I shall see them either at this or that place, according as we shall find it to be their intention to come to the one or remain at the other. Till then it must continue doubtful whether we shall be able to obtain a passage in a French frigate or speedily refit our own; neither of which can be done without the interposition of government.

Two days hence a vessel will sail for St. Eustatia. I shall write more particularly by her, and it is more than probable that those letters will come to hand before this.

Yesterday a fleet of twenty-five merchantmen, under the convoy of a frigate, bound from France to this place, were attacked on the southern coast of Martinique, near Port Royal, by a number of the enemy's ships of war from St. Lucia. Fourteen merchantmen were captured and two driven on shore. The rest escaped during a very severe action between three line-of-battle ships under Monsieur le Motte Piquet (who went from Port Royal to their relief), and double the number of the enemy. This intelligence was communicated to me this morning by the commanding officer here.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to R. Bernstorf, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Denmark.*

PASSY, *December* 22, 1779.

SIR: I have received a letter from M. de Chezaulx, consul of France at Bergen, in Norway, acquainting me that two ships, viz, the *Betsy* and the *Union*, prizes taken from the English on their coasts by Captain Landais, commander of the *Alliance* frigate, appertaining to the United States of North America, which prizes having met with bad weather at sea, that had damaged their rigging and had occasioned leaks, and been weakly manned, had taken shelter in the supposed neutral port of Bergen, in order to repair their damages, procure an additional number of sailors and the necessary refreshments; that they were [in] the said port, enjoying, as they conceived, the common rights of hospitality established and practiced by civilized nations, under the care of the above said consul, when, on the 28th of October last, the said ships, with their cargoes and papers, were suddenly seized by officers of His Majesty the King of Denmark, to whom the said port belongs, the American officers and seamen turned out of their possession, and the whole delivered to the English consul.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 88. A manuscript copy of this letter is in the Congressional Library.

M. de Chezaulx has also sent me the following as a translation of his majesty's order, by which the above proceedings are said to be authorized, viz: "The English minister having insisted on the restitution of two vessels which had been taken by the American privateer called the *Alliance*, commanded by Captain Landais, and which were brought into Bergen, viz, the *Betsy*, of Liverpool, and the *Union*, of London, his majesty has granted this demand on this account: because he has not as yet acknowledged the independence of the Colonies associated against England, and because that these vessels for this reason can not be considered as good and lawful prizes. Therefore the said two ships shall be immediately liberated and allowed to depart with their cargoes." By a subsequent letter from the same consul I am informed that a third prize belonging to the United States, viz, the *Charming Polly*, which arrived at Bergen after the others, has also been seized and delivered up in the same manner; and that all the people of the three vessels, after being thus stripped of their property (for every one had an interest in the prizes), were turned on shore to shift for themselves, without money, in a strange place, no provision being made for their subsistence or for sending them back to their country.

Permit me, sir, to observe on this occasion that the United States of America have no war but with the English; that they have never done any injury to other nations, particularly none to the Danish nation; on the contrary, they are in some degree its benefactors, as they have opened a trade of which the English made a monopoly, and of which the Danes may now have their share, and by dividing the British empire have made it less dangerous to its neighbors. They conceived that every nation whom they had not offended was by the rights of humanity their friend; they confided in the hospitality of Denmark, and thought themselves and their property safe when under the roof of his Danish majesty. But they find themselves stripped of that property, and the same given up to their enemies on this principle only, that no acknowledgment had yet been formally made by Denmark of the independence of the United States, which is to say that there is no obligation of justice towards any nation with whom a treaty promising the same has not been previously made. This was, indeed, the doctrine of ancient barbarians, a doctrine long since exploded, and which it would not be for the honor of the present age to revive; and it is hoped that Denmark will not, by supporting and persisting in this decision, obtained of his majesty apparently by surprise, be the first modern nation that shall attempt to revive it.*

*"The ancients," says Vattel, "did not conceive themselves bound under any obligation towards a people with whom they were not connected by a treaty of friendship. At length the voice of nature was heard by civilized nations; they acknowledged all mankind as brothers." An injustice of the same kind, done a century or two since by some English in the East Indies, Grotius tells us, "was not without its partisans, who maintained that, by the ancient laws of England, no one

The United States, oppressed by and at war with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, may well be supposed incapable, in their present infant state, of exacting justice from other nations not disposed to grant it; but it is in human nature that injuries as well as benefits received in times of weakness and distress, national as well as personal, make deep and lasting impressions; and those ministers are wise who look into futurity and quench the first sparks of misunderstanding between two nations which, neglected, may in time grow into a flame, all the consequences whereof no human prudence can foresee, which may produce much mischief to both, and can not possibly produce any good to either. I beg leave, through your excellency, to submit these considerations to the wisdom and justice of his Danish majesty, who I infinitely respect, and who, I hope, will reconsider and repeal the orders above recited, and that, if the prizes which I hereby reclaim in behalf of the United States of America are not actually gone to England, they may be stopped and redelivered to M. de Chezaulx, the consul of France at Bergen, in whose care they before were, with liberty to depart for America when the season shall permit. But if they should be already gone to England, I must then claim from his majesty's equity the value of the said prizes, which is estimated at fifty thousand pounds sterling, but which may be regulated by the best information that can by any means be obtained.

With the greatest respect, I am, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINIQUE, *December* 22, 1779.

SIR: By a message received yesterday afternoon from the Marquis de Boulliè, I find that there is no reason to expect him or the admiral here very soon. We shall, therefore, set out for Port Royal early to-morrow morning, and endeavor to get our ship refitted as soon as possible. She will follow us in a day or two, and, as the enemy's ships of war are frequently cruising near the island, she will go under convoy; four of them are now in sight of this town.

It seems agreed on all hands that the expense of refitting the *Confederacy* will be very considerable. To reduce this matter to greater certainty, I have desired the captain to make out an estimate of his wants; he promised to prepare it, and give me a copy this evening. If I receive it before 9 o'clock it will accompany this letter; otherwise it will be transmitted by the next conveyance.

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was liable to punishment in that kingdom for outrages committed against foreigners when no treaty of alliance had been contracted with them." But this principle he condemns in the strongest terms.—History of the Troubles in the Netherlands, book 6. [Translation by Mr. Sparks.]

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 125.

The agent here tells me he is without cash and in debt on the public account. I fear he has been neglected. I shall, however, defer saying anything further on this subject till I shall be better informed. Should an opportunity offer of writing to your excellency from Port Royal I shall embrace it; if not, I shall take the first after my return. As the government here will, I hope, advance the money necessary for preparing the frigate for sea, I am anxious that you may have the earliest intelligence of it, that timely provision may be made for the payment.

Of the fleet mentioned in my letter of the 20th instant only nine were taken or destroyed.

Seven o'clock.—I had written thus far, when Captain Harding called upon me. He has made out an estimate of the ship's wants, and given it to Mr. Bingham, without having made a copy for me, which it is now too late to do to go by this vessel.

On our return from Port Royal the captain will transmit particular accounts of everything respecting the ship which he ought to communicate. He has been too much engaged to prepare his dispatches to go by this vessel, and therefore postpones writing for the present, especially as he would have leisure only to repeat the general account of our misfortune contained in my letter.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINIQUE, *December* 24, 1779.

SIR: My former letters to your excellency of the 20th and 22d instant (a triplicate of the former and a duplicate of the latter, are herewith enclosed) have already informed Congress of the disaster which imposed upon us the necessity of coming hither. But as that necessity has been and it seems still continues the subject of much inquiry and investigation, it is proper that the facts from which it arose be minutely stated.

On the 7th day of November last, between the hours of 5 and 6 in the morning, in latitude 41° 3′ N. and longitude 50° 39′ W., the captain being in bed indisposed and the master and second lieutenant on deck, the ship going nine knots an hour in a brisk breeze and rough sea, but by no means hard weather, her bowsprit and all her masts gave way in less than three minutes. The day was employed in clearing the ship of the wreck and getting up a little sail; towards evening a heavy gale came on. During the night the tiller was lashed fast, and the ship lay to very well, the wind blowing hard at southeast. The next morning the shank of the rudder was found to be so much wrenched and split, that the captain then told me he thought it a

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 126, with verbal changes.

greater misfortune than the loss of the masts. There were two French gentlemen on board, who, it was said, and I believe with truth, were well skilled in maritime affairs, having been bred to that business from their infancy, viz, Monsieur Roche, a knight of the order of St. Louis, and a Captain Remuy, of Marseilles. Either this day or the next, I am not certain which, M. Gerard remarked to me that, without any previous counsel, it seemed to be the unanimous opinion of all the naval officers on board to go to the West Indies, and that he believed it would be best, though he said he was at first inclined to oppose it. The first expedient to steer the ship was by the cable and a spar; below the split in the rudder there was a bolt with two rings, to which it had been intended to fix a chain for the purpose of steering the ship in case of such accidents, but the fixing the chains had been omitted. Through this ring the captain passed a chain, and to each end of it fastened a strong rope, which was conducted over the quarters, and this was a second mode of steering her; but from the uncommon breadth of the rudder, by which its power became unusually great, and the acuteness of the angle between it and the chains rendering a greater force necessary than if it had approached nearer to a right angle, the bolt, though to appearance a good one, broke nearly in the middle and drew out.

It seems the rudder of this ship was hung after she had been launched, and that to do it the more easily an eye bolt had been fixed in each side of the rudder below the shank; to these eye bolts two chains were then fixed, which, crossing the edge of the rudder in opposite directions, were fastened to pennants made of cordage provided for the breechings of our twelve-pounders. These pennants passed through blocks at the end of spars run out of the ports of the cabin. From thence they were led through blocks in opposite ports of the main deck to the capstans, by means of which they were very conveniently managed, and the ship without much difficulty steered. Such, however, was the force and wear they underwent before our arrival in calmer latitudes and smoother seas, that they generally gave way every day or two; and the captain tells me no less than six hundred-weight of that cordage has been consumed in that service.

So great was the swell off the banks, and so high, though not severe, the winds, that near a fortnight elapsed before the ship was put in her present condition for sailing. The same obstacles also retarded the repairing of the rudder, which after all was so weak that it was not thought advisable to steer by the tiller, and to prevent any further injury from its striking against the ship, which it constantly did in calm weather, bags stuffed with oakum were placed on each side of it, and a man employed night and day to tend them.

Some days before the 23d of November the captain told me he thought it advisable to call a council of his officers and submit to their consideration the propriety of continuing our course towards Europe. M.

Gerard shortly after mentioned to me the sitting of this council, and said he could assure me that the Chevalier Roche and Monsieur Remuy would not give their opinions on the subject but in writing, and on being requested to do it in writing by the captain. This intelligence appeared to me extraordinary, but as it was not necessary that my sentiments relative to it should be known I made no reply to M. Gerard, but by degrees turned the conversation to another subject; nor did I give the least hint of it to the captain, but observed a perfect silence relative to it. It appeared to me that those gentlemen either overrated their importance or entertained improper ideas of the merit of our officers, and I confess it gave me pleasure to hear that they were not consulted at all.

The council of officers was held the 23d of November last. The captain gave me their report, together with a return of the provisions and water on board, and assured me of his readiness to proceed to any port whatever that M. Gerard and myself should direct. I gave these papers to M. Gerard, and although I did not think it expedient by consulting the French officers to give them reason to suppose that I concurred in sentiments with them as to the importance of their opinions, yet I told M. Gerard I was well satisfied he should communicate to them the report of our officers, and obtain their sentiments on the question stated in it; and the better to enable him to do it I proposed that we should postpone the discussion of the subject till the next day, or longer if necessary. He took the papers, said it was very well, and that he would speak to those gentlemen. A day or two after, being on deck, M. Gerard took me aside and gave me the papers, telling me that he had seen these gentlemen, and that they both declined giving any opinion about it; that they had always been, and still were, ready to do anything for the benefit of the ship; that had they been requested to give their opinions while the matter was in agitation they would have done it; that it was now over and determined; that under these circumstances their opinion would be of no avail, and that they did not choose, by declaring their sentiments, either to confirm the report or give it ineffectual opposition. M. Gerard further intimated that those gentlemen seemed to think their giving their advice in the course of our troubles had given offense to the officers of the ship; but I had never reason to think their apprehensions well founded. Upon this conduct of those gentlemen I briefly observed to M. Gerard that, as they were passengers, we had no right to demand their opinions, and that they had a right to withhold them or not, as they pleased, and for such reasons as they might think proper; but that as the captain of the ship had been directed by the marine committee to obey such orders as he should receive from us, it was necessary that in the present conjuncture we should decide on the report; that the captain, in my opinion, would not be justifiable in further pursuing his course against the solemn and unanimous opinion of all the officers unless by our ex-

press orders, and he would be culpable in changing it without a previous application to us for direction. M. Gerard observed that he was sensible of the honor done him by the order alluded to, but that it was not convenient to him to give any opinion or direction on the subject. It did not appear to me prudent to reply to this, and therefore I took the first opportunity of turning the conversation to another topic. As this circumstance prevented the captain's receiving any positive orders from us on the subject, he was, of course, left to pursue his own judgment, but being desirous of my opinion, I gave it to him in the manner indorsed on the report of the council, of which a copy is herewith enclosed.

The reasons on which this opinion was grounded are in part contained in this report, but there were others not mentioned in it.

That Congress may the better judge of their force, it is necessary that they be informed of some previous circumstances.

The first fair day after losing our masts I went to the door of M. Gerard's room on the deck, which was open, to bid him good morning. Chevalier Roche was with him; they were conversing on the course most proper for us to steer, and the port most proper to make for. M. Gerard was for going to Cadiz; he had an excellent set of charts, and he had then one of the Atlantic ocean, with its American, European, and African coasts and the intervening islands, before him. By the assistance of this map we perfectly understood his reasoning. The chevalier at that time inclined to the West Indies, and I heard him, on leaving the room, tell M. Gerard that to endeavor to get to Europe in the present condition of the ship would be to "*run a very great risk of perishing in the ocean.*" Some time after this, M. Gerard perceiving that I had adopted no decided opinion of the subject (and that was really the case), in the course of an evening he spent with us in the cabin (none of the officers of the ship being present) desired me to attend particularly to his several reasons for going to Cadiz, and consider them maturely before I made up my judgment. I promised him to do it, and was as good as my word. He proceeded to observe:

First. That the distance to Cadiz and to Martinique differed but little, and that no weighty argument could be drawn from this difference.

Second. That between us and Cadiz lay the Western and Canary Islands, into some one or other of which we might run, if necessary.

Third. That if, on our arrival at either of these islands, it should appear impracticable or imprudent to proceed farther, our persons at least would be safe, and we might get to Europe in one of the many vessels which frequent those islands; whereas, on the other hand, there were no islands between us and Martinique, and we should, in steering southward, be obliged to run all that distance without finding any place by the way at which we might touch, or, in case of danger, find shelter.

Fourth. That if calmer seas were our object, we should find them in

going eastward as well as southward; that we must not expect to meet with the trade winds at that season but in a very remote southern latitude; that in crossing the latitude of Bermudas we should meet with heavy squalls and bad weather; that in the latitude between that and the trade winds we must expect variable winds, and particularly long calms, which are often more dangerous and more to be dreaded than hard winds.

Fifth. That in a voyage to Cadiz we should have nothing to apprehend from the enemy, but to Martinique everything.

Sixth. That if we should arrive safe at Martinique, we should probably be detained there until next spring; that the vessels which usually sail from thence for France every fall would have departed before the time we should reach the island; that he had reason to believe it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to obtain a frigate, and, among other reasons, urged the absence of Count d'Estaing, and the improbability that any subordinate officer would undertake without his orders to grant us one, even admitting, what was very unlikely, that one might be spared from the service.

Seventh. That the ship might remain long at Martinique without being made ready for sea, for want of naval stores, provisions, etc.

These were M. Gerard's reasons for our steering for Cadiz by the way of the Azores, and I do not remember to have afterwards heard an additional one. Whether the French officers really thought them conclusive, or whether they found it convenient to make a compliment of their sentiments to a gentleman very able to serve them, is uncertain; but I believe they in appearance inclined to M. Gerard's opinion, and gave him implied reasons to think their sentiments corresponded with his.

The matter appeared to me in a serious light and to require caution on many accounts. Every consideration called me to Spain; private as well as public good forbade a difference with M. Gerard. I had reason to believe him well disposed towards me; I perceived clearly that he could not with any patience admit the idea of being absent from Europe at so important a season, and that he could scarcely treat with common decency the reasons urged for going to Martinique. Hence it appeared obvious that should I be the means of his losing his objects, or should any public inconveniences result from our not being in Europe during the winter, I should be censured not only by him, but by all those who judge of the propriety of a measure only by its consequences, of which number are the far greater part of mankind. Thus circumstanced, I found myself in a very unpleasant situation, without any way of extricating myself but by agreeing to a sort of middle proposal, viz: to order the captain to land us on one of the western islands, and then leave the ship to shift for herself. This would have satisfied M. Gerard, and we should have been as good friends as ever. I thought it my duty, however, to form my decision carefully and hon-

estly, and abide by it firmly. It was, that we should proceed to Martinique. Some of the reasons for it are set forth in the report of the council of officers. The whole together were briefly these:

First. That the officers of the ship, including the carpenter, who were to be presumed to be better judges than M. Gerard or myself, were of opinion that we ought not to attempt to go to Europe; and had this reason stood single and unexplained I should not readily have ventured to reject it, especially as it appeared to me against the interest of the officers to come to the West Indies, and I have heard them constantly and uniformly regret the necessity of it; but I also thought they decided on good grounds; for,

Second. The rudder daily gave us infinite trouble, almost every day a pennant breaking, and on every such occasion the ship for some time left to the direction of the wind and waves, a circumstance which might be fatal in hard weather and near land; the quantity of cordage consumed in this way of steering; the doubt of our having sufficient for the purpose without stripping the guns, which would thereby be rendered useless; the rudder irons daily becoming more and more loose, and, by the nails drawing out, opening a passage for the water into the stem of the ship. By this circumstance our bread had been damaged; the danger of our being obliged to get rid of the rudder entirely and steering only by the cable, which, in northern seas and winter season, is very inadequate. This event would have arrived in case either of the eyebolts in the rudder had given way, as the first-mentioned one had done, or the upper irons become entirely loose; and for this event it was thought necessary to prepare, by removing the obstacles to unhanging the rudder. Indeed, the upper irons in the course of our passage here, with fair winds and no storms, became so loose as to render it necessary to lash the head of the rudder with ropes to a bolt fixed for the purpose in the cabin floor.

Third. The sails we had left were bad, having been originally made, as Mr. Vaughan, the second lieutenant, told me, of damaged canvas; they frequently split; we had none to replace them, nor a sufficient stock of twine to mend them, eight pounds only being left of the twenty-odd we brought from Philadelphia; nor were we much better supplied with cordage, for which there was a daily demand, and some of which was very bad.

Fourth. Our jury masts were not calculated for hard weather, the foremast being sprung a few feet below the top, and not able to endure a hard storm.

For these reasons the rough weather common in northern latitudes was by all means to be avoided, and smooth seas sought.

As to the conveniences to be derived from the islands laying between us and Cadiz, I took some pains to examine into that matter. We had maps and descriptions of them all, and our master had been at many of them. I found there was not a single harbor in any one of them

in which a ship could ride at anchor in every wind; on the contrary, neither of them has anything more than open roads, out of which it is necessary for ships to make the best of their way and put to sea whenever certain winds blow; a task which our ship was very far from being in condition to perform.

From this and other circumstances it was evident we could not refit in either of those islands not even so much as get a new rudder; for admitting materials for the latter could be had, yet such was the difficulty, if not impossibility, of hanging it in an open road, from whence the ship was every moment exposed to the necessity of going to sea by an unfavorable wind, that we could expect to derive no advantage from these islands, except the prospect of obtaining some refreshments, which we could do without, and the value of which would not have compensated for the risk of approaching them in our condition.

As to the idea of our steering that course with a view of being landed on one of those islands and from thence going to Europe in another vessel, leaving our own to her fate, no earthly consideration could ever have reconciled me to it. The reasoning which was insisted on, that our being seasonably in Europe was of more importance to the United States than a frigate, and that in time of war, and for the public good, lives were to be risked by sea as well as by land, was a species of reasoning which, applied to this case led to conclusions which never have been, and I pray God may never be, among my principles of action. Had this plan of being landed on one of the Azores or Canaries been adopted, we should either have landed the crew with us or not; if the first, the frigate would have been given to destruction. This appeared to me inconsistent with the public good, because, if we reached Martinique, I had no doubt of a passage, and my arrival in France eight weeks sooner or later did not appear to me of equal importance to the United States with the frigate. Had the crew been left on board, it must have been with a view of saving the ship, either by her reaching Europe or the West Indies. The probability of her effecting either became then a most important question, as the lives of between two and three hundred Americans depended on the event. Against it were opposed the dangers of the seas and the want of provisions; the former would have increased with the approach of winter, and therefore the longer the ship was detained to the northward the more she had to suffer and to fear. The frigate, after having landed us on either of the islands, must either have gone on towards Europe or endeavored to get to the West Indies.

All the considerations above mentioned opposed the first, and whoever compares the time necessary for a voyage for a ship under jury masts, and almost without a rudder, from the banks of Newfoundland to the Azores or Canaries and from thence to the West Indies, with our stock of provisions, will find them inadequate to the purpose, and be convinced of the cruelty of subjecting one's fellow citizens to such

extremities. For these reasons I positively refused to join in this system.

As to the position in favor of going to Europe, that we should find the seas calmer as we advanced eastward equally as we went southward, all the officers of the ship testified against it, nor would they admit that we had as much to dread from calms as from hard gales. The supposed difficulty of obtaining a passage from Martinique made but little impression on me. I could not suppose the islands left unprotected by ships of war, or that the commanding officer would refuse to order a frigate on this service if M. Gerard would represent it to be of importance, which I was sure he would do. How long our ship might be refitting here was not to be ascertained, but I could not prevail upon myself to believe that the King of France would keep so considerable a fleet in those seas without providing for the usual accidents they would be exposed to from the sea and the enemy. At the worst, the ship would be in a safe port and among a people bound by treaties and by interest to afford aid and protection, at least until Congress should be informed of her situation and have an opportunity of providing for her wants. As to ourselves, in case we meet with the imagined difficulties respecting a passage, it would be easy, by passing over to St. Eustatia, to get very safely in a Dutch ship to Holland.

On these reasons the advice I gave to the captain to come here was founded. I thought them right then, and was daily more and more confirmed in an opinion of their propriety. In the course of our run here we had all the way fine, fair breezes and except in the latitude of Bermuda, smooth seas and scarce any calms. The night before we made the land it was thought proper to lay the ship to after the moon set, set, which was between twelve and one o'clock, and she continued in that position only four hours and a half. Such, however, was the effect of it upon the rudder, and so much damage did it receive from it, that had the ship continued as much longer in the same state it was agreed on all sides that the rudder would have been rendered useless.

M. Gerard, hurt by being disappointed in his expectation of being seasonably in France, and perhaps mortified at my preferring my own sentiments to his, ceased to observe that cordiality and frankness which had before attended his conduct toward me. Nay, he once went so far as to tell me I had my reasons for coming here. I appeared not to understand him, and continued to endeavor to render the conversation as light and general as possible. This was a tax imposed on my feelings by regard to public good; as a private man I should have acted differently.

Thus matters continued till about ten or twelve days before our arrival here, when M. Gerard observed to me, in the presence of the captain, that it was time to think which side of the island of Martinique it would be most prudent for the ship to go, the north or south side, and proceeded to state the reasons which ought to induce us to prefer

the north; particularly that, in the present condition of the ship, she would, if she went to the south side, be in great danger of running by the island to the leeward; for that, as we might expect the wind at northeast, she would not be able to lay sufficiently close to the wind to reach Port Royal or St. Pierre's; besides, that she would be in danger of calms, and being in sight of St. Lucia, would be exposed to the enemy's ships of war, without having reason to expect succor from any French ships of war; none of which, he said, cruised off the eastern part of the island between Martinique and St. Lucia. He then showed the advantages of going the other side by an enumeration of many circumstances, of which I have notes, but which it would be too tedious to mention. The obvious meaning of all this appeared to me to be that we should direct the captain to go to the northward of the island; but as I neither thought myself authorized nor found myself inclined to interfere with the particular navigation of the ship, to which I was not competent, I only observed to M. Gerard that his reasoning appeared to me to have weight; that it was a subject I did not understand, but that I thought his observations merited attention. On this the captain remarked, and I thought with propriety, that it was impossible to determine on which side of the island it would be best to go until we were at or near the parting point, for that circumstances at present unforeseen might render that way rash which we might now think prudent; for instance, an unexpected change in the wind or the appearance of an enemy. He therefore thought a decision of the question improper till we arrived off the eastern part of the island. This appeared to me so perfectly reasonable, that I thought no more about the matter, and I did not suspect that M. Gerard would have felt any further anxiety about it; but it nevertheless so happened that in the afternoon of the 14th instant there was a conversation in the cabin relative to a wager which of the two we should see first, land or a sail. In the course of this conversation M. Gerard observed that it would depend on our going on the north or south side of the island, and insensibly leaving the subject of the wager proceeded minutely to recapitulate his reasons for the one and his objections to the other. In the progress of this disquisition, he grew warmer and warmer, and at length, addressing himself more particularly to the captain, said he was surprised that those facts and observations should meet with so little attention; that he owed it to his conscience and personal safety to mention and enforce them, and that he should represent the whole matter to his court, etc. The captain repeated what he had before said relative to the impropriety of deciding on which side of the island we were to go until we had made the land, observed whether any vessels were on the coast, and knew how the wind would be. He then questioned some matters relative to the navigation round the island on which M. Gerard had insisted.

For my own part, as the subject was so serious, I wished to be in-

formed of some others, which appeared to me to want explanation. The captain had informed me that the master had been at the taking of Martinique last war, and was well acquainted with its bays, harbors, and coasts. I desired the captain to send for the master, which was immediately done. On this M. Gerard, more animated than usual, said he pretended to no extraordinary knowledge on the subject, but that he had made inquiries, and was satisfied with the opinion he had given; then repeated what he had before said about his conscience, personal safety, and court, and was opening the door to go on deck, when I asked him if he would not stay and hear what the master had to say. He said no, he did not want to hear anything farther about it; he had done his duty in delivering what he had to us, and we might do as we pleased about the matter. I made no reply, but proceeded to examine the master and one of the lieutenants. On the whole it did not appear to me necessary, but on the contrary invidious, to give the captain any positive orders on the subject, nor did I enter into any farther conference respecting it with M. Gerard. I knew that no good would result from altercation, and that the best way of treating unreasonable propositions, cavalierly dictated, was silently to go my own way uninfluenced by them.

This last business rendered M. Gerard still more dissatisfied with me. We observed, nevertheless, and still observe, great politeness towards each other, but it proceeds more from the head than the heart. On coming ashore, I flattered myself we should have left all these controversies behind us; but this city was soon entertained with them. The opinions of French officers were taken by M. Gerard about the sufficiency of the rudder to have gone to Europe; the question about the northern and southern navigation was stated and agitated. M. Gerard claims the merit of having saved the ship, by having, as he insinuates, dragged us into the measure of taking the northern passage, etc. As we are safe in the harbor these matters are now of no consequence, and therefore I constantly avoid the subject. How they may be represented at Philadelphia is of some moment, and therefore it appears to me expedient to trouble myself and Congress with this narration.

I can not conclude this letter without expressing my satisfaction with the attention and politeness observed by the captain and other officers towards the passengers, as far at least as my knowledge extends.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINIQUE, *December* 25, 1779.

SIR: As singular instances of humanity and patriotism always merit, and sometimes meet with, public notice, I take the liberty of transmitting to Congress a copy of the Rev. Mr. Keith's narrative of the conduct of a Mrs. Smith, at New York, to the Americans there, who had been taken at Fort Washington.

Conversing, while at sea, with Mr. Keith (our chaplain, who had been one of those prisoners) respecting the cruelties exercised towards them by the enemy, and the manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants of the city, he mentioned the behavior of this Mrs. Smith, whose conduct appeared to me so remarkably liberal, disinterested, and christianlike, that I desired him to commit it to paper, with a design to enclose it to your excellency. I know nothing more of this woman than what Mr. Keith told me; but, as from his profession and character I am induced to credit what he says, I transmit this account of her, that if, on further inquiry, it be found to be just, Congress may have an opportunity of saving from poverty and distress a widow who generously divested herself of a decent maintenance, and applied it to the relief of many citizens and servants of the United States, who were then gloriously enduring the most extreme cruelties for their faithful attachment to the rights of their country and mankind.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.†

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINIQUE, *December* 25, 1779.

SIR: I have done what perhaps I shall be blamed for, but my pride as an American and my feelings as a man were not on this occasion to be resisted. The officers of the *Confederacy* were here without money or the means of getting any. The idea of our officers being obliged to sneak, as they phrase it, from the company of French officers, for fear of running in debt with them for a bottle of wine or a bowl of punch, because not able to pay for their share of the reckoning, was too humiliating to be tolerable, and too destructive to that pride and opinion of independent equality which I wish to see influence all our officers. Besides, some of them wanted necessaries too much to be comfortable, or, in this country, decent. In a word, I have drawn on the fund pointed out for the payment of part of my salary for one hundred guineas in their favor, to be divided among them according to their respective ranks. Indeed, it would have given me pleasure to have

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 138.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 138, with verbal changes.

done something towards covering the nakedness of the crew; but the expense I have been put to by coming here and the preparations for another voyage would not admit of it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *December* 25, 1779.

GENTLEMEN: I this day had the honor of receiving yours of the 13th of October, notifying me, by the resolve of Congress of the same date, of Mr. Jay's appointment and my recall. As Mr. Jay is not yet arrived, I suppose it my duty to wait his coming, that I may communicate to him what is in my knowledge that concerns the public in his department. It does not appear that it has pleased Congress to give any orders about the immediate return of the *Confederacy* and taking me on board, without which it may be many months before I can find a passage in any other manner. Mr. Izard has been waiting at Amsterdam for two months to get even to St. Eustatia on his way home.

The plans of the enemy, of which I advised you in mine of the 13th of October and the 6th of November, are going into execution with vigor. Admiral Rodney has probably sailed by this time. The ministry appear to be tottering, but, unfortunately for us, if they do go out they will give place to men by far more formidable to us in wisdom, economy, popularity, and confidence, both foreign and domestic. I feel it, therefore, in the strongest manner my duty to conjure Congress to prepare for a campaign which in all human probability will be urged with the utmost vigor, and to call forth every resource at home for the support of the public credit, without any reliance on foreign assistance. Such assistance is too precarious to hazard our cause on, and strong exertions on our part will give it, should it exist, a surer and more speedy effect. Congress may rely upon it that on no terms whatsoever will our independence be acknowledged at present by Great Britain.

There are granted, for the service of the ensuing year, one hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and fifty men, including four thousand two hundred militia, and it is supposed that ninety-seven thousand will be employed in America and the islands. The removal of all restrictions on the export of wool, woolens, and glassware from Ireland to Asia, Africa, and America, the United States excepted, it is probable, will prevent any immediate commotions in that kingdom, and it is certain that the British court have not such apprehensions from that quarter as to prevent them from pursuing their operations against you in their utmost extent.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

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* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 579.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ST. PIERRE'S, MARTINIQUE, *December* 26, 1779.

SIR: On our arrival here M. Gerard told me that he was about to write to the governor and admiral at Port Royal, and asked me whether I also chose to write, or would leave to him the necessary communication, offering to mention to them whatever I might desire. As I was well satisfied that he should take the lead in the business I replied that I was obliged to him, but did not think it necessary for him to communicate anything to those gentlemen from me except our arrival and the confidence I had in their readiness to afford us aid.

I thought it would have been improper to apply for a passage in one of their ships till I know in what time our own could be refitted, and on this subject it appeared to me most advisable that application should be made by our agent here, and that I should reserve all interference till it should be rendered necessary by obstacles. Mr. Bingham accordingly wrote without delay to the governor, and had immediate and full assurances of his readiness to afford us every aid in his power. Nothing now remained to be ascertained but the time in which the repairs could be made, and this depended on the state of their naval stores.

Mr. Bingham went with us to Port Royal on a visit to the officers of government (a compliment paid them by all strangers). The governor again assured him that everything should be done for the ship that was possible, and some orders were given for the purpose. This passed, I believe, without M. Gerard's knowledge. About two hours after our arrival at Port Royal he took me aside, observed that great difficulties and delays would attend the *Confederacy's* refitting there; that there were no masts or spars in store, and the expectation of supplies uncertain; that an old mast of a merchantman had been purchased for one of their ships of war, and that a main yard for another had been made of four pieces for want of a proper spar, and after some general hints about expenses, provision, etc., proposed that the frigate should be provided with a new rudder and proceed to America to refit. I objected that, contrary to our expectations, the English had an acknowledged superiority in these seas; that three French frigates were at that instant flying from four ships of the line which were in full chase of them; that a frigate under jury masts would find no safety in flight; that it would be more prudent for Captain Harding to remain here without being refitted till he could get materials and supplies from America or receive orders from Congress than expose his ship to such imminent danger, and therefore that I could not possibly come into the measure he proposed.

M. Gerard replied that she might be convoyed to sea by the French squadron here; but this required no answer. It was not to be supposed

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 139.

that the French squadron, which, in their present state of inferiority, choose to keep their eyes constantly on Port Royal, would expose themselves to very unequal combat for no higher object than that of convoying the *Confederacy* seventy of eighty leagues off the coast, or that if they did, she would then be out of that degree of danger to which no ship in her condition ought to be exposed. Besides, I could not reconcile it to the wisdom of France long to leave their fleet here destitute of naval stores, or to disgust their allies by a conduct neither just nor politic. We agreed to leave the matter till the next day, when we expected to see the admiral; but in an hour or two afterwards the admiral came in, and a very little time elapsed when the governor, and shortly after M. Gerard, told me the "*whole arrangement* was completed; that the same attention should be paid to the *Confederacy* as if she had been a French frigate, and that the *Aurora*, of thirty-odd guns, should carry us to France." The fact is that the officers of government in general, and the governor in particular, are strongly attached to everything that is American.

Our agent here is in high estimation. I really believe, from everything I hear, that he has done his duty faithfully, and that he well deserves the notice and approbation of Congress. This leads me to take the liberty of remarking that it would probably be much for the public interest if Congress were to pay off all private debts due from them to subjects of France, and have none but national engagements with that kingdom. The debts unavoidably contracted here for the outfit of the *Deane*, etc., ought certainly to be paid. Our credit and reputation suffer from such delay. We sail to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Carmichael to the President of Congress.*

MARTINIQUE, *December* 27, 1779.

SIR: I take the liberty of enclosing to your excellency a paper containing a relation of a late affair between part of the small squadron commanded by M. la Motte Piquet and the English fleet under the orders of Sir Peter Parker. It was given me by direction of the French admiral, that a true account of this action, which has done him much honor here, might be published in America.

On the 23d of this month Admiral Arbuthnot arrived at Barbadoes with six or seven sail of the line and sixteen regiments. An attack on the Granadas or Dominica is daily expected. The latter is well fortified, and garrisoned by twelve hundred men. The Marquis de Bouillè seems to have no apprehensions for any of their islands except those lately taken from the enemy.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip, Rev. Corr., 16, with verbal corrections.

Mr. Jay informs Congress by this opportunity of the misfortune which befel us, and the reasons which induced the officers to bring the ship to this island. I can only express my regret for the delay which this accident will occasion in the execution of the business with which Congress has done us the honor to intrust us.

With the highest sentiments of respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

John Jay to Franklin.*

ST. PIERRE DE LA MARTINIQUE,
December 27, 1779.

SIR: Having on the 7th of November last lost our masts off the banks of Newfoundland, and been obliged to come to this place to refit, I am constrained to draw upon you for part of the salary due to me as minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America to his Catholic majesty, agreeable to the intention of Congress expressed in their resolution of the 15th of October last, of which the enclosed is a true copy, having been faithfully transcribed from a certified one in my possession. I have drawn a set of bills of this date on your excellency at sixty days' sight in favor of William Bingham, esq., for three thousand three hundred and seventy-nine livres and eight sols tournois. As I soon expect to have the pleasure of seeing you (intending to sail in the morning), I shall forbear adding anything further than that I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

John Paul Jones to Dumas.†

ALLIANCE, AT SEA, *December* 27, 1779.

SIR: I am here, my dear sir, with a good wind at east under my best American colors. So far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical moment I know not. I am not, however, without good hopes. Through the ignorance or drunkenness of the old pilot the *Alliance* was last night got foul of a Dutch merchant ship, and I believe the Dutchman cut our cable.

We lost the best bower anchor, and the ship was brought up with the sheet anchor so near the shore, that this morning I have been obliged to cut the cable in order to get clear of the shore, and that I might not lose this opportunity of escaping from purgatory.

I wish Mr. Hoogland would have the sheet and best bower anchors taken up, that they might either be sent to France or sold, as M. de Neufville may find most expedient.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294, with verbal changes.

The pilot knows where the anchors lie, and unless he assists willingly in taking them up he ought not, in my opinion, to be paid for his service on board here.

Adieu, my dear friend. Present my best respects to your family and to the good patriot, and believe me to be always affectionately, yours,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

Franklin to Joshua Johnson.*

PASSY, *December* 29, 1779.

SIR: I am much obliged by your kind attention in sending me from time to time the American newspapers that have come to your hands. Please to accept my thankful acknowledgments.

I have the pleasure now to acquaint you that though my application at your request for arms or a loan of money for your province in particular was not attended with success, the opinion here being (as I think I formerly wrote you) that all such applications should regularly come through the Congress, yet an aid being now lately granted to that body for the whole, there is no doubt but Maryland will obtain its share of what shall arrive in America.

If I have not corresponded with you so punctually as you might expect, and as I could have wished to do, I pray you to excuse me. I have had too much business with too little help. The constant expectation of a secretary, who had long been voted but did not arrive, prevented my engaging such assistance as I wanted, and I have not been able by increased application fully to supply the deficiency.

I do not understand that by the treaty of alliance between France and America an American taking a house and settling in France to carry on business is exempted from the duties and services that would have been required of a native of France inhabiting the same house. The droit d'aubaine is indeed abolished in our favor, but in other respects I should suppose that Americans settled here as well as Frenchmen settled in America must, while they live as inhabitants, be subject to the laws of the respective countries of which they at the same time claim and enjoy the protection. I am sorry, however, that you find this so inconvenient as to induce you to quit the kingdom. Particular circumstances may have occasioned the quartering of soldiers on the inhabitants last year which in time of peace may rarely happen.

With great esteem, etc.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Bigelow's Franklin, 484.

^ Mr. Johnson was a merchant in Nantes. His daughter was afterwards Mrs. J. Q. Adams—Mr. Bigelow's *note*.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

AT THE HAGUE, *December* 30, 1779.

HONORABLE SIRS: The last three months having been entirely employed in the service of the American squadron at Texel road, it was impossible for me during this whole time, when never at home, to dispatch you any packet in the usual way.

This parcel, containing twenty-four numbered papers of very interesting matters, will make you some amends. The unanimous resolution, No. 6, may truly be called *vox populi;* the other two, Nos. 19 and 20, are the reverse of an influenced nominal plurality, strongly contradicted by the best part of this country.

Be pleased to lay this whole parcel before his excellency the President in Congress, who will receive at the same time a packet, which I forward him from Commodore Jones, of which these papers will be both a commentary and a supplement.

Every year but this, honored and dear sirs, your committee made me happy with a kind letter. My conscience, however, tells me *the steady friend of America at The Hague* (as your Baltimore journal has styled him) is still worth the remembrance and favor of Congress.

May the new year, which we are soon to enter in, prove for the United States, by a glorious peace, the commencement of an infinite number of happy ages, prays, honored sirs, your most, etc.,

DUMAS,
Concordia, etc.

This very day, when I was just to close these packets, I received a letter from Captain Jones, of which a copy is here joined. I hope in a short time to hear of his good arrival. The two prizes, viz, *Serapis* and *Scarborough* and the two French ships *Pallas* and *Vengeance* are still riding under French colors and captains. Our good *Alliance*, while here, has caused me much anxiety and trouble. Now she leaves me still exposed to the ill nature of my old foes in this country, whom however, I dread not so much as certain false friends, highly incensed now against me for not having found me as blind and complaisant to their particular treacherous views as they had expected I would be. The formal confirmation, by the most honorable Congress general, of my character of agent of the United States, which I have already spoken of in my former dispatches, and which I must entreat you, honored sirs, to solicit for me, will silence them. Indeed, I can not be quiet nor safe without such a solemn piece.

I have from our good friend the pensionary of Amsterdam the ulterior protestations, on December 22, of Amsterdam, Dort, Rotterdam and Scheidam against the arbitrary resolution taken by a plurality on the 17th–19th November last.

Your honors will have them in my first; they are very strong.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294, with numerous variations and omissions.

Sartine to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *December* 31, 1779.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 6th of October last.

I was well persuaded that M. de Chavagne† would endeavor to procure for you everything in his power to render your passage agreeable. This was conformable to the instructions I had given him respecting the intentions of the king.

I learn with pleasure that, being again charged with an important mission by Congress, you will be able to profit by the frigate *Sensible* a second time in your voyage to France.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE SARTINE.

Chase, President of Maryland, to William Smith.‡

IN COUNCIL, *Annapolis, January* 6, 1780.

SIR: We received your favor of the 3d instant by express. As the grand object of the "act for the immediate supply of the army," etc., is to procure an immediate and full supply of provisions for *our* army, it was necessary that the commissioners should be vested with extraordinary powers, that those powers should be accurately defined, and that the mode to be pursued by them should be plainly delineated, which is done. We do not think that flour or wheat purchased for the marine of France privileged or exempted from seizure, and we are certain it was not the intention of the legislature that those articles should be, because such exemption would in a great degree, if not wholly, frustrate the design of the law.

We deem it our duty to afford the commissioners every aid in our power to facilitate the execution of the law, and therefore can not at this time grant permission to export flour or wheat purchased by the agents of France, because we should thereby restrain that extensive operation of the act by which alone we can obtain an immediate supply adequate to our pressing wants. We are sensible that it is of importance that the marine of France should be furnished with flour, and it is with the utmost regret that we have refused permission, and nothing could have induced us to do it but the alarming and distressful situation of our army; and when we have assurances that their wants are relieved we shall with pleasure grant license as heretofore.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 617.

† Captain of the frigate in which Mr. Adams returned to the United States in company with the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 663.

The numerous evils that would result from procrastinating the supplies when contrasted with the inconveniences alluded to by you will, we trust, evince the propriety of our conduct and justify our refusal.

We are, with respect, sir, etc.,

J. T. CHASE,
President of the Council.

William Smith to Holker.*

BALTIMORE, *January* 7, 1780.

SIR: By express I send enclosed a copy of a letter I received yesterday from the governor and council of this State in answer to my application for permission to load the brig *Hawk* with flour for Cape François on account of his most Christian majesty. You will perceive by this letter that I am not permitted to proceed in loading this vessel as you direct, nor will any permission for that purpose be granted until the army is supplied.

That the army ought to be supplied I doubt not you will think right; but that the wheat and flour collected in this port should be taken for that purpose, when I presume a sufficient quantity may be had much more convenient to the army and less prejudicial to your interest, you will probably conclude is not so convenient, and might, if duly considered, have been avoided. I am well informed that the public purchasers in Harford County have now on hand upwards of three thousand barrels, which, for a wagon at this season of the year, are at least three days nearer camp than this place. Besides, very considerable magazines must be provided on the eastern shore of this State; and it seems to me that the distresses of our army have arisen more from the want of carriages to convey a sufficient quantity of flour to camp than from any other cause.

Be that as it may, I find that the commissioners for this county are determined to lay their hands on all your wheat and flour, and have already seized some of your wheat, and I doubt not but the whole on the eastern and western shores will be taken as soon as they conveniently can do it. Therefore I thought it my duty to despatch this information to you by express, that you may take such measures in the premises as you judge best. You will see by the enclosed letter that no relief is to be expected from our governor and council. Perhaps an application to Congress may procure a resolve directing your magazines to be spared, by lending some for the present emergency. But that ought to be taken when most convenient for the army and least prejudicial to you.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 662.

You will please to favor me with a line by return of the bearer, directing whatever steps you may think will be most conducive to the interest of his most Christian majesty.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM SMITH.

Franklin to Williams.*

PASSY, *January* 9, 1780.

DEAR JONATHAN: I received your letters with the samples of clothes, but the shirt and stockings are not arrived. Having no kind of judgment in such commodities, I can make no choice. You have the precise and particular order of the committee of Congress relating to the soldiers' dress, to which you must conform as exactly as possible. I do not choose to make a contract with you for the clothes at fixed prices. That method could be subject to many malevolent reflections. It is better that you should buy the materials and employ the work folks on the best terms you can for the public, and content yourself with the commission of 2½ per cent., which I agree to allow you in consideration of its being a business consisting of so many particulars as to require a good deal of attention and take up a great deal of your time in the execution and in keeping the accounts. I depend much upon your integrity and diligence in this affair, and I flatter myself that you will so conduct it as to do honor to yourself and to me. M. de Chaumont will acquaint you what quantity of hats, shirts, stockings, and shoes are to be furnished. As the funds come to hand quarterly, I can only pay quarterly. You will therefore make all your purchases on those terms, to be paid one-quarter in May, another in August, a third November, and the fourth in February, 1781. Your bills drawn on or after the 15th of each of those months for those quarterly payments, at ten days' sight, will be punctually honored.

The provision is to be for fifteen thousand men.

My love to the good girls.

I am ever, your affectionate uncle,

B. F.

Holker to Luzerne.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 10, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to you the annexed letter and copy of a late law of the State of Maryland, which I have this moment received from Mr. William Smith, a merchant at Baltimore. As it is of

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* MSS. Dep. of State. † 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 661.

a nature to alarm us in relation to all the operations which have been concerted in the islands or contemplated with respect to other places during the course of the ensuing summer; as moreover, the vessels and storeships, which I expect from Martinique, to supply the place of those which were destined by the Count d'Estaing for the Chesapeake Bay, and which the officers of the king have thought it their duty to sacrifice and sell to the State of Carolina, with a view to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to the security and defense of that place; as, I say, these storeships might arrive immediately, and I might be obliged to send them back in ballast if the corn and wheat which I have purchased in Maryland should be seized, and as, thereby, all my transactions and engagements would not only become uncertain, but might terminate in a manner disgraceful to me and in the failure of naval operations of the king in America, I can not forbear to claim, in the most urgent manner, the influence of your character with the Congress of the United States upon this occasion, while I observe to you that, if the law of Maryland is put in execution in relation to the provisions which I have collected at a great expense and with every possible precaution, I shall for the future be unable to take a single step in the service of the king, and shall be obliged to pay large sums to indemnify those with whom I have made engagements.

Your excellency is aware of the innumerable difficulties which I have experienced since I have been engaged in this country in the naval service of the king. They seem to multiply every moment, and have become so great that I am compelled to declare to you that I can not guaranty or be answerable for the success of the least operation, unless you shall be able most speedily to persuade Congress to take with each and every State in the Union decisive and effectual measures to cause respect to be shown to my transactions carried on in the name and on the account of his majesty, while I repeat my offers to oblige my agents and correspondents to conform to such suitable formalities as your excellency shall think proper to prescribe for the general tranquillity and satisfaction.

I am, sir, etc.,

HOLKER.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 10, 1780.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has just received from M. Holker a letter, of which a copy is annexed, in relation to a law passed by the State of Maryland to authorize the commissioners therein named to seize the grain, corn, and rice which may be

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 664.

found stored in the hands of individuals in that State and to carry them away. It is to be presumed that if the general assembly of Maryland had been informed of the measures taken, at great expense, to procure supplies for the fleets of his majesty and for his garrisons in the French islands and of the pressing wants which they suffer, they would have excepted from this law the provisions found in the hands of Mr. Smith.

The undersigned is about to take suitable measures for inducing the government to refrain from seizing the said provisions, and to replace them in case that they are already seized. He earnestly entreats Congress to be pleased on its part to recommend to the councils and assemblies of the thirteen States to refrain, in circumstances of this nature and in all other cases, from all measures which may cause any uncertainty in the operations of the king's navy agents, endanger the success of the plans of the campaign, and expose to want and to the greatest inconveniences the garrisons of the French islands, the governors of which are previously informed of the measures taken to procure supplies for them in the United States, and in concert with Congress and the respective governments of the States.

The present juncture being of a very pressing nature, the undersigned entreats Congress to be pleased to come to a decision on this subject as quickly as possible. He moreover proposes to the council of Maryland to subject the agents and commissioners charged with making purchases on account of his majesty to all the legal forms best adapted to prevent every kind of abuse on their part, and he is desirous that the States in which purchases of this nature may be made should be pleased to take similar measures.

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

BILBOA, *January* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to inform Congress that last night, and not before, I arrived at this place.

At Ferrol and Corunna I was advised by all the friends of America to undertake a journey by land. The consul of France and M. Lagoanere, a gentleman who has acted for some time as the American agent at Corunna, very obligingly offered me all the assistance in their power, and accordingly used their utmost diligence to procure me the necessary mules and carriages for the transportation of the small number of persons in company with me and the small quantity of baggage we found it indispensably necessary to take with us, having left more than two-thirds of what we had with us to take the chance of a passage by sea to France. From the 8th of December, when we arrived at Ferrol,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 618, with verbal changes.

to the 26th of the same month, when we set off from Corunna, we were detained by the violent rains and the impossibility of getting accommodations for traveling. All our beds and provisions we were obliged to carry with us. We traveled through the ancient kingdoms of Galicia, Leon, Old Castile, and Biscay, and although we made the best of our way without loss of time, we found it impossible to go more than eight leagues a day, and sometimes not more than four. The roads and inns are inconvenient to a degree that I should blush to describe, and the pain we suffered for want of fire, in a cold season of the year, in a country where there are no chimneys, gave us all such violent colds, that I was under great apprehensions for our being seized with fevers.

As we were so near Madrid (within about forty leagues), I balanced some time in my own mind whether to go to that fine city; but considering that this would lengthen our journey near a hundred leagues, the severe season of the year, and above all the political situation I might be in, my country not being yet acknowledged as a sovereign state by any formal act of that court, it being known that another gentleman had a commission for that court, and he being expected soon to arrive, I thought it upon the whole the least hazardous to the public interest to avoid that route.

It may be of some use to my countrymen to transmit a few observations upon the country I have passsed through, because it appears to me that a commerce extremely advantageous to both countries may be opened between us and Spain as soon as our independence shall be acknowledged by that power, at least as soon as we shall obtain the great object of all our wishes, peace.

The province of Galicia is one of the largest in Spain, and said to be one of the best peopled. Corunna is in effect the principal city, although St. Jago, in respect to its patron saint, or more probably to the archbishop who resides there, is in name the capital. This province, one of those whereof the ancient crown of Castile was formed, is washed by the ocean for more than seventy leagues from Ribadeo, on the frontiers of Asturias, to the mouth of the river Minks, which separates it from Portugal. This coast, which is divided by Cape Finisterre, is provided on both sides of the cape with ports equally safe and convenient, which nature seems to have prepared around this cape; an object oftentimes so necessary to be made by navigators, both at their departure from Europe and at their return, as so many asylums both from the apprehensions and the consequences of storms. The most known of these ports are Ribadeo, Ferrol, Corunna, and Camarinas to the eastward of Cape Finisterre; Corubios, Muros, Pontevidia, and Vigo to the westward; all proper to receive vessels of the first rate, especially Ferrol and Vigo. The first, the most considerable department of the marine of Spain, is embellished with everything that art and the treasures, profusely spent upon it for thirty years past, could add to its happy situation. Vigo, represented to be one of the most beautiful ports in the

world, is another department of the marine, more extensive and proper for such an establishment than Ferrol itself. Besides these ports there are a multitude of harbors and bays around Cape Finisterre, which afford a safe and convenient shelter to merchant vessels. With all these advantages for foreign commerce this province has very little but what is passive. It receives from abroad some objects of daily consumption, some of luxury, some of convenience, and some even of the first necessity. At present it offers little for exportation to foreign countries. The sardine of its coast, the famous fish which it furnishes to all Spain, the cattle which it fattens for the provision of Madrid, and a few coarse linens, which are its only manufacture, and are well esteemed, are the objects of its active commerce and form its balance with the other provinces. The wine and the grain, the chief productions of its lands, seldom suffice for its consumption, and never go beyond it. The liberty of commerce with the Windward Islands granted by the court within a few years, and the particular establishment of opened the ports of that part of the New World to this province; and although without manufactures herself, or any of those productions proper for America, she renders to foreign hands the product of those which she receives from them and carries thither. In this circulation of so many treasures she enriches herself with parts she detaches from the whole.

The civil government of this province is formed by a superior tribunal called the *audience*, to which an appeal lies from all the subaltern jurisdictions, public and private. This court hears and determines as sovereign and without appeal all civil affairs of a less value than a thousand ducats, or three thousand livres. Appeals in those which exceed that value are carried to the chancery of Valladolid, or to the council of Castile. Although justice is gratis on the part of the judges, who are paid by the government, it is said to be not less costly, tedious, and vexatious. It may not be useless to observe that the criminal chambers, whose decrees extend to the punishment of death and are executed without any application to the king or any other authority, is composed only of three judges, and these three are the youngest of the whole tribunal, and this order is generally followed in Spain in the composition of the criminal tribunals, although no one pretends to conjecture the motive of so singular a reverse of the rational order of things. The administration of the royal police belongs also to the audience, and forms the third chamber into which this tribunal is divided.

All the military authority and the government of the troops in this department are in the hands of the captain-general of the province. There is not any one under him who has even the title of commandant. But in case of his death or absence he is succeeded by the general officer, the most ancient in the province. To this title of captain-general is added, commonly, that of president of the audience, a prerogative which, by uniting in his hands the civil authority to all that of his place, gives a power the most absolute and unlimited.

The inspection general and all the economy of the affairs of the king in the province belong to the intendant. The different branches of the public revenue are all administered by officers appointed by the king, as in the rest of the kingdom, and there are no farmers-general, as in France. Their product is about twenty-six millions of reals, or six million five hundred thousand livres, the expense of collection being deducted. The expenses of the administration, including the maintenance of three regiments of infantry, scatterd about in different places, do not exceed two million five hundred thousand livres. The surplus goes into the dry-docks, arsenals, and fund of fortifications, to the support of which this sum is far from being sufficient. Such is in general the government, military, political, and civil, of this province, and nearly all of the others, except Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Alaba.

There is not in this province any particular jurisdiction of commerce, but there is a tribunal under the name of the judge considerator of commerce, which takes cognizance of all their causes, civil and criminal, except the case of contraband. At this day the judge considerator of strangers is the governor of the province himself, and the appeals from his judgment are carried directly to the council of war, which is said to be a precious privilege, by the form and brevity of procedure compared with the expensive and insupportable delays of the ordinary jurisdiction.

I can not but think that if some measures could be taken to convince the court that it is their interest to take off the vast duties with which commerce is overloaded in this port—fifteen per cent. being to be paid upon all commodities exported and upon all imported, and if the rigid prohibitions of tobacco could be relaxed or repealed—several of the productions of America would find a good market here, and a commerce be opened that would put a new face upon this province, and be profitable to America too. The conveniency of such a number of excellent ports would be a vast advantage, which Bilboa can not have, as her harbor is neither safe nor convenient, besides it being so much farther down the stormy, turbulent Gulf of Biscay; yet Biscay, which is commonly used to comprehend Biscay proper, the principal city of which is Bilboa, although Ordunna is the capital; Guipuscoa, the capital of which is St. Sebastian; and Alaba, the capital of which is Vittoria, three free provinces, whose laws the Kings of Spain have hitherto been sworn to observe inviolate, have attracted almost the whole of the American trade, because the king has no custom-house or officers here, and there are no duties to be paid.

It may seem surprising to hear of free provinces in Spain, but such is the fact, that the high and independent spirit of the people, so essentially different from the other provinces, that a traveler perceives it even in their countenances, their dress, their air, and their ordinary manner of speech, has induced the Spanish nation and her kings to respect the ancient liberties of these people so far that each monarch,

at his accession to the throne, takes an oath to observe the laws of Biscay. The Government here is therefore diametrically opposite to that of Galicia and the other provinces. The King of Spain has never assumed any higher title than Lord of Biscay. He has no troops of any sort in the lordship, nor is there any standing army, instead of which every man is obliged to serve in the militia. The king has no custom-house officers, or other revenue officers, or any other officers whatever in the lordship except a corregidor, and lately a commissary of marine. This last is considered as an encroachment and a grievance, and the authority of the corregidor is very small, as there lies an appeal from his judgment to another tribunal—that of the two deputy-generals, who are biennially elected by the people. Few of the grandees of Spain have any considerable estates here. The Duke of Medina Cœli and the Duke of Berwick have some lands here of no great value. The lands generally belong to the inhabitants and possessors, who hold them of no lord, but the King of Spain, who is Lord of Biscay.

There is a board of trade here, which is annually instituted by the merchants of the place, partly by lot and partly by election, which decides all controversies arising in trade and all the affairs of strangers. They have never admitted any foreign consul to reside here, although it has been solicited by Holland, England, and France.

It is not at all surprising that a constitution in its nature so favorable to commerce should have succeeded.

In traveling through the provinces of Leon and Castile and observing the numerous flocks of sheep, with the most beautiful fleeces of wool in the world, I could not but wish that some communication might be opened by which the United States of America might be furnished with this necessary article from this country. There are few of our articles of exportation but might be sent to the Spanish market to advantage; rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, tobacco, wheat, flour, shiptimber, masts, yards, bowsprits, and salt fish might be supplied to Spain, and at an advantage, and in return she might furnish us wine, oils, fruits, some silks, some linens, perhaps, and with any quantity of wool, which is now exported to foreign countries for manufacture, and might as well be sent to us, but above all with silver and gold.

It must be the work of time and a free intercourse between the two nations and a future negotiation to ripen these hints into a plan that may be beneficial to both. The system of revenue, which it is dangerous and difficult to alter in Spain, as well as in all other countries of Europe, will be the principal objection. I have collected together with some difficulty a few gazettes, which I have the honor to transmit to Congress, from which all the news may be collected that I have been able to learn. Congress will easily perceive the eagerness with which the belligerent powers are bent on war, without manifesting the least disposition for peace, and most of all Great Britain, whose ostentatious display of trifling successes and whose weak exultation shows that

nothing can divert her from her furious course. But she is exhausting and sinking her forces every day, without gaining any lasting or solid advantage, and she has reason to fear, from the combined fleets of France and Spain, under such enterprising, experienced, and approved officers as D'Estaing and du Chaffault, the entire ruin of her commerce and navy in the course of a campaign or two more.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

A. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *January* 19, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Having signified to the Count de Vergennes the resolution of Congress assenting to my return, his excellency proposed my taking leave of the king in form, and upon my doing so, that minister presented me his majesty's picture set in diamonds.

I thought it my duty to decline accepting it, upon which his excellency told me it was a mark of his majesty's esteem, and was never refused. After this it appeared to me improper to persist in the refusal, and I received it with a determination to leave it to the disposal of Congress. It is sufficient for me that the giving it is a distinguished proof of the untruth of what has been asserted that this court was disgusted with me and dissatisfied at my conduct. The present itself I shall dispose of according to the pleasure of Congress. His majesty's portrait is graven upon my mind by the justice and virtue which constitute his character, of which gold and jewels can not enhance the value.

Permit me from this example to remark, for the sake of the ministers, that this law should be explained, so as not to leave them to the disagreeable alternative of an ungracious refusal or an acceptance that may expose them to censure.

An expedition, with ten thousand of the enemy's best troops, will take place in about two months from Ireland; and though from the profound secrecy observed I have not yet been able to discover its destination with certainty, yet I have sufficient reason to think that Boston is the object of it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

Franklin to Hodgson.†

PASSY, *January* 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I am much obliged by your kind letter informing me of the good disposition of the commissioners for the sick and wounded. I believe they would do in all things what is humane, just, and honorable, but I have not so good an opinion of the lords of admiralty, from

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 580. † MSS. Dep. of State.

whom Mr. Hartley had never been able to obtain a yes or a no on the plain question whether the written paroles or engagements of English prisoners set at liberty by our cruisers were to be complied with. By the resolution which you inform me is now taken, not to send any more men to Morlaix than there shall be assembled there to exchange them with, I perceive they have determined that such paroles are not to be regarded; I must therefore give notice to our people to trust no more to them, but to bring and lodge all their prisoners in French jails. How much human misery might be saved by continuing the other method! I thought confidence, if it had not begot confidence, would at least have produced justice, but I was mistaken. The English navy has had the service of more than two hundred seamen so released ever since May last. Had the like confidence been placed in us, or even had those engagements been executed, I should have sent over directly from Holland in Dutch bottoms, without writing for a passport, the prisoners brought in there by Commodore Jones, which exceeded five hundred, and without waiting [sic] for the agreement made a long time after between the French and English ambassadors for their exchange. It is surprising on how slight grounds Englishmen can think themselves disengaged from their paroles given to Americans. There is a Captain Fetnall, who, with all his ship's company, was released at Boston on his promise to obtain in England the release of a Captain Robinson and his company, who were an equal number. On his arrival in England he found Captain Robinson already exchanged, and therefore, as Mr. Hartley informs me, judges himself quit of his engagement; and it seems we then are to have no men in exchange for those given for Captain Robinson and his people. Probably we shall then have none neither for those brought over upon British faith with two flags of truce from Boston. Commodore Jones released on their written parole, they being in bad health, John Brownell, master's mate, and Samuel Wightman, lieutenant of marines, both of the *Serapis*, soon after their arrival in Holland. Their paroles, with many others, are in my hands. I have not yet been able to obtain an account of the prisoners we have in Spain. Here are forty-eight at L'Orient and thirty-six or thirty eight at Brest, which may all soon be rendered at Morlaix if a cartel should arrive there. Enclosed I send a second pass for that place. I trouble you with it, as I apprehend Mr. Hartley, who wrote for it, may be out of town. I am persuaded, too, that if you can procure any favorable change in the sentiments of their lordships of the admiralty relating to parole prisoners, of which I should be glad to hear, it will be a pleasure to your benevolent mind.

I rejoice to learn the friends I esteemed and loved when in England continue well. Be pleased to remember me to them affectionately.

With great esteem, I am ever, dear sir, yours, etc.,*

* This letter was addressed to Mr. Hodgson, care of Guill, Hodgson & Co., merchants, London.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 23, 1780.

SIR: Advices recently received from Europe make mention of the efforts which the English have made in Germany to procure recruits and new levies, and of the difficulty they have experienced even on the part of those courts with whom they had before treated. The greatest part of the German princes who have sold soldiers to the court of London now blush at these sales, which have excited their subjects against them, and which, besides, have drained their states. They are reluctant to give troops to a power that is making war against France, with whom they have always preserved amicable ties; and I am assured that it is even doubtful whether the English will be able to procure a few recruits to complete the corps they have in America.

I am informed that these circumstances have determined the British Government to make every effort to obtain men in America whom they can not procure in Europe, and that Mr. Clinton has received orders to spare no pains to effect the exchange or deliverance of the troops of the convention of Saratoga and of other prisoners who are in the hands of the Americans. It is added that the want of the court of London for soldiers is so pressing, that General Clinton has been authorized to surmount all the difficulties which may arise in the negotiation of this exchange, and that he is even permitted in case of absolute necessity to treat with Congress or their ministers on terms of perfect equality and as with an independent power. He has also equally full liberty to agree upon the number of private soldiers who may be given in exchange for an officer of any rank whatsoever; and they order him simply to remember in treating of this matter that an English soldier transported to America is of infinite price to England, and they exhort him to employ all his efforts to bring about an exchange, whatever may be the conditions.

I hasten to communicate these interesting ideas to Congress, and I have learned that they were confirmed by the event, and that Major General Phillips had in effect drawn on a negotiation the progress of which had been entirely confided to your excellency. They prayed me at the same time to send you a communication of these objects, which the Congress think ought greatly to influence the measures which it will be in your power to take when you know that the English commissioners have orders to pass over all difficulties and to grant all the demands which may be made rather than to lose the occasion of re-enforcing the army they have upon this continent.

I join to this some extracts, the contents of which have appeared to me of a nature to interest your excellency. You will see besides, sir, by the dispatch of the British minister, with what affectation he seeks

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 665, with verbal changes.

to make the thirteen States to be considered as subjected to the English domination, and you will judge of what importance it is to you to treat with the court of London upon the footing of perfect equality, and how useful an act of this nature may be to the negotiations of Congress in Europe, when they can add to all the facts of which the court of Madrid makes mention in its memoir a cartel regulated on a footing of perfect parity, and which would prejudge beforehand the question of your independence. I congratulate myself that this negotiation is in your hands, and I am well persuaded that nothing will pass derogatory to the part which my court has taken in acknowledging the independence and the perfect sovereignty of the United States.

I shall intrust to your excellency that the king is disposed to send over succors to this continent of arms and ammunition, but as the events of the sea are uncertain, I believe that it will be proper to make no change in the measures which may have been taken otherwise to procure them. This news not having reached me till yesterday, I have not yet been able to make a communication of it to Congress.

As you may be retained in your quarters by important considerations, I propose to go to render you my duties in the course of the next month, and confer with your excellency on objects of great importance, and relative to the measures necessary to push the next campaign with vigor, and to put the American army in a condition truly proper to hold the enemy in check upon the continent, whilst his majesty and the King of Spain shall display in the other parts of the world all their forces to secure advantageous terms of peace to the allies.

I am, with respect, sir,

LUZERNE.

P. S.—This letter will be delivered to your excellency by M. de Galvan, who has been raised to the rank of major by your goodness. He desires to merit it anew, and prays me to solicit you to put his zeal in activity. I shall be very grateful for what you may be pleased to do for him. He was particularly recommended to me by the minister of France. He appeared to me to merit a great deal from his zeal and from his personal attachment to your excellency.

PAPERS MENTIONED IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

No. 1.—Translation.

Extract of a dispatch communicated by Lord Weymouth, the ambassador of England to the court of Madrid, to Lord Grantham on the 16th of March, 1779.]

Let the Colonies propose also their grievances, and the conditions for their security or for their precaution, in order that the continuance and authority of lawful government may be re-established; and then we shall see if a direct and immediate accommodation can take place. If this same method is preferred in this last case only, let a truce be made in North America; that is to say, a real truce and suspension of arms,

during which may be established and secured the liberty and estates of persons of every condition, and let all sort of violence against the respective subjects, or against the estates or effects which they possess, be made to cease. During this truce the French may treat upon their particular concerns, avoiding thereby the suspicions to which they would necessarily expose themselves if they wish to involve in the negotiation their private advantage relatively to the pretended interests of those whom France, with affectation, calls her allies, and his majesty will be able to establish the government of his own dominions without suffering the humiliation of not receiving, but from the hand of a declared enemy, the conditions which regard this government.

No. 2.—Translation.

[Ultimatum proposed by the court of Madrid to the courts of France and England, dated 3d of April, 1779.]

If these overtures or propositions had arrived here immediately after the king had made his to adjust the plan of reconciliation, several difficulties might have been some time since removed by the modifications which might have been negotiated, counting upon good faith and reciprocal confidence, as well as the desire of obtaining a peace; but after having lost more than two months, without reckoning the time that uselessly passed before, and after having observed that during this interval they did not cease to make great preparations of war, it must necessarily be suspected that the object of England is to let glide away the months which the campaign might still last to continue the war with vigor. In this case all the efforts of the king to bring back the belligerent powers to peace would be ineffectual. Nevertheless his majesty, wishing to give one more proof of his love of humanity, and to make it appear that he has neglected nothing to stop and prevent the calamities of war, has ordered to propose to the two courts the following plan, which will be on his part an ultimatum in this affair:

"That there shall be an unlimited suspension of arms with France, on condition that neither of the belligerent powers can break it without advertising the other a year beforehand.

"That, with a view of re-establishing reciprocal security and good faith between the two crowns by means of this suspension of hostilities, there shall be a general disarming in the space of one month on the side of Europe, in four months on that of America, and in eight months or a year for those of Africa and of Asia, the most remote.

"That they shall determine in a month the place where the plenipotentiaries of the two courts shall assemble, to treat of a definitive accommodation of peace, and to regulate the restitutions or compensations relative to the reprisals which have been made without adjudication of war, and to other grievances or pretensions of one or the other crown. For this purpose the king will continue his mediation, offering in the first place the city of Madrid to hold a congress.

"That the King of Great Britain shall grant a like cessation of hostilities to the American Colonies, by the intercession and mediation of his Catholic majesty, a year beforehand, to the end that he may apprise the said American provinces that they are equally ordered to make a reciprocal disarming at the epochas and for the spaces of time which have been specified with regard to France.

"That the bounds be fixed beyond which neither of the two parties shall pass from the positions and territories in which it shall be at the time of the ratification of this arrangement.

"That they may send to Madrid one or more commissioners on the part of the Colonies, and that his Britannic majesty may also send others on his part under the mediation of the king, if necessary, in order to adjust all those points and others which respect this suspension of arms and the effects which it ought to produce, so long as it shall subsist, and that during this interval the Colonies shall be treated as

independent in fact. That in case all the belligerent powers, or any others among them, or even the Colonies themselves, demand that the treaties or accommodations which are concluded be guarantied by those powers and by Spain, they shall in effect be so guarantied. And the Catholic king now offers his guaranty for the preliminaries."

No. 3.—Translation.

[Extract from the exposition of the motives of the court of Spain relative to England.]

Among the propositions of the ultimatum of the King of Spain there is one for which the British cabinet has affected to have the greatest repugnance, and that is the proposition which imparts that the Colonies shall be treated as independent *in fact* during the interval of the truce. It is extraordinary, since it is even ridiculous, that the court of London, after having treated the Colonies during the war as independent not only *in fact*, but also *of right*, should have any repugnance to treat them as independent only *in fact* during the truce or suspension of arms. The convention of Saratoga, General Burgoyne considered as a lawful prisoner, the exchange and liberation of other colonial prisoners, the nomination of commissioners to meet the Americans at their own homes, the act of having asked peace of them, and to treat with them or with Congress, and a hundred other facts of this nature, authorized by the court of London, have been genuine signs of an acknowledgment of the independence of the Colonies.

It is the English nation itself who can best judge and decide whether all these acts are as compatible with the honor of the British crown as would be that of granting to the Colonies, by the interposition of his Catholic majesty, a suspension of arms to discuss their differences and to treat them during this interval as independent *in fact*.

H. Laurens to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

CHARLESTON, *January* 24, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: On the 11th instant I had the honor of receiving your commands of the 11th ultimo, accompanied by two acts of Congress, one of the 23d of November, 1779, for drawing bills of exchange "on Mr. John Jay for one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and on Mr. Henry Laurens for a like sum," and for appointing a committee to report, etc.; the other of the 20th of November, for carrying the first act into effect by modes therein specified. Neither of these acts intimates where the intended drafts are to be paid, nor where Congress expects me to be at the presentation of the bills which are to be assigned for my acceptance, nor directs me to funds for discharging them, nor do the contents of your said favor of the 11th of December elucidate these ambiguities.

Probably, however, it might have been expected that, although I am to cross the Atlantic single, and the bills in quadruplicate, and although I am not yet honored with the act of Congress appointing me to negotiate a loan in Europe, which should have been lodged in my hands as the corner-stone for proceeding, nor with means for procuring or paying for a passage thither, nor with other necessary and promised acts and letters from Congress, I am to meet one bill of each set in some part of the United Netherlands.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 711.

Taking for granted, therefore, that the bills are not to be presented to me in any part of America, I shall embark for Europe by the first opportunity, and if it please God that I arrive in safety, I shall proceed to Paris and Amsterdam with all possible dispatch, when I shall expect to receive further and more explicit commands from Congress for enabling me to make those vigorous exertions on which you are pleased to say the credit of our paper currency, or, which is the same thing, the credit of these United States, depends. Had I been apprised in proper time that this quick step in accommodation bills had been in embryo, I should not have had resolution to face them. Should there now be any failure, it will not be the result of delinquency in any respect on my part.

I entreat you, gentlemen, to inform Congress that I have engaged for a passage to France on board the French frigate *Chimere*, commanded by the Chevalier Durumain, who, at the special request of this State, is gone on a short cruise on the coast in company with three of the Continental frigates, with a prospect of intercepting some of the enemy's transport ships and troops from New York intended for Georgia; that immediately after the *Chimere* arrives at the bar of Charleston, whither she is to return for necessary stores for her voyage, I shall embark; that if any accident shall prevent her return, I will embrace the very next earliest opportunity of proceeding, either direct for Europe or by way of the West Indies, without regard to my own private interest or indulgence. No vessel has sailed from this port for Europe since my arrival here.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HENRY LAURENS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 24, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor of sending you the credentials by which M. d'Anmours is provisionally appointed his majesty's consul in the State of North Carolina. I entreat you to be pleased to cause them to be invested with the sanction of Congress by having them entered upon the registers, and by taking the trouble to affix your approval, or causing that of Mr. Thompson to be affixed, according to the mode heretofore pursued in similar cases.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 670.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 25, 1780.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has received express orders from the king, his master, to inform Congress that the present situation of the affairs of the alliance in Europe announces the necessity of another campaign, which is indispensable to bring England to an acknowledgment of the independence of the thirteen United States, which is the essential purpose of the present war. That power is making preparations the most proper for continuing the war with vigor, and appears willing to employ in the course of this year all the means possible to procure reparation, by some important enterprise, for the losses it has already sustained. Congress can not doubt that in this situation of affairs his most Christian majesty and the King of Spain have concerted plans to maintain that superiority by sea which has begun to appear in their favor, and the underwritten has reason to believe that the United States have nothing to desire of their ally touching the use he is making of the resources of his realm and the efficacy of the measures adopted by the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid.

But while this powerful diversion retains in Europe and the West Indies the greater part of the land and sea forces of the common enemy, it is absolutely necessary that the United States, on their part, should make efforts proportionable to the greatness of the object for which they are contending. The only means of putting an end to the calamities of war is to push it with new vigor, to take effectual measures immediately for completing the army and putting it in condition to begin an early campaign.

It is also necessary to concert, as far as the distance of places will permit, a plan of common operations, and this is one of the principal points on which the underwritten minister is ordered to consult with Congress. He is also ordered to assure this assembly that the king, being informed of the wants of the American army with respect to arms and ammunition, has commanded his ministers to make suitable arrangements for supplying them. It is necessary that the underwritten minister should confer with Congress on the subjects just mentioned. Besides, he has some particular circumstances to communicate relative to the present or probable state of the negotiations, and he desires that this assembly will be pleased to inform him in what manner they will receive the communication, the subject of which, as well as the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, requires the most profound secrecy. In the mean while he now only assures Congress that in the whole course of the negotiations carried on last year the king would not listen to either peace or truce without an assurance of some sort of the independence of the United States.

LUZERNE.

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 670.

Jay to Franklin.*

CADIZ, *January* 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR: You have doubtless been amused this month or two past with various conjectures about the fate of the *Confederacy*. She left Chester (on the Delaware) 18th† October, bound for France; was dismasted and split her rudder the 7th November off the banks of Newfoundland on the 23d following. The officers of the ship being all of opinion that the condition of her rudder forbid our proceeding to Europe, we steered for Martinico, and arrived there 18th December. We sailed from thence the 28th following in the *Aurora*, and expected to have proceeded with her to Toulon; but on arriving here, the 22d instant, we heard of the success of the enemy in the Mediterranean, and of several cruisers near this coast, whom we had fortunately escaped.

The further prosecution of my voyage having thus become improper, I gave notice of my appointment and arrival to Don Joseph de Galvez, the secretary of state for the department of the Indies, in a letter, of which the enclosed No. 1 is a copy, and also to Count de Vergennes in a letter, of which the enclosed No. 2 is a copy. Mr. Carmichael is the bearer of the former, and M. Gerard will be so obliging as to take charge of the latter.

While at Martinico I drew a bill upon you for somewhere about seventy half johannes in favor of Mr. Bingham, of which I gave you advice by letter from thence, and enclosed a copy of the resolution of Congress which authorized that measure.

Although I had letters with me to gentlemen in other parts of Spain, yet it unluckily happened that I had none to any person here. You may imagine, therefore, that I was at first little embarrassed on the article of money, but it gives me pleasure to inform you that the polite and unsolicited offers of Chevalier Roche and M. Penet have made me easy on that head for the present. By their means I obtained 3,912 livres tournois from Messrs. Quintinkeret & Co. for a bill on you for 4,079 livres tournois, that being, it seems, the difference of exchange. The bill is dated the 25th instant, and is made payable at the expiration of sixty days from the date, which they tell me is the manner of drawing bills here.

American credit suffers exceedingly in this place from reports that our loan office bills, payable in France, have not been duly honored, but have been delayed payment under various pretexts, one of which is that it was necessary for a whole set of bills to arrive before the money could be paid.

How far you may be in capacity to answer the demands made upon you I can not determine, but many considerations induce me to entreat

* MSS. Dep. of State; imperfectly given in 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 254.

† Franklin, in his letter to Dumas, Jan. 27, 1780, says the *Confederacy* left the Capes of Delaware October 28.

you by all means punctually to pay the bill in question. Private honor forbids that these gentlemen should, by an act of kindness to me, expose their friends to inconveniences, and public credit demands that the reputation of Congress be not destroyed by the protest of bills drawn under their immediate authority for the necessary support of their servants; and I might also add that if this bill should fail there will be an end put to my credit. On the consequences of such an event it is neither necessary or pleasant to dwell.

I have in my possession several letters, or rather packets, directed to you, and am much at a loss what to do with them. Be pleased to direct me. There are many things I wish to say to you, but you must, my dear sir, excuse my postponing them to another opportunity. I have been so confined since my arrival by preparing letters for Madrid, France, and America that I have not yet been two hours out of my chamber.

God bless you, my dear sir, and long continue to you the blessing of health and cheerfulness.

Believe me, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—Be pleased to present my compliments to Mr. Adams. I shall do myself the pleasure of writing to him by the next opportunity. When we left Philadelphia Mr. and Mrs. Bache, with their children (which are really fine ones), were in perfect health.

Jay to A. Lee.*

CADIZ, *January* 26, 1780.

SIR: As a knowledge of the measures you may have taken and the information you may have acquired relative to the objects of your commission from the United States of America to conclude treaties with his Catholic majesty would probably enable me with greater facility and advantage to execute the duties of my appointment, permit me, sir, to request the favor of you to communicate the same to me, in such manner as you may judge most prudent.

I have in my possession some letters directed to you; they are voluminous, and probably contain printed papers. They may also be confidential and important to you. Under these circumstances I can only judge of your inclination by what would be my own in a similar situation. I should wish that they might be detained till I could have an opportunity of directing the manner of their conveyance. Upon this principle they shall remain among my papers till I receive your orders what to do with them.†

I am, sir, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 141.

† See the answer to this letter, *infra*, March 17, 1780.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *January* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received yours of the 10th instant. I shall be glad to learn how the taking of the Dutch ships has been accommodated. We have yet no news of the *Alliance*, but suppose she is cruising. We are more in pain for the *Confederacy*, which sailed on the 28th of October from the capes of Delaware. There is some hope that she went to Charleston to take in Mr. Laurens, as some passengers arrived in France, who left Philadelphia several weeks after her sailing, say it was a general opinion she would call there before she departed for Europe.†

I send you enclosed a translation of a letter, which I think I sent you the original of before. Perhaps it may serve our Leyden friend.

I am sorry you have any difference with the ambassador, and wish you to accommodate it as soon as possible. Depend upon it that no one ever knew from me that you had spoken or written against any person. There is one concerning whom I think you sometimes receive erroneous information. In one particular I know you were misinformed, that of his selling us arms at an enormous profit. The truth is, we never bought of him.

I am ever, with great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Jay—Instructions to Carmichael.‡

CADIZ, *January* 27, 1780.

You will proceed to Madrid with convenient expedition, and if M. Gerard, with whom you set out, should travel too deliberately, I advise you to go on before him. The propriety of this, however, will depend much on circumstances, and must be determined by your own discretion.

On delivering my letter to M. Galvez, it would be proper to intimate that I presumed it would be more agreeable to him to receive my dispatches from you, who could give him information on many matters about which he might choose to inquire, than in the ordinary modes of conveyance. And it may not be amiss to let him know, that his not receiving notice of our arrival from me by M. Gerard's courier was owing to a mistake between that gentleman and me.

Treat the French ambassador with great consideration and candor, and that degree of confidence only which prudence and the alliance be-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 295; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 412; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 1.

† See the history of the voyage of the *Confederacy* in Jay to President of Congress, December 24, 1779, *supra*.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 148.

tween us may prescribe. In your conversations with people about the court, impress them with an idea of our strong attachment to France, yet so as to avoid permitting them to imbibe an opinion of our being under the *direction* of any counsels but our own. The former will induce them to think well of our constancy and good faith, the latter of our independence and self-respect.

Discover, if possible, whether the courts of Madrid and Versailles entertain, in any degree, the same mutual disgusts which we are told prevail at present between the two nations, and be cautious when you tread on this delicate ground. It would also be useful to know who are the king's principal confidants and the trains leading to each.

To treat prudently with any nation, it is essential to know the state of its revenues. Turn your attention, therefore, to this object, and endeavor to learn whether the public expenditures consume their annual income, or whether there be any and what overplus or deficiency, and the manner in which the former is disposed of or the latter supplied.

If an opportunity should offer, inform yourself as to the regulations of the press at Madrid, and, indeed, throughout the kingdom; and the particular character of the person at the head of that department. Endeavor to find some person of adequate abilities and knowledge in the two languages to translate English into Spanish with propriety, and, if possible, elegance. I wish also to know which of the religious orders, and the individuals of it, are most esteemed and favored at court.

Mention, as matter of intelligence rather than in the way of argument, the cruelties of the enemy, and the influence of that conduct on the passions of Americans. This will be the more necessary, as it seems we are suspected of retaining our former attachments to Britain.

In speaking of American affairs, remember to do justice to Virginia and the western country near the Mississippi. Recount their achievements against the savages, their growing numbers, extensive settlements, and aversion to Britain for attempting to involve them in the horrors of an Indian war. Let it appear also from your representations that ages will be necessary to settle those extensive regions.

Let it be inferred from your conversation that the expectations of America, as to my reception and success, are sanguine; that they have been rendered the more so by the suggestions of persons generally supposed to speak from authority, and that a disappointment would be no less unwelcome than unexpected.

I am persuaded that pains will be taken to delay my receiving a decided answer as to my reception until the sentiments of France shall be known. Attempts will also be made to suspend the acknowledgment of our independence on the condition of our acceding to *certain* terms of treaty. Do nothing to cherish either of these ideas; but, without being explicit, treat the latter in a manner expressive of

regret and apprehension, and seem to consider my reception as a measure which we hoped would be immediately taken, although the business of the negotiation might be postponed till France could have an opportunity of taking the step she might think proper on the occasion.

You will offer to transmit to me any dispatches which M. Galvez may think proper to confide to you, or to return with them yourself if more agreeable to him.

You will be attentive to all other objects of useful information, such as the characters, views, and connections of important individuals; the plan of operations for the next campaign; whether any, and what, secret overtures have been made by Britain to France or Spain, or by either of them to her, or each other; whether any of the other powers have manifested a disposition to take a part in the war, and whether it is probable that any, and which, of them will become mediators for a general peace and on what plan. If the war should continue, it would be advantageous to know whether Spain means to carry on any serious operations for possessing herself of the Floridas and banks of the Mississippi, etc.

Although I have confidence in your prudence, yet permit me to recommend to you the greatest circumspection. Command yourself under every circumstance; on the one hand, avoid being suspected of servility, and on the other, let your temper be always even and your attention unremitted.

You will oblige me by being very regular and circumstantial in your correspondence, and commit nothing of a private nature to paper unless in cipher.

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

CADIZ, *January* 27, 1780.

SIR: This morning M. Gerard set out from this city for France, and Mr. Carmichael, charged with dispatches from me to the Spanish ministry, accompanies him as far as Madrid.

We arrived here the 22d instant, and I have been so engaged ever since in preparing letters, etc., as not to have an opportunity of writing circumstantially to your excellency by Captain Proctor, who I am told is to sail early in the morning for the Delaware or Chesapeake.

We left Martinique on the 28th of December, in the *Aurora* frigate, bound to Toulon. On touching here for intelligence we were informed that the enemy had acquired a decided superiority in the Mediterranean, and that this coast was infested by their cruisers, all of whom we had fortunately escaped. Hence it became improper for me to proceed

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 147, with verbal changes.

to France by water, and it would in my opinion have been indelicate, and therefore imprudent, to have passed silently through this kingdom to that, for the purpose of making a communication to his most Christian majesty, which could be fully conveyed by paper. On this subject I shall take the liberty of making a few further remarks in a future letter.

Congress will be enabled to judge of the propriety and plan of my conduct from the papers herewith enclosed, viz: a copy of a letter to M. Galvez, the Spanish minister; a copy of a letter to the Count de Vergennes (of both these I have sent copies to Dr. Franklin); a copy of a letter to the honorable Arthur Lee; and a copy of my instructions to Mr. Carmichael.

As, in pursuance of what appears to me to be my duty, I shall render frequent, particular, and confidential accounts of my proceedings to Congress, I flatter myself care will be taken to prevent the return of them to Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Carmichael.*

PASSY, *January* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have before me your favors of October 25, November 5, and December 21. I do not know whether the Duke de Crillon, whom you recommend, is come to Paris. That letter came while I was ill, and I have not since heard anything of him. But I will inquire for him of the prince, to whom it was not till yesterday that I was able to pay my respects, and to thank the princess for their civilities to my compatriots at Madrid. You desire, as she had not the print she requested, that I would show her the original *to advantage*. It happened unluckily otherwise, for by the mistake of my man, who, it seems, had inquired for the princess instead of the prince, I was shown into a dressing-room where a lady was at her toilet; and not knowing at first who it was, and expecting the prince, I was a little puzzled till he came. They speak of you with great regard.

I wish to know whether the clothing you mention in yours of November 5 is gone and what the quantity. When I heard of the taking of clothing for fifteen thousand men by the combined fleet from the English I thought our friends had a fine opportunity of supplying our wants in an essential not immediately necessary to themselves; I hope it was all sent to America. Reports are just now spread here, but I do not learn how they came, that M. Galvez has succeeded at Pensacola. This gives me the more pleasure, as when Spain has done her own business in recovering Florida, she may, perhaps, think of helping us to recover

* MSS. Dep. of State.

Georgia and Carolina. But I own, too, that my expectations of great aids from that nation are not much stronger than yours. As yet they know us too little, and are jealous of us too much; their long delay in entering into treaty with us, in pursuance of the secret article, is to me a mark of their not being very fond of a connection with us, in which I think they much mistake their true interest and neglect securing great and permanent advantages to their country.

I thank you for your information relating to the batteries opened against me in America. I since hear that a motion has been made in Congress by a Carolina member for recalling me, but without success; and that A. Lee has printed a pamphlet against me. If my enemies would have a little patience they may soon see me removed without their giving themselves any trouble, as I am now seventy-five. I know not what they can mean by saying that I opposed the settling of Mr. Deane's accounts. I have no interest to induce such opposition, and no opposition has been made. The Congress appointed Mr. Johnson, of Nantes, to audit them; he refused the service, and Mr. Deane was, till very lately, absent.

I am glad you have met with such civility from the Marquis D'Yranda. From the character Mr. Grand gives me of him I wish both you and Mr. Jay may cultivate his friendship. He has conceived that Mr. Jay is too reserved towards him *qu'il paroit toujours fort boutonné* was, I think, the expression in a letter Mr. Grand read to me. Though I did not sooner answer Mr. Jay's and your letters relating to your appointments, I took care immediately to order the credit desired, and I have since accepted the bill you mention, so that I hope you are now easy as to your particular affairs, which I wish you may always be, enjoying withal every other kind of happiness.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—As I read Spanish a little, I wish you would send me the Gazette of Madrid by the court couriers, and any new pamphlets that are curious. There is also a book that I desire to have, but it being in two volumes folio, you can not easily find an opportunity of sending it; it is the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nicolai Antoni.*

Jay to Galvez, Minister of the Spanish Court.*

CADIZ, *January* 27, 1780.

SIR: Permit me, through your excellency, to have the honor of representing to his most Catholic majesty that, on the 6th day of February, 1778, the respective plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty and the United States of America, by whom the treaties now subsisting

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 144, with verbal changes.

between them were concluded, did make and subscribe a secret article in the words following, viz:

"The most Christian king declares, in consequence of the intimate union which subsists between him and the King of Spain, that, in concluding with the United States of America this treaty of amity and commerce and that of eventual and defensive alliance, his majesty had intended and intends to reserve expressly, as he reserves by this present separate and secret act, to his Catholic majesty the power of acceding to the said treaties and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper; it being well understood, nevertheless, that if any of the stipulations of the said treaties are not agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholic majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance, and conformably to the rules of equality, reciprocity, and friendship. The deputies of the United States, in the name of their constituents, accept the present declaration to its full extent; and the deputy of the said States, who is fully empowered to treat with Spain, promises to sign, on the first requisition of his Catholic majesty, the act or acts necessary to communicate to him the stipulations of the treaties above written. And the said deputy shall endeavor, in good faith, the adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain may propose any alteration conformably to the principles of equality, reciprocity, and perfect amity; he, the said deputy, not doubting but the person or persons empowered by his Catholic majesty to treat with the United States will do the same with any alterations of the same kind that may be thought necessary by the said plenipotentiary of the United States."

The Congress, willing to manifest their readiness fully to comply with an article which they have reason to believe particularly agreeable to their great and good ally, and being desirous of establishing perpetual amity and harmony with a prince and nation whom they greatly respect, and with whom various circumstances lead them to wish for the most cordial and permanent friendship, have thought proper to request his most Catholic majesty to accede to the said treaties, and thereby preclude the necessity of that measure's originating in the manner specified in the article. For this purpose they have done me the honor to appoint me minister plenipotentiary, and directed me to communicate to his most Christian majesty the desire of Congress on this subject, and to request his favorable interposition. They also made it my duty to give his most Catholic majesty the fullest assurances of their sincere disposition to cultivate his friendship and confidence; and authorized me, in their behalf, to enter into such treaties of alliance, amity, and commerce, as would become the lasting foundations of perpetual peace to Spain and the United States, and the source of extensive advantages to both.

Thus commissioned, I embarked without delay on board the frigate which had been appointed to carry the Sieur Gerard to France, and

sailed with him for that kingdom, from Pennsylvania, on the 26th day of October last.

But after having been thirteen days at sea the frigate was dismasted, and her rudder so greatly injured, as to oblige us to alter our course and steer for Martinique. We arrived there on the 18th day of December last; and sailed from thence on the 28th day of the same month in a French frigate which was bound to Toulon, but had orders to touch at this port for intelligence. We arrived here the 22d instant and received information of recent events, which rendered the further prosecution of our voyage too hazardous to be prudent.

Providence having thus been pleased to bring me directly to Spain, the respect due to his most Catholic majesty forbids me to postpone communicating to him my appointment and arrival; and the same motive will induce me to remain here till he shall be pleased to signify to me his pleasure; for although nothing would afford me more sensible pleasure than the honor of presenting to his majesty the dispatches which I am charged by Congress to deliver to him, yet on this, as on every other occasion, it shall be my study to execute the trust reposed in me in the manner most pleasing to his majesty, agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the article above mentioned.

And that his most Christian majesty may have the highest evidence of the intention and desire of Congress fully and faithfully to execute this article, I shall immediately do myself the honor of communicating the same, together with my appointment and arrival; and I flatter myself that the request of Congress for his favorable interposition will meet with the same friendly attention which he has uniformly extended to all their concerns, and of which I am too sensible not to derive the highest satisfaction from acknowledging it on every occasion.

Mr. Carmichael, my secretary, will have the honor of delivering this dispatch to your excellency, as well as of giving every information in his power to afford. This gentleman was a member of Congress at the time of his appointment, and will be able more fully to express the ardor with which the United States desire to establish a union with France and Spain on principles productive of such mutual attachment and reciprocal benefits as to secure to each the blessings of uninterrupted tranquillity.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration and respect, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I do myself the honor of transmitting to your excellency herewith enclosed, a copy of my letter to his excellency the Count de Vergennes.

Jay to Vergennes.*

CADIZ, *January* 27, 1780.

SIR: It is with very sensible pleasure that I commence a correspondence with a minister of whose disposition and abilities to promote the happiness of my country we have received repeated proofs, and on a subject that affords his most Christian majesty an opportunity of perceiving the desire and endeavors of the United States to become cordial and steadfast friends and allies to an illustrious branch of his royal house.

By the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States of America his most Christian majesty, in consequence of his intimate union with the King of Spain, did expressly reserve to his Catholic majesty the power of acceding to the said treaties, and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he should judge proper; it being well understood, nevertheless, that if any of the said stipulations should not be agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholic majesty might propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance, and conformable to the rules of equity, reciprocity, and friendship. And the deputy of the said States, empowered to treat with Spain, did promise to sign, *on the first requisition* of his Catholic majesty, the act or acts necessary to communicate to him the stipulations of the treaties above mentioned, and to endeavor in good faith the adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain might propose any alteration, conformable to the principles of equality, reciprocity, and perfect amity.

But as the above reservation has always been no less agreeable to the United States than to their great and good ally, both considerations conspired in inducing them to make the first advances towards attaining the object of it. And therefore, instead of waiting till the requisitions mentioned in the said articles should be made, they have thought proper to assure his most Catholic majesty not only of their readiness to comply with the terms of it, but of their desire to obtain his confidence and alliance by carrying it immediately into execution on the most liberal principles. Trusting also that the same wise reasons which induced his most Christian majesty to give birth to the said article would lead him to facilitate the endeavors of his allies to execute it, they resolved that their desire to enter into the said treaties should be communicated to his majesty, and that his favorable interposition should be requested.

The more fully to effect these purposes, the Congress were pleased, in September last, to do me the honor of appointing me their minister plenipotentiary, and, in pursuance of this appointment, I sailed from America for France on the 26th of October last, with M. Gerard, who was so obliging as to wait till I could embark in the frigate assigned for

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 142, with verbal changes.

his service. After being thirteen days at sea the frigate was dismasted, and her rudder so much damaged that it was thought imprudent to proceed on our voyage. We therefore steered for Martinique, and arrived there on 18th of December. I can not, on this occasion, forbear expressing my warmest acknowledgments for the very polite attention and hospitality with which we were received and treated, both by the officers of government and many respectable inhabitants of that island. We left Martinique on the 28th of the same month, in the *Aurora*, in which I expected to have gone to Toulon, but on touching at this place, it appeared that the further prosecution of our voyage had become impracticable without running risks that could not be justified.

Thus circumstanced, the respect due to his most Catholic majesty demanded an immediate communication of my appointment and arrival, which I had the honor to make in a letter to his excellency Don Joseph Galvez, of the council of his Catholic majesty, and general secretary of state for the department of the Indies, of which the enclosed is a copy.

Will you, therefore, sir, be so obliging as to lay this circumstance before his most Christian majesty, and permit me through your excellency to assure him of the desire of Congress to enter into a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty, and to request his favorable interposition for that purpose.

I am happy in being able to assure you that the United States consider a cordial union between France, Spain, and them as a very desirable and most important object, and they view the provision which his most Christian majesty has made for it by the above-mentioned article not only evincive of his attention to his royal ally, but of his regard to them.

Under these views and these impressions they are most sincerely disposed, by the liberality and candor of their conduct, to render the proposed treaties speedy in their accomplishment and perpetual in their duration.

Your excellency will receive this letter by M. Gerard, who is so obliging as to take charge of it, and to whom the Congress have been pleased to give such ample testimonies of their esteem and confidence as to enable him to exert his talents with great advantage on every occasion interesting to them.

I can not conclude without indulging myself in the pleasure of acknowledging how much we are indebted to the politeness and attention of the Marquis de la Flotte and the officers of the *Aurora*, during the course of our voyage.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Secret Journals of Congress—Conferences with Minister of France.*

January 28, 1780.

The committee appointed to receive the communications of the minister of France reported the following extracts:

1. *Extract of a dispatch from Lord Weymouth to Lord Sydenham, dated 16th March, 1779.*

My language to the Marquis of Almodavar, flowing from my ardent desire of peace, has gone too far and failed in precision if it imported a disposition to exchange the royal honor and manifest rights for a decent exterior and plausible temperature. Let France propose her complaints, pretensions, or points of any kind whatever, and an adequate answer will be given. Or let there be a truce for a certain time between Great Britain and France, during which period the pretensions of one and the other may be adjusted through the good offices of his Catholic majesty. Let the Colonies propose their complaints, and the conditions for their security and caution by which may be re-established the continuance and authority of a lawful government; we shall then see if we can come to a direct and immediate agreement. Or if they also prefer the method above mentioned, let there be likewise a truce made with North America—that is, a real, true, and effective suspension of hostilities, during which the liberty and effects of all sorts and classes of persons may be re-established and secured and all violence suspended on one side and the other against the respective individuals and the estates or effects they possess. In these truces the French may treat of their own peculiar matters without giving the umbrage which would be inevitable if they mixed in the negotiation their own particular advantage with the supposed interests of those whom France affects to call her allies, and his Britannic majesty may establish the government of his own dominions without the disagreeable circumstance of receiving the conditions relative thereto from the hands of a declared enemy.

2. *The ultimatum of the proposition made by the Catholic king to the two courts of Paris and London.*

If these openings or propositions had come immediately after the king had made his for the forming a plan of reconciliation, many difficulties might have been removed or adjusted by the modifications which it might have been practicable to have negotiated, if reciprocal good faith had existed and a confidence to conclude a peace. But having lost more than two months' time, without mentioning what had been uselessly spent before, and that during this interval there was no cessation in great preparations for war, suspicions inevitably arise that the

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed with formal variations in secret journals of July; see also 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 668.

object of England is to consume the remaining months of the campaign and to continue the war with vigor. If this be the case, every attempt of the king will be useless towards establishing concord between the belligerent powers. Nevertheless his majesty, wishing to give the last proof of his love of humanity and to demonstrate that he has left nothing undone to impede and put a stop to the calamities of war, has commanded that the following plan be proposed to the two courts, which on his part is the ultimatum of his negotiation:

That there shall be a suspension of arms with France without limitation, and under this condition that neither of the belligerent powers shall break it without giving the other one year's previous notice. That, with a view that this suspension of hostilities may re-establish reciprocal security and good faith between the two crowns, there shall be a general disarming within one month in all the European, within four in those of America, and within eight or one year in the most remote parts of Africa and Asia. That in the space of one month a plan shall be fixed upon in which the plenipotentiaries of the two courts shall meet to treaton a definitive adjustment of peace, regulate the respective restitutions or compensations necessary in consequence of the reprisals that have been made without any declaration of war, and to settle such matters of complaint or pretensions as the one crown may have against the other; to the accomplishment of which end the king will continue his mediation, and does now, for the holding of this congress, make an offer of the city of Madrid. That a like suspension of hostilities shall be separately granted by the King of Great Britain to the American Colonies through the intercession and mediation of his Catholic majesty, to whom the King of Great Britain shall promise the observance thereof, and with the condition not to break it without giving his majesty one year's previous notice, in order that he may communicate the same to the said American provinces; and that there be a reciprocal disarming the same as with France, in the same times and places, regulating the limits that shall not be passed by the one or the other party with respect to the places they may respectively occupy at the time of ratifying this arrangement. That, for settling these particulars and others relative to the stability of the said suspension and the effect it may produce while it subsists, there shall be sent to Madrid one or more commissaries on behalf of the Colonies, and his Britannic majesty shall also send his, under the mediation of the king, if necessary; and that in the mean time the Colonies shall be treated as independent in fact. Finally, in case all the belligerent powers, or any one of them, or if only the said Colonies, demand that the treaties or agreements which shall be concluded be guarantied by these powers and by Spain, the same shall be done. And the Catholic king now makes an offer of his guaranty to these preliminaries.

3. *Extract of an answer of the court of London to the proposition contained in the ultimatum of Spain dated the 4th May*, 1779.

The propositions of the Catholic king tend directly to the end which Spain had proposed to form, from the pretensions of the Colonies to independence, one common cause with them and with France. If the conditions which the court of Versailles had communicated to his Catholic majesty do not present a better aspect than this for the treaty, or do not offer less imperious and less unequal terms, the King of Great Britain has only to lament that he finds the hopes frustrated which he had always conceived of a happy restoration of peace, as well for his own subjects as the world in general.*

Report of the Committee on the Communications of the French Minister.†

The committee appointed to receive the communications of the minister of France reported the following summary:

The minister of France informed the committee that he had it in command from his king to impress upon the minds of Congress that the British cabinet have an almost insuperable reluctance to admit the idea of the independence of these United States, and will use every possible endeavor to prevent it. That they have filled several of the courts of Europe with negotiations, in order to excite them to a war against France or to obtain succors, and are employing the most strenuous endeavors to persuade the several powers that the United States are disposed to enter into treaties of accommodation. That many persons in Europe are actually employed in bringing such treaties to perfection, and that they have no doubt of their success. That the objects which the British cabinet hope for from those measures are, to destroy the superiority which France has now at sea, by diverting her powers and resources from naval to land operations, and by engaging her in a land war, where she must risk very important interests, while England would risk nothing but money; or to break or weaken the alliance, by destroying the confidence which the allies ought to have in each other.

That his most Christian majesty gives no credit to the suggestions of Britain relative to the disposition of the United States; and it is necessary that measures be taken for the preventing of other powers from being deceived into a belief of them. That the negotiations of Britain, as far as could yet be learned, had not succeeded. That the dispositions of all the European powers are, as far as can be known, very friendly to France; but some of them may be engaged in secret treaties with Britain, which may oblige them, in some event, to assist her with

* These extracts are given substantially *supra*, in Luzerne to Washington, January 23, 1780.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 672, with verbal changes.

troops even against their inclinations. That such event may arise, and if it should, it is probable it will produce an armed mediation, the consequences of which would be, that the allies must accept of the terms proposed by the mediator, or continue the war under the disadvantage of having the forces of the mediator united with those of their enemies. That in such event it is possible the terms proposed will be such as Spain offered and Britain rejected in the last proposed mediation.

That though the powers who may be under such engagements by treaty to Great Britain, from their friendly disposition towards his most Christian majesty, may be very unwilling to give assistance to his enemies, yet they may find it indispensably necessary in compliance with their engagements; but it is not improbable that their reluctance or the distance of their dominions may delay such assistance, if granted at all, so as to be too late for the next campaign. That, should the enemy be in possession of any part of the United States at the close of the next campaign, it will be extremely difficult to bring Great Britain to acknowledge their independence; and if a mediation should be offered while the enemy is in possession of any part, an impartial mediator could not easily refute the arguments which might be used for its retaining such possessions, and probably a mediator well disposed towards Great Britain might insist on her holding them; and if not agreed to, the hostility of such a mediator would be the necessary consequence. That should Great Britain form such alliances, or procure such aids as are the objects of her present negotiations, there will be every reason to fear a long and an obstinate war, whereof the final event may be doubtful.

That this view of affairs plainly points out the necessity for the greatest possible vigor in the operations of the next campaign, in order to dispossess the enemy of every part of the United States, and to put them in condition to treat of peace and accept of a mediation with the greatest advantage; and the preparations for it ought to be as speedy and as effectual as possible. That France and Spain are prepared to make a very powerful diversion, and will exert themselves most strenuously for preserving and improving their naval superiority, and for employing the powers of the enemy in Europe and the West Indies. The minister declared, as from himself, that he doubted not his most Christian majesty will spare some ships to the United States, if it can be done without endangering his superiority at sea; and that an application made to the minister informally is more eligible than to the king, because it would give his majesty great pain to refuse the request, though he might be in no condition to grant it. That, at all events, supplies should be prepared on a supposition that the ships will be granted, and such supplies should be put into the hands of the agent for the marine of France, and considered as the king's property.

He desires to be informed, as far as Congress may deem proper, what force the United States can bring into the field next campaign; on

what resources they rely for their maintenance and necessary appointments; and what shall be the general plan of the campaign, on supposition either of having or not having the aid of ships of war. He gives it as his opinion that an application for clothing may be made to his most Christian majesty with prospect of success; and although measures have been taken for sending arms and warlike stores to America, yet it would be prudent in Congress not to neglect any other means for procuring those supplies or supplies of clothing.

Answer of Congress to the Communications of the French Minister.*

IN CONGRESS, *January* 31, 1780.

Congress, taking into consideration the communications of the French minister, as reported by the committee on the 28th instant—

Resolved, That the following answer be given to the communications of the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France:

That Congress entertain the most grateful sense of the unremitting attention given to the interests of the United States by their illustrious ally, and consider the communications made to them by his minister under his majesty's special command as equally wise and interesting. That the confidence which they repose in his majesty, in consequence of his so generously interesting himself in the affairs of these United States, and the wisdom and magnanimity of his councils, determine them to give the most perfect information in their power of their resources, their views, and their expectations.

That to this end they state as follows: That the United States have expectations, on which they can rely with confidence, of bringing into the field an army of twenty-five thousand effective men, exclusive of commissioned officers. That this army can be re-enforced by militia, so as to be in force sufficient for any enterprises against the posts occupied by the enemy within the United States. That supplies of provisions for the army in its greatest number can certainly be obtained within the United States, and the Congress, with the co-operation of the several States, can take effectual measures for procuring them in such manner as that no operation will be impeded; that provisions also for such of the forces of his most Christian majesty as may be employed in conjunction or co-operation with those of the United States can be procured under the direction of Congress, and such provisions shall be laid up in magazines agreeably to such instructions as his majesty's minister plenipotentiary shall give, and the magazines shall be put under the direction of the agent of the marine of France.

That Congress rely on the contributions of the States by taxes and on moneys to be raised by internal loans for the pay of the army. That supplies of clothing, of tents, of arms, and warlike stores, must be

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 674.

principally obtained from foreign nations, and the United States must rely chiefly on the assistance of their ally for them; but every other means for procuring them are already taken and will be prosecuted with the greatest diligence.

That the United States, with the assistance of a competent naval force, would willingly, during the next campaign, carry on the most vigorous offensive operations against the enemy in all the posts occupied by them within the United States. That without such naval force little more can be attempted by them than straitening the quarters of the enemy and covering the interior parts of the country. That their forces must be disposed in such manner as to oppose the enemy with the greatest effect wheresoever their most considerable operations may be directed.

That at present the southern States seem to be their principal object, and their design to establish themselves in one or more of them; but their superiority at sea over the United States enables them to change their objects and operations with great facility, while those of the United States are rendered difficult by the great extent of country they have to defend.

That Congress are happy to find that his most Christian majesty gives no credit to the suggestions of the British cabinet relative to the dispositions of the United States, or any of them, to enter into treaties of accommodation with Great Britain; and wish his majesty, and all the powers of Europe, to be assured that such suggestions are insidious and without foundation.

That it will appear by the constitutions and other public acts of the several States that the citizens of the United States, possessed of arms, possessed of freedom, possessed of political power to create and direct their magistrates as they think proper, are united in their determinations to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of liberty, by supporting the independence of their governments and observing their treaties and public engagements with immovable firmness and fidelity. And the Congress assure his majesty that, should any individual in America be found base enough to show the least disposition for persuading the people to the contrary, such individual would instantly lose all power of effecting his purpose, by forfeiting the esteem and confidence of the people.

Franklin to Hartley.*

PASSY, *February* 2, 1780.

DEAR FRIEND: It is some time since I procured the discharge of your Captain Stephenson. He did not call here in his way home. I hope he arrived safely, and had a happy meeting with his friends and family.

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* Franklin's letter-book, Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 90, with verbal changes; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 2.

I have long postponed answering your letter of the 29th of June. A principal point in it, on which you seemed to desire my opinion, was the conduct you thought America ought to hold in case her allies should, from motives of ambition or resentment of former injuries, desire her to continue the war beyond what should be reasonable and consistent with her particular interests. As often as I took up your letter in order to answer it this suggestion displeased me, and I laid it down again. I saw no occasion for discussing such a question at present, nor any good end it could serve to discuss it before the case should happen, and I saw inconveniences in discussing it. I wish, therefore, you had not mentioned it. For the rest, I am as much for peace as ever I was, and as heartily desirous of seeing the war ended as I was to prevent its beginning; of which your ministers know I gave a strong proof before I left England, when, in order to an accommodation, I offered at my own risk, without orders for so doing, and without knowing whether I should be owned in doing it, to pay the whole damage of destroying the tea at Boston, provided the acts made against that province were repealed. This offer was refused. I still think it would have been wise to have accepted it. If the Congress have, therefore, intrusted to others rather than to me the negotiations for peace, when such shall be set on foot, as has been reported, it is perhaps because they may have heard of a very singular opinion of mine, that there hardly ever existed such a thing as a bad peace or a good war, and that I might, therefore, easily be induced to make improper concessions. But, at the same time, they and you may be assured that I should think the destruction of our whole country and the extirpation of our whole people preferable to the infamy of abandoning our allies.

As neither you nor I are at present authorized to treat of peace, it seems to little purpose to make or consider propositions relating to it. I have had so many such put into my hands that I am tired of them. I will, however, give your proposal of a ten years' truce this answer, that though I think a solid peace made at once a much better thing, yet if the truce is practicable and the peace not, I should be for agreeing to it. At least I see at present no sufficient reasons for refusing it, provided our allies approve of it. But this is merely a private opinion of mine, which perhaps may be changed by reasons that at present do not offer themselves. This, however, I am clear in, that withdrawing your troops will be best for you if you wish a cordial reconciliation, and that the truce should produce a peace. To show that it was not done by compulsion—being required as a condition of the truce—they might be withdrawn beforehand for various good reasons. But all this is idle chat, as I am persuaded that there is no disposition for peace on your side, and that this war will yet last many years. I know nothing and believe nothing of any terms offered by nor to Sir Henry Clinton.

The prisoners taken in the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* being all treated for in Holland and exchanged there, I hope Mr. Brown's son is

now safe at home with his father. It grieved me that the exchange there, which you may remember I immediately proposed, was so long delayed. Much human misery might have been prevented by a prompt compliance, and so might a great deal by the execution of parole promises taken at sea; but since I see no regard is paid to them in England, I must give orders to our armed ships that cruise in Europe to secure their prisoners as well as they can, and lodge them in French or Spanish prisons. I have written something on this affair to Mr. Hodgson and sent to him the second passport for a cartel to Morlaix, supposing you to be out of town. The number of prisoners we now have in France is not easily ascertained. I suppose it exceeds one hundred; yet you may be assured that the number which may be brought over by the two cartels shall be fully exchanged by adding to those taken by us as many as will make up the complement out of those taken by the French, with whom we have an account since the exchange in Holland of those we carried in there. I wish, therefore, you would, as was proposed, clear your prisons of the Americans who have been so long confined there. The cartels that may arrive at Morlaix will not be detained.

You may have heard that accounts upon oath have been taken in America, by order of Congress, of the British barbarities committed there. It is expected of me to make a school book of them, and to have thirty-five prints designed here by good artists and engraved, each expressing one or more of the different horrid facts, to be inserted in the book, in order to impress the minds of children and posterity with a deep sense of your bloody and insatiable malice and wickedness. Every kindness I hear of done by an Englishman to an American prisoner makes me resolve not to proceed in the work, hoping a reconciliation may yet take place; but every fresh instance of your devilism weakens that resolution, and makes me abominate the thought of a reunion with such a people. You, my friend, have often persuaded me, and I believed it, that the war was not theirs nor approved by them. But their suffering it so long to continue, and the wretched rulers to remain who carry it on, makes me think you have too good an opinion of them.

Adieu, my dear friend, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Communications of the honorable the French Minister to a Committee of Congress at a Second Conference.*

IN CONGRESS, *February* 2, 1780.

The committee report that, in a second conference with the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France, he communicated to them—

That his most Christian majesty, being uninformed of the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary to treat of an alliance between the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 676.

United States and his Catholic majesty, has signified to his minister plenipotentiary to the United States that he wishes most earnestly for such an alliance; and, in order to make the way thereto more easy, has commanded him to communicate to the Congress certain articles which his Catholic majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is highly necessary that the United States explain themselves with precision and with such moderation as may consist with their essential rights.

That the articles are—

(1) A precise and invariable western boundary to the United States.

(2) The exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi.

(3) The possession of the Floridas; and

(4) The lands on the left or eastern side of the river Mississippi.

That on the first article it is the idea of the cabinet of Madrid that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation bearing date the —— day of ———, 1763.

On the second, that the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon.

On the third, that it is probable that the King of Spain will conquer the Floridas during the course of the present war; and in such event every cause of dispute relative thereto between Spain and these United States ought to be removed.

On the fourth, that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made during the present war; that, therefore, it would be advisable to restrain the southern States from making any settlements or conquests in those territories; that the council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claims to those territories, either as not having had possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured.

That his most Christian majesty, united to the Catholic king by blood and by the strictest alliances, and united with these States in treaties of alliance, and feeling towards them dispositions of the most perfect friendship, is exceedingly desirous of conciliating between his Catholic majesty and these United States the most happy and lasting friendship.

That the United States may repose the utmost confidence in his good will to their interests and in the justice and liberality of his Catholic majesty, and that he can not deem the revolution which has set up the independence of these United States as past all danger of unfavorable

events until his Catholic majesty and the United States shall be established on those terms of confidence and amity which are the objects of his most Christian majesty's very earnest wishes.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, *Morristown*, *February* 4, 1780.

SIR: Major Galvan delivered me the letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me on the 23d of January, to which I have paid all the attention the importance of its contents demands. I am much flattered by this commencement of a correspondence from which I have everything to gain, and equally indebted for the interesting communications it affords.

It is a happy circumstance that the efforts made by the British court for obtaining troops in Germany are attended with so little success. This will naturally increase their exertions for procuring men in this country, and will, no doubt, make them more solicitous for effecting the exchange or release, in some way or other, of their prisoners in our hands. It will be well if, in the negotiations on this subject, we can extract concessions favorable to those which may take place in Europe, and you may depend the experiment shall be fully tried. But from the aspect of the late propositions on the part of the enemy I should not entertain any sanguine hopes of the success of this experiment. The re-enforcement they would derive from a full compliance with their proposals is not calculated at more than ten or eleven hundred private men; and this seems hardly to be an object of sufficient magnitude to induce them to concede to points of the nature which your excellency's information supposes; especially, as you emphatically express it, "after having sought with so much affectation to make the thirteen States be considered as subjected to the English domination." The offers made through Major-General Phillips are far more moderate than any that have hitherto come from them, and appear, in a great measure, to have been influenced by his personal solicitations, dictated by an extreme anxiety to be released from captivity. But notwithstanding the matter in its present form wears to me the appearance I have mentioned, I shall not neglect any measure which it may be in my power to take to improve the intimation your excellency has given, and entreat you to be assured that I shall endeavor to make the event confirm the opinion you do me the honor to entertain, that nothing will be done derogatory to the magnanimous part your court has acted or the honor or interest of the United States.

The inconsistency of the court of London, so well delineated by that of Madrid in the extract you had the goodness to annex, would appear

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 678.

extraordinary if their whole conduct in the course of the war did not exhibit many similar examples. But it is evident that their refusing to consider these States as independent in fact during a negotiation was a mere pretext to cover their unwillingness to concur in the pacific views of his Catholic majesty; and the memorial from the British ambassador shows that they were artfully aiming to effect a separation of interests between France and these States the better to prosecute their hostile designs against either or both.

I thank your excellency for the agreeable intelligence you give me of his Christian majesty's intentions to send over succors of arms and ammunition. It is a new and valuable proof of his friendship, and will be of essential utility. I agree with you that there ought to be no relaxation in the measures otherwise intended to be taken to procure the necessary supplies of those articles.

I am sensibly mortified that the present situation of affairs will by no means suffer me to yield to the desire I have of paying you my respects in Philadelphia; and I shall impatiently look for the opportunity of doing it here, which your excellency promises me in the course of this month. Besides the important objects of public utility which I am authorized to hope from it, I shall take pleasure on every occasion of testifying to you those sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

P. S.—The interest your excellency is pleased to take in Major Galvan will be an additional motive with me to avail myself of his talents and zeal as far as circumstances will possibly permit.

Franklin to Dowlin.*

PASSY, *February* 9, 1780.

SIR: I received yours of the 27th past. I congratulate you on the success you have made against our enemies, of which I had the pleasure of hearing before by the copy of your journal sent me by Mr. Diot. The prisoners you have brought in will soon procure us the liberty of as many of our countrymen, who have long been confined in the jails of Great Britain. It is therefore an essential piece of service to the United States; and as the English pay no regard to the written paroles formerly taken from the men who were prisoners to the *Black Prince* and set at liberty, I think it right that you should trust no more to the honor of that nation, which has refused to return us a single man on account of those paroles and of others taken by the *General Mafflin* and the *Hancock* privateers to the amount of two hundred and twenty men; and for the future I desire that you would secure your prisoners as

* MSS. Dep. of State.

well as you can, and lodge them in French or Spanish jails, by which means you will have the satisfaction of relieving many poor captives and recommending yourselves to the favor of Congress.

I wish you a prosperous cruise, and have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble,*

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *February* 12, 1780.

SIR: Having obtained permission from your excellency yesterday when I did myself the honor to wait on you at Versailles, to write on the subject of my mission, I have now the honor to acquaint you that on the 29th day of September last the Congress of the United States of America did me the honor to elect me their plenipotentiary to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, and also to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that kingdom, and the honorable Francis Dana, esq., member of Congress, and of the council of Massachusetts Bay, secretary to both commissions.

As I was not at Congress when this transaction took place, I am not able to inform your excellency very particularly of the rise and progress of it. But from conversation with gentlemen at Boston, who were members of Congress, and from private letters, I learned in general that it was not the result of any sudden deliberation or the fruit of any particular event of the war, prosperous or adverse, but a measure that has been more than a year under consideration, and finally agreed to on this principle, that as it was uncertain at what time the belligerent powers might be disposed to treat of peace, which could not be concluded without a minister from the United States, it would save a great deal of time for this power to have a minister in Europe fully authorized to treat, and, in concert with ministers from the other powers at war, conclude a peace with Great Britain, and a treaty of commerce consistent with that already with his most Christian majesty, and such others as might be made with other powers. I am persuaded it is the intention of my constituents and of all America, and I am sure it is my own determination, to take no steps of consequence in pursuance of my commissions, without consulting his majesty's ministers. And as various conjectures have been and may be made concerning the nature of my appointment and powers, and as it may be expected by some that I should take some measures for announcing these to the public or at least to the court of London, I beg the favor of your excellency's opinion and advice upon these questions:

(1) Whether, in the present state of things, it is prudent in me to

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* Captain Patrick Dowlin, of the *Black Prince*, at Mr. Chancey's, in Roscow.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 624, with verbal changes.

acquaint the British ministry that I am arrived here, and that I shall be ready to treat whenever the belligerent powers shall be inclined to treat.

(2) Whether it is prudent in me to publish in any manner more than the journals of Congress may have already done the nature of my mission.

(3) Or whether to remain on the reserve, as I have hitherto done since my arrival in Europe.

If any propositions should be made to me directly or indirectly from the British ministry I shall not fail to communicate them without loss of time to your excellency, and I beg the favor of your excellency, as I am the only person in Europe who has authority to treat of peace, that if any propositions on the part of Great Britain should be made to his majesty's ministers that they may be communicated to me, at least as far as they may relate to the interest of the United States.

Although I am not confined by commissions nor instructions, nor by any intimations from Congress, to reside in any one place in Europe more than another, yet my own inclinations as well as those of the public would be most gratified and the public service most promoted by my residing here. I must, therefore, request his majesty's protection and permission to reside in this kingdom for some time, with or without assuming any public character, as your excellency may think most advisable.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Sartine.*

PARIS, *February* 13, 1780.

SIR: It was not until my arrival at Passy that I had the honor of your excellency's letter of the 31st of December last.

When his majesty's intentions of granting me a passage to America were communicated to me I had little expectation of returning in the same frigate, but the Congress having honored me with a fresh mission to Europe, their excellencies the late and present ministers from his majesty to the United States concurred in a proposal to Congress and a requisition to the commander of the frigate to afford me a passage in her voyage home, which Captain Chavagne agreed to with particular marks of politeness to me and Mr. Dana and the others who accompanied me.

I have again to express to your excellency the obligations I am under to the captain and all the officers of the *Sensible* for their goodness to me and mine. But it is more particularly my duty to express again my thanks to his majesty for this fresh favor, to M. Gerard, and the

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 625.

Chevalier de la Luzerne, who procured it for me, and to your excellenc for your approbation of it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

H. Laurens to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

CHARLESTON, *February* 14, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: My last address went forward under the 31st ultim by Mr. Renshaw, one of the corps of escorts. The 10th instant Genera Lincoln was on the point of ordering the *Ranger* frigate to conduct me t France. Governor Rutledge had given his consent and I believe ther would have been no opposition in council; but on the 11th we receive authentic intelligence of the arrival of the enemy's troops from Nev York at and near Tybee, and the next day of their having landed large detachment on John's Island, within sixteen miles of this capita We heard yesterday that another detachment had landed and re possessed Beaufort, and we know that two ships of the line, two frigates and several armed vessels are cruising near the bar of this harbor Thus environed, an attack upon Charleston, very illy prepared for de fense, may be every hour expected.

In these circumstances, were I to study my own private interests an desires, I should remain here and stand or fall with my country. What ever her fate may be exceedingly heavy losses to me will be the con sequence of my absence at this critical conjuncture; but the governo and other judicious friends urge me to use every endeavor for obtainin a passage through some other channel. Duty dictates the same meas ure. I shall therefore proceed to North Carolina, where are four ves sels belonging to this port, and embark immediately on board of one o them. In the mean time I shall omit no opportunity of acquainting yo with my circumstances.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HENRY LAURENS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *February* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to inform Congress that on the 9th of thi month, and not before, I had the good fortune to arrive in this cit from Ferrol (where I arrived on the 8th of December), with Mr. Dana Mr. Thaxter, and the rest of the company in tolerable health, after journey of near four hundred leagues, in the dead of winter, throug

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 712.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 626, with verbal changes; 7 Joh Adams' Works, 121.

bad roads and worse accommodations of every kind. We lost no time more than was indispensably necessary to restore our health, which was several times much affected and in great danger; yet we were more than twice as long in making the journey by land as we had been in crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

The next morning after our arrival at Paris Mr. Dana and myself went out to Passy and spent the day with his excellency Dr. Franklin, who did us the honor the next day to accompany us to Versailles, where we had the honor to wait on their excellencies the Count de Vergennes, M. de Sartine, and the Count Maurepas, with each of whom we had the honor of a short conference upon the state of public affairs. It is sufficient for me to say in general that I never heard the French ministry so frank, so explicit, so decided as each of these gentlemen was in the course of this conversation in his declarations to pursue the war with vigor and to afford effectual aid to the United States. I learned with great satisfaction that they are sending under convoy clothing and arms for fifteen thousand men to America; that seventeen ships of the line were already gone to the West Indies under M. de Guichen, and that five or six more at least are to follow, in addition to ten or twelve they have already there. I asked permission of the Count de Vergennes to write to him on the subject of my mission, which he cheerfully and politely agreed to. I have accordingly written to his excellency, and shall forward copies of my letter and his answer as soon as it may be safe to do it.

The English are to borrow twelve millions this year and it is said that the loan is filled up. They have thrown a sop to Ireland, but have not appeased her rage. They give out exactly such threats as they did last year, and every other year, of terrible preparations. But Congress knows perfectly well how these measures have been accomplished. They will not be more fully executed the next year than the last, and if France and Spain should throw more of their force, especially by sea, into America the next year America will have no essential injury to fear.

I have learned since my arrival at Paris, with the highest pleasure, the arrival of M. Gerard, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Carmichael at Cadiz, for whose safety we had been under great apprehensions. I have now very sanguine hopes that a solid treaty will soon be concluded with Spain, hopes which everything I saw and heard seemed to favor.

The *Alliance* frigate, now under the command of Captain Jones, with Captain Cunningham on board, is arrived at Corunna, where she is to be careened, after which she is to return to L'Orient, and from thence to go to America, as I am informed by Dr. Franklin.

Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Izard are still in Paris under many difficulties in procuring a passage home. Mr. William Lee is at Brussels. Mr. Izard has been to Holland to obtain a passage from thence, but unfortunately missed his opportunty and returned disappointed.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 12th of this month. I think, before I reply to different points on which you consult me, that it is proper to wait for the arrival of M. Gerard, because he is probably the bearer of your instructions, and will certainly be able to make me better acquainted with the nature and extent of your commission. But in the mean time I am of opinion that it will be prudent to conceal your eventual character, and above all to take the necessary precautions that the object of your commission may remain unknown to the court of London. Besides, sir, you may be assured that his majesty sees you with pleasure in his dominions, that you will constantly enjoy his protection and the prerogatives of the law of nations.

For my own part, sir, I shall be eager to give you proofs of my confidence, as well as of the sentiments with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Carmichael to Jay.†

MADRID, *February* 15, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I arrived in this city late in the evening of the 11th, after a tedious and disagreeable journey. The next day, although much indisposed, I waited on the French ambassador, who had, by a message overnight, requested M. Gerard to engage me to dinner. I was received by him and all his family in the most friendly manner, and was offered every service in his power to render us without those personal professions which give birth to unmeaning words and more suspicion. Indeed, I have neither expressions nor time to represent the apparent candor and liberality of his sentiments. He entered fully into the good disposition of his court, and informed me that the king, as a further proof of his friendship for us, had agreed to pay us annually the additional sum of three millions of livres during the continuance of the war in order to enable us to purchase the necessaries for our army, etc., and that his majesty had also determined to send a considerable marine and land force early in the year to America, to be at the disposition and under the direction of our general. Seventeen sail of the line and four thousand troops are also to be sent to the West Indies, if they have

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 626.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 150. A draft, partly in cipher, of this letter is on file among the Carmichael papers in the Department of State.

not already sailed. Judge after this if attention, candor, and apparent unreservedness were not the more necessary on my part.

On inquiry, I found that M. Galvez was at the Pardo, about two leagues from Madrid, where the king resides at present, and in the course of conversation discovered that the proper channel of address ought to have been through the Count de Florida Blanca.

The ambassador offered to introduce me, but as this could not be done with propriety without previous application, he undertook to make it the day following and to fix the time for my reception by both, and I think the manner will be the sole difficulty. Among other circumstances which induce this conclusion is the certain knowledge I have obtained that M. Mirales received instructions several months past to enter into engagements with Congress to take into pay a body of troops to assist in the conquest of Florida. Your own good sense will point out the use which may be made of this intelligence. It answers to one point of the instructions which I had the honor to receive from you. The short time I have been in this city has not hitherto given me an opportunity of writing so circumstantially as I could wish in the matters above mentioned, and much less of giving a decided opinion on many objects contained in your instructions. I find however, hitherto no difficulty in acquiring in time a knowledge on most of the subjects recommended to my attention.

I have reason to believe that the same disgusts do not subsist between the crowns as between the nations, but the most perfect harmony and good understanding.

I have been positively assured, and from good authority, that no overtures have been made for peace.

The Dutch are arming, which is a circumstance in our favor, as their preparations originate from their discontent with England on account of the late affair of the convoy.

Mr. Harrison is here, and proposes to proceed to Cadiz next week, which will furnish me a good opportunity of writing to you. I enclose you the last paper received from America; the people were in high spirits, and everything in a good state in the beginning of January.

I can not conclude without mentioning the very polite manner in which the French ambassador offered his personal civilities in everything that depended on him to be useful to you in this place.

M. Gerard will write to you himself, yet I must do him the justice to mention his personal kindness to me, and the candid representations he has made in every public company here of the prosperous situation of our affairs.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, *Morristown, February* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency' letter of the 4th,† which only reached me on the 13th.

Sincerely desirous of doing everything in my power by which the in terest of his Christian majesty, inseparable from that of these States can in any manner be promoted, and still more in a point so essentia as that which makes the subject of your letter, I should not hesitate t furnish the detachment required by Mr. Duer, whatever might be m opinion of its necessity, did not the present state of the army absolutel forbid it. I with confidence assure your excellency that our force is s reduced by the expiration of the terms for which a considerable par of it was engaged, and will be so much more diminished in the cours of a month or two from the same cause, as scarcely to suffice for th exigence of the service, and to afford just cause for uneasiness shoul the enemy be actuated by a spirit of enterprise before we receive th re-enforcements intended for the next campaign. So circumstanced, m duty to the common cause will not justify me in adding to the inse curity of our situation by making a detachment, which, though appar ently inconsiderable, would be materially felt in our present weakness and I am persuaded, after the information now given, that your exce lency will wish me not to hazard the measure.

With respect to the necessity of a covering party, I shall not ventur to decide; but I should imagine, in the present state of things, tha the business may be carried on with tolerable security without on The consequences of the late expedition promise tranquillity for som time to our frontier, and make it at any rate improbable that the savage will be able to penetrate so far at so early a period, and the propositio does not require that the covering party should remain longer than th last of April. The intelligence I have received corresponds with thes ideas. It might be added that the garrison at Wyoming gives som degree of protection to the part of the country in question. But as is very important that no interruption should be given to the workmen if a covering party should upon the whole be thought requisite, th best mode of furnishing it will be from the neighboring militia. Fo this purpose, on your excellency's application to Congress, I can no doubt they will immediately make the necessary arrangements.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and attachment, etc

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 679. †Missing.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *February* 17, 1780.

SIR: It is necessary that I should inform Congress in what manner I have been able to procure money to defray my expenses in my long journey through the greatest part of Spain and France to this city.

On my arrival at Ferrol I was offered the loan of money by the French consul, M. de Tournelle, who at the same time told me there was a gentleman at Corunna, M. Michael Lagoanere, who had heretofore acted as an American agent at that place, and who would be very happy to supply me. On my arrival at Corunna M. Lagoanere did me the honor of a visit, and offered me every assistance in cash, otherwise telling me at the same time he had some money in his hands which he supposed belonged to the United States, being part of the proceeds of some prizes heretofore made by Captain Cunningham. That this money, however, had been attached in his hands by some Spanish merchant, who had commenced a lawsuit against Captain Cunningham. I accordingly received three thousand dollars for myself and Mr. Dana, and a letter of credit on the house of Cabarous, at Bayonne, for as much more as I should have occasion for. On our arrival at Bayonne Mr. Dana and I received of that house fifty louis d'ors, and a bill of exchange on another house of the same name and family at Bordeaux for the like sum, our expenses having exceeded all our computations at Corunna, as our journey was necessarily much longer than we expected, on account of the uncommon bad weather and bad roads. This bill was paid upon sight. So that, upon the whole, we have received the amount of seventeen thousand four hundred livres, all on account of M. Lagoanere, of Corunna. Of this sum Mr. Dana has received the amount of four thousand nine hundred and seventy-one livres and fifteen sols, and I have received twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight livres and five sols, for which sums we desire to be respectively charged in the treasury books of Congress.

As this money is expended, if M. Lagoanere should draw upon us for it, all the authority we have to draw upon his excellency the minister here will not enable us to pay it; and if M. Lagoanere should be so happy as to avoid the attachment and leave us to account with Congress for this money, the small sum we are empowered to receive from his excellency will go a very little way in discharging our expenses. We must, therefore, pray that Congress would forward us authority to draw upon his excellency for the amount of our salaries annually, which, without all doubt, will be paid.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 625.

J. Adams to Genet, First Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *February* 18, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Whether it is that the art of political lying is better understood in England than in any other country, or whether it is more practised there than elsewhere, or whether it is accidental that they have more success in making their fictions gain credit in the world, I know not. But it is certain that every winter since the commencement of the present war with America, and indeed for some years before, they sent out large quantities of this manufacture over all Europe and throughout all America, and what is astonishing is, that they should still find numbers in every country ready to take them off their hands.

Since my arrival in this city, I find they have been this winter at their old trade, and have spread reports here and in Holland and in various other parts of Europe, and no doubt they have found means to propagate them in America too, tending to keep up the spirits of their friends and to sink those of their opponents. Such as that they have made new contracts with several German princes, by which they are to obtain seven thousand men to serve in America; that they have so skillfully appeased the troubles in Ireland, that they shall ever be able to take advantage of the military associations there, by depending upon them for the defense of the kingdom, while they draw from thence ten thousand regular troops for the service in America; that they have even concluded a treaty with Russia, by which the empress is to furnish them with twelve ships of the line and twenty thousand men, as some say, and twenty ships of the line and twelve thousand men as others relate. This they say is of the greater moment, because of an intimate connection, I know not of what nature it is, between Russia and Denmark, by which the latter will be likely to be drawn into the war against the house of Bourbon and America; and Denmark, they say, has forty-five ships of the line.

I know very well that the greatest part of these reports is false; and particularly what is said of Russia is so contrary to all that I have heard for these twelve months past of the harmony between Versailles and Petersburgh, that I give no credit to it at all, but I find that all these reports make impressions on some minds, and among the rest some Americans. I therefore beg the favor of you to inform me of the exact truth in all these matters, that I may take the earliest opportunity of transmitting the intelligence to Congress, where it is of importance it should be known.

I was much mortified when I was at Versailles the other day that I could not have the honor of paying my respects to you, but I was so connected with other gentlemen, who were obliged to return to dinner

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 630; with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 124.

that I could not; but I shall take the first opportunity I can get to wait on you,

And assure you, that I am, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the Marquis de La Fayette.*

PARIS, *February* 18, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL: You know extremely well the skill of our enemies in forging false news, and their artifice in circulating it, not only through the various parts of Europe, but in the United States of America, to keep up the spirits of their friends and depress those of their adversaries. It is their annual custom in the winter to send abroad large cargoes of these lies, and they meet with a success in making them believed that is really astonishing.

Since my arrival here I find they have been this winter at their old game again, and have circulated reports here, in Holland and other parts of Europe that they have made new contracts with other petty princes in Germany, by which, together with those made before, they will be able to draw seven thousand fresh troops from that country to serve in America. That by appeasing the troubles in Ireland, they shall be able to avail themselves even of the military associations in that kingdom, by depending upon them for the defense of the country, and to draw near ten thousand men from thence for the service in America. That they have concluded a treaty with the court of Petersburgh, by which Russia is to furnish them with twelve ships of the line and twenty thousand men, which they say is of the more importance on account of the intimate connection between Russia and Denmark, as the latter will be likely by this means to be drawn into the war, with their numerous fleet of forty-five ships of the line. The greatest part of these tales are false. I know very well what is said of Russia is so contrary to all that I have seen and heard of the good understanding between Versailles and Russia, that I have no doubt of its falsehood. But as I am very lately arrived, and, consequently, have not opportunity to examine these reports to the bottom, I beg the favor of you to inform me, with all the exactness possible, how much truth there is in them, if any at all.

You are very sensible that it is of the utmost importance that Congress should have the earliest information of these things, and that you and I can not render a more useful service to our country at present than by collecting such intelligence with precision and transmitting it without delay. Knowing the pleasure you take in serving the United States in every way in your power, I thought I could beg this favor of you with propriety, and that you would believe me always your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 629, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 123.

Carmichael to John Jay.*

MADRID, *February* 18, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I did myself the honor of writing to you by a courier whom the French ambassador dispatched to Cadiz yesterday morning; since which I have been introduced by him to their excellencies Marquis de Florida Blanca and Don Joseph de Galvez. I delivered your letter to the latter, and explained to the former the reasons which induced you to address the latter, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied. Don Joseph de Galvez told me that he would deliver your letter to the Marquis de Florida Blanca, whose business it was to lay it before the king and receive his orders on the subject, and that the marquis or himself would be directed to answer it. I repeated the substance of your instructions to me as far as they respect him, and was answered that he would take an opportunity of conversing with me on our affairs and would inform me through the French ambassador when it would be convenient for him to receive me. Some compliments passed with respect to the characters he had received of us, which it is unnecessary to repeat.

The Marquis de Florida Blanca told me that he would lay your letter before the king the same night for his consideration. I took this opportunity of mentioning the pleasure it would give Congress to hear of your reception at Madrid, from the earnest desire they had to cultivate the king's friendship; that their expectations were sanguine, having been led to believe the dispositions of the court were favorable by the suggestions of persons supposed to be well acquainted with its intentions; that the hopes of the people were also great; and I hinted that there were several vessels about to sail from Bilboa and the ports of France by which you would be happy to communicate this news to Congress and to gratify the expectations of the people.

He then told me that he had informed the king of your arrival at Cadiz, although they had understood your original destination was to France; that the king had ordered them to receive your overtures, and that I was at liberty to give you this information, and, after a pause added that on Monday next he hoped to have it in his power to return an answer to your letter. You will please to observe that it had not been read by either when this conversation passed. He also told me that he would take an opportunity to converse with me and would inform me when it would be convenient for him to see me through the channel before mentioned.

On Monday next I go to the Pardo, by their appointment. Here I see every day a person who I believe to be sent by them to converse with me although I appear to know nothing of his connection with the court. I think you may make the necessary preparations for your journey on the receipt of this. Messrs. Adams and Dana were at Bordeaux th

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 17, with many verbal corrections

2d instant. They mean to proceed to Amsterdam from thence, so that the plan spoken of has taken place. They go in a good time, as the Dutch are at present much irritated against Great Britain.

Mr. Arthur Lee corresponded with the Marquis de Florida Blanca, but if I am well informed the correspondence consisted of American news on the one part and compliment on the other. M. Gerard leaves this to-morrow; he has had conversations with the Spanish ministers, of about two hours at one time and three at another. I am in a way of obtaining most of the information you desired. I beg you to present the proper compliments to your lady and Colonel Livingston.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Franklin to Lee and Izard.*

PASSY, *February* 19, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I received last night the letter you did me the honor of writing to me relative to your having a passage in the *Alliance*. It was unnecessary to use agreements [arguments] to me to show the propriety of that measure. Mr. Lee may remember that I mentioned it to him some weeks since, and receiving no answer, I imagined he had other views. The ship is now repairing at L'Orient. I suppose she will be ready to sail in a fortnight or three weeks. If Mr. Lee carries with him his nephews, and Mr. Izard proposes to take his family, perhaps it may be well to know from Captain Jones, before the journey to L'Orient is undertaken, whether he can accommodate them all, passages being already promised to several persons.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant.

P. S.—I have lately received an extract from the ministers of Congress relating to accounts, of which I send you copy enclosed.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *February* 19, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me on the 15th of this month, and lest I should not have explained sufficiently in my letter of the 12th the nature and extent of my commissions, I have now the honor to enclose attested copies of both, as well as of that to Mr. Dana.

With regard to my instructions, I presume your excellency will not judge it proper that I should communicate them any further than to

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 635.

assure you, as I do in the fullest manner, that they contain nothing inconsistent with the letter or spirit of the treaty between his majesty and the United States or the most perfect friendship between France and America, but on the contrary, the clearest orders to cultivate both. I have hitherto conducted according to your advice, having never communicated to any person since my arrival in Europe the nature of my mission, excepting to your excellency and Dr. Franklin, to whom it was indeed communicated by a resolution of Congress, and to him in confidence. I shall continue to conceal, as far as may depend upon me, my actual character, but I ought to observe to your excellency that my appointment was as notorious in America as that of Mr. Jay or Dr. Franklin before my departure. So it is probably already known to the court of London, although they have not regular evidence of it. I mention this, lest some persons might charge me with publishing what I certainly did not publish.

I thank your excellency for the assurances of his majesty's protection and of your confidence, which it shall be my study and endeavor at all times to deserve.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *February* 19, 1780.

SIR: Enclosed are copies of former letters of Congress, and I shall continue to transmit copies until I learn that some have arrived, for which reason I must request the favor that his excellency the President, or some committee, may be desired to acknowledge the receipt of letters, so that I may know as soon as may be what letters have arrived and which have been less fortunate.

The art of making and spreading false news to answer political purposes is not peculiar to Great Britain, but yet she seems to possess this art, and the talent of giving to her fictions the colors of probability beyond other nations; at least she seems to have more success in making her impostures believed than any other. It is her annual practice in the winter to fabricate and export large quantities of this merchandise to all parts of Europe and America, and she finds more customers to take them off her hands than she ought, considering how illicit the traffic is.

This winter her emissaries have been more assiduous than ever in propagating reports that they have entered into new engagements with several other petty principalities in Germany, by which they shall hire seven thousand men for the service of the next campaign in America; that by compromising with Ireland they shall be able to take advantage even of the military associations in that kingdom, and

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 633.

draw from them a large number of regular troops for the service in America, depending on the volunteer militia or associators for the defense of the country; that they have made a treaty with Russia, whereby that power has engaged to furnish them with twelve ships of the line and twenty thousand troops, as some say, and twenty ships of the line and twelve thousand troops, according to others. This alliance, they say, too, is of the more consequence on account of some connection between Russia and Denmark, who it is insinuated, will follow Russia into the war, and Denmark, they add, has forty-five ships of the line, not manned it is true, but England they say can man them.

These tales one would think are so extravagant and absurd, that they would not find a believer in the world. Yet there are persons who believe them in all nations of Europe, particularly in Holland, and there is no doubt the same song will be sung in America, and many will listen to it. There is nothing further from the truth; they will find the utmost difficulty to draw from Germany troops enough to repair the breaches in the German troops made in America the last year; the same with regard to Ireland. And as to what is said of Russia, there is not even a color of truth in it, but on the contrary, the same good understanding continues between Versailles and Petersburgh, which subsisted last winter, spring, and summer. As to Denmark, I have no reason to think that she is disposed to assist Great Britain, but on the contrary that she has armed to defend herself at sea against Great Britain; but if it were otherwise, to what purpose would her ships of the line be unmanned, when Great Britain can not man the ships of the line she already has?

France seems determined to pursue the naval war with vigor and decision in the American seas. M. de Guichen sailed the beginning of January with seventeen or eighteen ships of the line. Seven more are now being prepared at Brest with all possible expedition, supposed to be for America. These, if they all happily join the twelve ships left by the Count d'Estaing, will make a fleet of six and thirty ships of the line. And the court seems determined to maintain the superiority in the American seas. This will give scope to our privateers to weaken and distress the enemies of their country, while they are enriching themselves.

There is no news of Admiral Rodney, from whence I conclude he is gone to the West Indies.

The English have derived such a flush of spirits from their late successes, which are mostly, however, of the negative kind, that they talk in a style very different from that of peace. There are two reflections which the English can not bear; one is that of losing the domination of the Colonies as indispensable to the support of their naval superiority over France and Spain, or either of them, in possession of a powerful fleet at the peace. Their maxim is to make themselves terrible at sea to all nations, and they are convinced that if they make a peace, leaving America independent and France and Spain powerful at sea, they

shall never again be terrible to any maritime power. These reasons convince me that Great Britain will hazard all rather than make peace at present. Thompson's "Britannia," which expresses the feelings as well as the sentiments of every Briton, is so much to the present purpose, that I hope I shall be pardoned for referring to it, even in a letter to Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

La Fayette to John Adams.*

PARIS, *February* 19, 1780.

DEAR SIR: As I came but this morning from Versailles, it was not in my power sooner to answer to the letter you have honored me with, and this duty I now perform with the more pleasure, that it is of some importance to the interests of America. Since the first day when I had the happiness of making myself and of being considered in the world as an American, I have always observed that among the many ways of attacking our liberties, and among the most ungenerous ones, treachery and falsehood have ever been the first weapons on which the British nation have the most depended.

I am glad it is in my power generally to assure you that the many reports propagated by them, and alluded to in your letter, are not founded upon truth. New contracts with petty German princes have not, I believe, taken place; and if any such merchandise were sent to America it would at most consist of a few recruits. The troubles in Ireland, if there is the least common sense amongst the first patriots of that country, are not I hope at an end, and it seems they now begin to raise new expectations. The Russian troops, so much talked of in their gazettes, I take to be mere recruits for those thirty thousand Russians that Mr. Rivington had three years ago ordered to embark for America.

Those intelligences, my dear sir, must be counteracted by letters to our friends in America. But as the respect which we owe to the free citizens of the United States makes it a point of duty for us never to deceive them, and as the most candid frankness must ever distinguish our side of the question from the course of tyranny and falsehood, I intend paying to morrow morning a visit to the minister of foreign affairs, and from him get so minuted intelligence as will answer your purpose.

With the most sincere regard, I have the honor to be, etc.,

LA FAYETTE.

P. S.—On my return from Versailles, my dear sir, where I will settle the affairs of arms that I have undertaken, I will impart to you a project privately relating to me that is not inconsistent with my sentiments for our country, *America*.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 632, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 125.

Carmichael to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *February* 19, 1780.

SIR: The short time I remained at Cadiz, and the constant employment in which I was engaged of copying Mr. Jay's letters and making the necessary preparations for my journey, prevented me from doing myself the honor of writing to your excellency from thence. But having now an opportunity by M. Gerard, to France, and an offer from M. Gardoqui to forward my letters by the way of Bilboa, I enclose to Congress copies of those I have written to Mr. Jay since my arrival in this city, as they contain the most material intelligence I have been able to procure. I have every reason to be pleased with the disposition of those whom I have seen here, as well foreigners as natives, and I can not sufficiently express my gratitude for the liberal and friendly manner in which I have been received by the Count de Montmorin, the ambassador of France, which I should impute entirely to M. Gerard's good offices, was not his own good-will and desire to conform to the favorable disposition of his court apparent. M. Gerard in the circle of foreign ministers is more of an American than a Frenchman, and I should do him injustice if I did not mention it.

The English squadron sailed from Gibraltar the 13th instant, and part of it is said to be destined for the West Indies. The French will have seventy-two sail of the line in actual service this year. The troops at the disposition of the person mentioned in the letter No 1,† to Mr. Jay, will amount to near four thousand, and consist chiefly of Germans; six sail of the line will escort them, and I am well informed they will sail in less than two months. It is said the English ministry will be able to procure the necessary supplies for the present year owing to their late successes.

I beg leave, through your excellency, to assure Congress of my unremitted attention to merit the confidence reposed in me, and to believe me, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

PARIS, *February* 20, 1780.

SIR: Since my arrival in Europe I have had the mortification to see in the public papers a series of little successes which our enemies have had in the prosecution of the war. The first was a very exaggerated account in the English Court Gazette of their successes against the

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 18, with verbal corrections.

† See Carmichael to Jay, February 15, 1780, *supra*.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 636, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 127.

Spaniards in South America. The next was the history of the repulse of General Lincoln and the Count d'Estaing at Savannah and the raising of the siege at that post. These were soon followed by the capture of the Spanish fleet of transport ships by Rodney's squadron, and the advantage gained by that admiral over the Spanish ships of war, after a most gallant resistance, however, off Gibraltar.

These small triumphs, although chiefly of the defensive and negative kind, and a poor compensation for the blood and the millions they are annually wasting, are, however, abundantly sufficient to cheer the spirits of the British populace and to banish from the minds of the ministry all thoughts of peace upon reasonable terms; for the English in the present war act upon a maxim diametrically opposite to that of the Romans, and never think of peace upon any event fortunate to them, but are anxious for it under every great adversity.

A report of my appointment having also been carried to England by the cartels from Boston, and being spread in Europe by various other ways by passengers in the *Committee*, by French passengers in the *Sensible*, of whom there were a great number, who had heard of it in all companies in America, and by many private letters, and the English ministerial writers having made use of this as evidence of a drooping spirit in America in order to favor their loan of money, I thought it my best policy to communicate my appointment and powers to the French court and ask their advice, as our good allies, how to proceed in the present emergency. I accordingly wrote to his excellency the Count de Vergennes the letter of the 12th of February, a copy of which is enclosed, and received his answer of the 15th, a copy of which is enclosed, to which I replied in a letter of the 19th, a copy of which is also enclosed. When I shall receive his excellency's answer I shall do myself the honor to enclose that.

If there is anything in these letters of mine which is not conformable to the views and sentiments of Congress I wish to be instructed in it, or if Congress should not concur with his excellency the count I shall obey their orders with the utmost punctuality and alacrity. I have ever understood that Congress were first advised to the measure of appointing a minister to negotiate peace by the French minister then at Philadelphia in the name of the Count de Vergennes. However this may have been, it can not be improper to have some one in Europe empowered to think and treat of peace, which some time or other must come.

Since my last, which was of yesterday's date, I have had opportunity to make more particular inquiries concerning the pretended treaty with Russia, and am informed that the English ministry did, not long since, make a formal application by their ambassador to the Empress of Russia for a body of troops and a number of ships; but that the application was opposed with great spirit and ability in the Russian council, particularly by the minister for foreign affairs, and rejected in council

with great unanimity, and that the harmony between Versailles and Petersburgh remains as perfect as when I left France.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Genet to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 20, 1780.

SIR: You have been afraid to trouble the Count de Vergennes, and you have done me the honor of addressing yourself to me, in order to know what you are to think of several rumors which the English have endeavored to spread. I am infinitely flattered by the mark of confidence which you have been pleased to give me, but I have thought myself obliged to lay the letter before the minister. He has directed me to assure you that on every occasion he will be very happy that you should address yourself directly to him, and that you will always find him ready to satisfy your inquiries.

He has remarked, as well as yourself, the address which our enemies use to circulate false reports, and to make Europe believe that the Americans are making advances to them in order to treat of an arrangement with them. The Count de Vergennes is likewise persuaded of the contrary, as he is assured that no new treaty has been negotiated with the princes of Germany, and that no levies are making there but for the sake of filling up the old ones. He does not think that the news of the treaty with Russia, nor that which relates to the court of Denmark, are better founded. He told me that I might do myself the honor to write you that all those rumors are false, and that you run no risk in presenting them as such to the persons on whom you think they have made some impressions both in Europe and America.

I am extremely anxious to have the honor to see you and congratulate you on your happy return. As I but seldom go to Paris, I wish your business may permit you to do me the honor to call at my house and accept of a family dinner.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GENET.

Jay to the President of Congress.†

CADIZ, *February* 20, 1780.

SIR: The papers herewith enclosed are duplicates of those which I had the honor of transmitting to your excellency by Captain De Saussure. As yet I have received no intelligence from Madrid, owing, I believe, to the extreme badness of the roads.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 636; 7 John Adams' Works, 126.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 152.

When at Martinique, I informed Congress by letter, dated the 25th of December last, that I had drawn a bill in favor of the officers of the *Confederacy* on Dr. Franklin for 100 guineas. At the time that letter was written I had made the officers that promise, and had directed the bills to be made out accordingly, but just as I was coming away and closing accounts with Mr. Bingham he, perceiving that the money I was about to draw for the officers was to come out of my salary in the first instance, was so obliging as to offer to advance that sum on the credit of Congress, and thereby save me the necessity of drawing. I accepted his offer, and gave notice of it to the officers by Mr. Lawrence, the clerk of the frigate.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Officers* of the Alliance Frigate, belonging to the United States of America.†

PASSY, *February* 21, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I have but lately received your letter of the 4th of January. I am sorry you have been so long detained in that uncomfortable, inactive situation. It has been partly occasioned by hopes that the court of Denmark would reconsider their proceedings and give us back our prizes. If that had been the case your stay might have been serviceable. If, by the advices M. de Chezaulx receives from Copenhagen, he finds that not likely to happen, or if the vessels are gone, I have now wrote requesting him to forward you and the people to France. Your account of the whole transaction at Bergen is very clear and particular, and you acted very properly in making the declaration you mention before a notary. We are much obliged to the gentlemen from whom you have received civilities, and I desire you to present my hearty thanks.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

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Franklin to Carmichael.‡

PASSY, *February* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received with great pleasure yours of the 25th of January, and shall write to you fully by the first good opportunity.

I can not recollect the name of the correspondent you mention, but I have ordered a credit of 24,000 livres tournois to be lodged in Madrid for Mr. Jay and you, which I suppose you will divide in proportion to

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* Messrs. Thomas White, Thomas Fitzgerald, Abraham Moore, James Hogan, and Nathaniel Marston.

†MSS. Dep. of State.

‡*Ibid.*

your appointments. Enclosed are the letters. I do not seal that for Mr. Jay, as I have just heard that possibly he may not be gone to Madrid, as I imagined, with Mr. Gerard, and you may have occasion to show it to M. Le Marquis d'Yranda.

With sincere esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *February* 22, 1780.

SIR: It gave me infinite pleasure to hear of your excellency's safe arrival in Spain. Knowing that the *Confederacy* had sailed the 28th of October, we began to despair of ever hearing more of her.

I received your advice of the bill drawn on me for 4,079 livres tournois, at sixty days' date, which I ordered to be immediately paid, as you desired.

I have also lodged a credit for you at Madrid for 24,000 livres, deducting this bill. You will be so good as to furnish Mr. Carmichael with 4,800 livres of it, which he has desired of me.

Enclosed is a letter of introduction to the Marquis d'Yranda, with whom the credit is placed, and whose acquaintance and friendship may be otherwise of use to you.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to Jay.†

PARIS, *February* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I most sincerely congratulate you on your happy arrival in Europe, which must be the more agreeable to you for the terrible voyages you have had. Every good American in Europe, I believe, suffered a great anxiety from the length of time that passed between the day when it was known that the *Confederacy* sailed and the time when the news arrived of your being in Cadiz. I, too, have had my hairbreadth escapes, and after my arrival, a very tedious journey in the worst season of the year by land. Happy, however, shall we be if all our hazards and fatigues should contribute to lay the foundation of a free and prosperous people.

I hope no accident or disagreeable circumstance has happened to your family, to whom I shall be obliged to you to present my respects. From what I saw and heard in Spain, from the strong assurances I received of the good-will of the court and nation, and from the great

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* MSS. Dep. of State. † 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 638.

attention and respect that were paid me by officers of government of the highest rank in the provinces through which I passed, I am persuaded you will meet with the most distinguished reception, and I hope will soon have the honor and satisfaction of concluding a treaty with Spain. You will have the advantage of more frequent and speedy intelligence from home than we can have here; at least you will have it in your power. There are vessels oftener arriving from America at Bilboa and Cadiz, I think, than in France. Many of these vessels come from Boston and Newburyport—perhaps the most of them—so that by directing your correspondents to send their letters that way you will have them much sooner than we can commonly obtain them; and by transmitting yours to Messrs. Gardoqui & Co., at Bilboa, and Mr. Montgomery, or some other at Cadiz, your dispatches will go more speedily and more safely than ours, for we find it almost impossible to get a letter across the Bay of Biscay from France in a merchant vessel, there are so many privateers in the route; the danger of whom is avoided chiefly by vessels from Bilboa keeping near the coast and running into harbor in case of danger, and wholly by those from Cadiz. You will excuse my mentioning to you this channel of intelligence, which might not possibly have occurred to you, and my wishing to make some advantage of it to myself by asking the favor of your correspondence, and that you will impart to me the advices you may receive through it.

We have nothing new here at present but what you have had before. Pray what think you of peace? It seems to be the will of Heaven that the English should have success enough to lead them on to final destruction. They are quite intoxicated with their late advantages, although a poor compensation for what they cost.

My respects to Mr. Carmichael, and believe me to be, with respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to James Warren.*

PARIS, *February* 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The French court seems to be now every day more and more convinced of the good policy, and indeed the necessity, of prosecuting the war with vigor in the American seas. They have been and are making great preparations accordingly, and are determined to maintain a clear superiority.

M. de la Motte Piquet has with him the *Hannibal*, the *Magnifique*, the *Diadème*, the *Dauphin Royal*, the *Artisane*, the *Réfléchi*, and the *Vengeur*, and if M. de Grace has joined him from the Chesapeake Bay, the *Robuste*, the *Fendant*, and the *Sphinx*; in all ten ships of the line.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 641.

M. de Guichen has gone to join him with the *Couronne*, eighty guns; the *Triumphant*, eighty; the *Palmier*, the *Victoire*, the *Destin*, the *Conquérant*, the *Citoyen*, the *Intrépide*, the *Hercule*, and the *Souverain*, all of seventy-four; the *Jason*, the *Actionnaire*, the *Caton*, the *Julien*, the *Solitaire*, the *St. Michael*, and the *Triton*, all of sixty-four; the frigates the *Medea*, *Courageuse*, *Gentille*, and the *Charmante*, all of thirty-two. He had above a hundred sail of vessels under his convoy, and the regiments of Touraine and Enghien, of more than thirteen hundred men each, and the second battalions of Royal Corntois and of Walsh, of seven hundred men each, making in the whole more than four thousand troops. Besides these, there are seven more preparing at Brest to sail.

M. Gerard, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Carmichael are arrived at Cadiz in a French frigate, the *Confederacy* having been dismasted and driven to Martinique. The *Alliance* carries this, with Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, who will no doubt be treated with all respect at Boston.

Notwithstanding the commotions in England and Ireland, the success of Provost at Savannah, and of Rodney off Gibraltar, and even the silly story of Omoa in South America, is enough to embolden the ministry to go on with a debt of two hundred millions already contracted, to borrow twelve or fourteen millions a year, in the beginning of a war with France and Spain, each having a greater navy than they ever had, each discovering a greater fighting spirit than they ever did before, and obliging the English to purchase every advantage at a dear rate. The premiums and bounties that they are obliged to give to raise men both for the service by sea and land, and the interest of money they borrow, are greater than were ever given in any former wars, even in the last year of the last war. This can not always last, nor indeed long. Yet I do not expect to see peace very soon.

Pray write me as often as possible, and send the newspapers to me.

Your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Samuel Adams.*

PARIS, *February* 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR: You will see by the public papers that your committee of correspondence is making greater progress in the world and doing greater things in the political world than the electrical rod ever did in the physical. Ireland and England have adopted it, but, mean plagiaries as they are, they do not acknowledge who was the inventor of it. Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard will go with this letter in the *Alliance*, and probably go to Boston. They will be able to inform you of everything of a public nature much better than I can do, as I have scarcely had oppor-

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 640.

tunity to look about me as yet. They will give you few hopes of peace, at least very speedily.

The associations of counties and committees of correspondence in England are very ominous to our old acquaintances the refugees, as they attack unmerited pensions in the first place. But they must do greater things than distressing these gentry; they must necessarily produce great commotions in the nation. The speeches at these meetings go great lengths, some of them openly justifying and applauding the Americans, and others even applauding France and Spain for stepping in to our assistance. The court here seems determined more than ever to pursue the war with vigor, especially by sea, and above all in the American seas. They have already sent seventeen ships of the line, under M. de Guichen to reenforce M. de la Motte Piquet, and seven others are preparing at Brest. They are sending out clothing and arms for fifteen thousand men for our army, and seem confident that the next campaign will be better than the last. I hope the spirit of privateering among us will increase, because I think this is the way in which we can do the most service to the common cause. I hope you will be so good as to inform me of what passes, particularly what progress the convention makes in the constitution.* I assure you it is more comfortable making constitutions in the dead of winter at Cambridge or Boston than sailing in a leaky ship or climbing on foot or upon mules over the mountains of Galicia and the Pyrenees.

Believe me your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *February* 23, 1780.

SIR: Having been informed this morning by the Marquis de La Fayette of another opportunity for America, I have the honor to enclose to Congress triplicates of former letters and copies of some other letters which I have written and received lately. I have also packed up all the newspapers and political pamphlets I can obtain. The Mercure de France is a weekly publication of very ancient origin, and is become lately very interesting to America, because those political intelligences and speculations which were formerly published in another pamphlet, under the title of Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique are now published in this, the other having been dropped. The Courrier de l'Europe has the most extensive circulation of any gazette, although supposed to be rather too much under the influence of the British ministry sometimes; the Gazette de France is published by authority here and has a great

* Convention of Massachusetts, of which Mr. Adams had been chosen a member soon after his return from France.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 639, with verbal changes.

reputation for integrity; in the Gazette de la Hague the English find means to publish many false reports. These papers and pamphlets, together with one or two English papers, for which I shall subscribe as soon as possible, I shall do myself the honor to transmit to Congress constantly as they come out. From these Congress will be able to collect from time to time all the public news of Europe.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Genet.*

PARIS, *February* 24, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me the 20th of this month.

I was cautious of troubling the minister with an application directly to him upon a subject like that of my letter to you, but I thank you for the trouble you have taken in laying it before him. The kind expressions of his excellency's confidence and his readiness to receive any applications directly from me do me great honor, and I shall not fail of paying my respects to him upon proper occasions. I am happy to have his excellency's authority to counteract the delusive artifices of our enemies, and he may be equally assured that the reports of advances made by the Americans towards an arrangement with the English are equally groundless. I hope to have soon the honor of paying my respects to you at Versailles.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Florida Blanca to Jay.†

[Translation.]

PARDO, *February* 24, 1780.

SIR: Having received by the hands of Don Joseph de Galvez the letter which your excellency sent by Mr. Carmichael, and having communicated the contents to his majesty, I have it in command to inform you that his majesty highly approves the choice which the American Congress have made of you to the trust mentioned in your letter, as well on account of the high estimation in which his majesty holds the members who made the choice, as the information he has received of your probity, talents, and abilities. His majesty also received with pleasure the information of the desire which the Colonies have to form a connection with Spain, of whose good disposition they have already

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 129.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 152.

received strong proofs. Nevertheless, his majesty thinks it necessary, in the first place, that the manner, the forms, and the mutual correspondence should be settled upon which that union must be founded which the United States of America desire to establish with this monarchy. For this purpose there is no obstacle to your excellency's coming to this court in order to explain your intentions and those of the Congress and to hear those of his majesty, and by that means settling a basis upon which a perfect friendship may be established, and also its extent and consequences.

His majesty thinks that until these points are settled, as he hopes they will be, it is not proper for your excellency to assume a formal character, which must depend on a public acknowledgment and future treaty. But your excellency may be assured of the sincerity and good dispositions of his majesty towards the United States, and of his earnest desire to remove every difficulty for the mutual happiness of them and of this monarchy. This has been intimated to Mr. Carmichael, who can communicate the same to your excellency, to whom I beg leave to make a tender of my service, being, etc.,

COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

H. Laurens to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

CHARLESTON, *February* 24, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of intimating on the 14th instant, by a public messenger, my purpose of seeking a passage to Europe from North Carolina; but upon inquiry into the circumstances of the four vessels alluded to I judged it best to embark at this port. General Lincoln has hired a swift-sailing brigantine, the *Adriana*, Josiah Hill, master, to conduct me to Martinique; and the Government has relaxed the embargo on the vessel and such cargo as she will be laden with, which will be no more than sufficient to ballast her. By agreement, this vessel should have sailed on the 20th instant, but bad weather and distracted times have been impediments. She will be ready for sea tomorrow. Nothing that I foresee will then detain her, unless the wind shall be unfavorable.

The general has contracted to insure the value of the vessel, with the condition of shipping such quantity of goods on Continental account as I should judge proper, freight free; but I must pay for the use of the cabin, this being the perquisite of the master; and although it is small and very inconvenient, I suppose it will cost me forty or fifty guineas. I can not yet bring Captain Hill to be explicit in his demand, but it shall be ascertained before I embark. Considering that the circuitous voyages which I must make will be attended with great expense; that Congress would have furnished me with means for defraying my ex

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 713.

penses had it been in their power; that they had in contemplation when I left Philadelphia to raise a fund abroad by the exportation of indigo; that I had an opportunity of shipping that and other articles free from freight, and at very moderate prices compared with those of the staples of other States, I presumed that it would be pleasing to Congress that I should make such an export on account of the United States as will appear in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The indigo alone will probably yield upwards of £3,200 sterling at some market in Europe. The whole shall be faithfully accounted for, and I trust that Congress will enter into a resolution for indemnifying me, and order the amount of the invoice to be placed to my credit. If it please God to conduct me in safety, a part of the money arising from the sale of the goods may be very acceptable to Mr. Jay, or other gentlemen in the service of these States abroad.

The vessel in which I am to embark is esteemed so good in this town as to induce underwriters, notwithstanding she is to sail in the face of British men-of-war, to insure on her at 25 per cent. Coming into this port she was pursued by those very men-of-war and their tender, but escaped them; she is now clean and barely in ballast for sailing, and will go out in an evening. My long delay is a subject of grief to me, but Congress will be pleased to recollect that I made my coming to Charleston, in order to present myself at the tribunal of my country, the *sine qua non* of my acceptance of a new mission. The first opportunity that offered for Europe was the *Chimere*, Commodore Durumain. I have already informed you of the causes of my disappointment. I had not thought it possible that the commodore would have induced a junction of two Continental frigates with his little squadron of three ships, under an excellent plan for a ten days' cruise, unless he had been fully determined to perform his part in the execution. A contrary proceeding exposed those frigates to imminent danger, which they narrowly escaped. What has happened since the commodore's departure, respecting my intended embarkation, Congress have been informed of.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HENRY LAURENS.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 24, 1780.

SIR: I forward the gazettes to Boston for you as usual, without knowing when they will find a passage from thence. Your letter of September the 30th, and one from Dr. [Arthur] Lee of December the 8th, came to hand two days ago, your prior being May the 26th, received August the 17th. I hope you have got newspapers from me often, though I have written few letters. The commercial committee is impressed with your sentiments respecting drafts. They are a mere

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 93, with verbal changes.

name at present. I hope that branch will, for a time, be conducted by the admiralty board, till a new arrangement can be formed, to be executed by persons not members of Congress. We are about calling on the States according to their staples, so that the prospect of suitable remittances is enlarged. This plan is consequent upon a resolve of December the 14th.

I am, with great respect, sir, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.

P. S.—The Chevalier de la Luzerne expressed to me anxiety because we do not correspond in cipher. I early communicated to you from Baltimore a very good one, though a little tedious, like that of M. Dumas. I enclose you a sample at this time.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *February* 24, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write me the 19th of this month. Your full powers, of which you have been pleased to send me a copy, are perfectly conformable to what M. Gerard has written to me about them, and they leave us nothing to wish for as to the form or matter. I think there will be no inconveniency in informing the public of the principal object of your mission—I mean the future pacification.† It will be announced in the gazette of France, when it will mention your presentation to the king and royal family, and you will be at liberty to give your eventual character a greater publicity by having it published in the Dutch papers. I could only wish that you would be so kind as to communicate the article to me before you transmit it. With regard to the full powers which authorize you to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the court of London, I think it will be prudent not to communicate them to anybody whatever, and to take every necessary precaution that the British ministry may not have a premature knowledge of them. You will no doubt easily feel the motives which induce me to advise you to take this precaution, and it would be needless to explain them.

With regard to your instructions, sir, I am satisfied that they have for their certain and invariable basis the treaties subsisting between the king and the United States. M. Gerard has assured the king of it in the most positive manner, and his majesty does more justice to the uprightness of Congress and to the stability of the sentiments which they have hitherto manifested than to have ever entertained or to en

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*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 642.

† See J. Adams to Vergennes July 17, 1780, *infra*, where Adams declines to accept this view.

tertain the least doubt on this subject. This way of thinking will convince you, sir, that we have no need of seeing your instructions to appreciate properly the principles and dispositions of Congress towards Great Britain.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *February* 25, 1780.

SIR: Since my letter of the 20th I have received another letter from his excellency the Count de Vergennes, dated the 24th of February, which I answered this day. Copies of both letters are enclosed.

I have also the honor to enclose a gazette, and an application from Mr. Comyn, of Marseilles, to be a consul for the ports of Provence and Languedoc. I know nothing of this gentleman but what he says of himself.

By the enclosed gazette, as well as by many others, Congress will see of what wonderful efficacy in pulling down tyranny a committee of correspondence is likely to be. Ireland has done great things by means of it; England is attempting great things with it—after the example of the Americans, who invented it and first taught its use; yet all does not seem to produce the proper gratitude on the minds of the English towards their benefactors. However, the glory of the invention is as certainly ours as that of electrical rods, Hadley's quadrant, or innoculation for the smallpox.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *February* 25, 1780.

SIR: I had last evening the honor of your excellency's letter of yesterday's date, and shall conform myself to your advice.

I shall esteem myself highly honored by a presentation to the king and royal family, and shall wait your excellency's directions concerning the time of it, and shall not think myself at liberty to make any publication of my powers to treat of peace until it shall have been announced in the gazette. After which I shall transmit to your excellency any paragraph which may be thought proper to publish in the gazettes of Holland, and take your advice upon it before it is sent. My other

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 644.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 643.

powers shall be concealed, according to your advice, and I shall have the honor to pay my respects to your excellency very soon at Versailles.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to Carmichael.*

CADIZ, *February* 25, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 15th instant was delivered to me last evening. I congratulate you on your safe arrival, and hope the agreeable circumstances of your present situation will compensate for the fatigue and trouble you experienced on the way to it.

It gives me pleasure to hear the French ambassador has been so obliging, and I am glad to find from your letter that your attentions to him at least keep pace with his civilities, especially as you are no stranger to the distinction between the candor and politeness of a gentleman and that unbounded confidence which is seldom necessary.

The intelligence you received from him is so agreeable and so interesting, that although the nature of it leaves me no room to doubt of this having been signified by the court of France to Congress, either through Dr. Franklin or the Count de la Luzerne, yet as unexpected accidents may have retarded its arrival, I shall also transmit it by a vessel which will sail in a few days for Boston.

I regret your not having been more particular on the subject of the mistake you have been led to suppose in the direction of my letter, as I wish to have the means of determining whether it was from decisive authority that M. Gerard, whose opinion I requested on that subject without hesitation, told me that M. Galvez was the minister with whom all business with the United States was to be transacted, and urged several reasons for his being of that opinion. From that gentleman's knowledge of the courts of Europe and the departments established for the dispatch of business in each, particularly with that of Madrid, with which his court has been so long and so intimately acquainted, I was induced to desire and confide in his information on that point. Very conclusive reasons, therefore, are necessary to induce a belief of his having been mistaken. But as it is of importance that all errors of this kind be known, and if possible corrected, I must request your attention to this matter in your next.

I am at a loss to determine from your letter whether or not you have sent my dispatches to M. Galvez. From your not having seen that gentleman, nor expecting to be introduced to him till the 17th instant, I conjecture that my letter did not reach him till that day; if so, I fear the delay will appear as singular to him as I confess it does to me. It

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 153.

does the more so to me, as my letter would have introduced you, and as you were apprised of my apprehension that pains would be taken to delay my receiving a decided answer as to my reception until the sentiments of France should be known. Perhaps the advice you received, as to the time and manner most proper for the delivery of it, was a little influenced by a desire of gaining time. I wished to have felt the pulse of Spain, and, by their conduct on this occasion, to have been enabled to determine whether their councils, with respect to the United States, are in any, and in what, degree independent of those of France, or whether directed by them. This would have been very useful in the further progress of the business, and might have been easily obtained, had my letter been delivered immediately on your arrival, because in that case, before the sentiments of the French court could have been asked and received, sufficient time would have elapsed to justify your applying to M. Galvez for an answer; and whatever that might have been, certain inferences would have been deducible from it. For these reasons, and not from an expectation of opposition from France, I regret this delay. But as my conjectures may prove groundless, and if just, you may have very cogent reasons, I forbear further remarks till I shall again have the pleasure of hearing from you.

Are you sure that the intelligence your heard respecting M. Mirales is *certain?* I am sorry by this question to lengthen your next letter, especially as writing in cipher is tedious and disagreeable. But that intelligence is important; if credited, it may have an influence on American measures which, if it should be groundless, might be injurious. The transmission of information to Congress, by which their councils and determinations may be affected, is a very delicate business, and demands the greatest care and precision. It is not uncommon, you know, for one gentleman to think a matter certain which another of no greater discernment, and judging by the same evidence, will deem somewhat doubtful. I would choose therefore, with respect to all interesting intelligence, and particularly such as I may transmit to Congress, to possess, as far as possible, every circumstance necessary to form a judgment of its credibility, such as the rank and character of the informants and the means they have of acquiring the information they give, that I may represent it as entitled to that degree of credit only which, on full consideration, it may appear to deserve. I observe this less with reference to the case in question than as a general rule. Besides, as we correspond in cipher, no danger can result from being explicit.

I am well satisfied that the short time you had been at Madrid did not admit of your writing on the several subjects contained in your instructions, on all of which, if allowed sufficient time, I am persuaded you will be able to obtain important information. However, as the object of your going to Madrid was to prevent delays in my receiving an answer to the letter to M. Galvez, the other instructions, however

important, are to be considered as secondary, and though I wish that great and constant attention may be paid them, yet by no means to the neglect or prejudice of the first.

I am much obliged to you for the American paper enclosed in your letter. Every thing from our country is interesting. If you should find any more of them, whose contents afford either information or entertainment, send them, and you shall receive from me all I may meet with here which come under that description.

The letter you gave me reason to expect from M. Gerard has not yet arrived; perhaps the next post will bring it. On the first occasion I have of writing to him I shall take the liberty of mentioning the sense you have of his personal kindness and attention to you.

The polite offers of the French ambassador to be useful to me in all things that depend on him at Madrid, as well as his civilities to you, demand my acknowledgments, which I must beg the favor of you to present to him.

I am, dear sir, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Hodgson.*

PASSY, *February* 26, 1780.

SIR: I have just received your favor of the 11th instant. I am much obliged by your immediate application to the board of sick and hurt after the receipt of mine of January 20, and very glad to hear that another cartel is soon to sail from Plymouth with one hundred Americans. The English prisoners to exchange for them will be ready at Morlaix, and I am authorized to repeat what I mentioned in my last, that if the whole number of American prisoners in England are sent over without further delay an equal number of English prisoners here, whether taken by the Americans or by the French, will be immediately returned for them. It is in confidence of this that I lately ordered away in the *Happy Return* cartel, Captain Webb, those prisoners I had at L'Orient. As a proof, I send you enclosed the letters from our agent in that port. As he mentions clothing the prisoners, I enclose also copy of an account lately received from the same agent for clothing one hundred and thirteen English prisoners last April; not that I expect anything from your government on that account towards clothing such of our people with you as may be in want of it. The refusal of compliance with the paroles of prisoners set at liberty have taught me to flatter myself no more with expectations that a thing may be done because it is humane, or equitable and reasonable that it should be done. I only desire it may be considered as a small but grateful acknowledgment, all hitherto in my power, for the kindness shown by your charitable subscriptions

*MSS. Dep. of State.

to our poor people. It may perhaps be some satisfaction to those subscribers to know that, while they thought only of relieving Americans, they were at the same time occasioning some relief to distressed Englishmen. With this I send you an £100 bill, to enable you to furnish such as are in want of absolute necessaries in the two prisons of Portsmouth and Plymouth. I suppose that good Mr. Wren will administer for you to those at Portsmouth. I do not know who has heretofore performed that charitable office at Plymouth. Perhaps you have some friend there who will do it, as you request.

I have put some money also in the hands of Mr. Digges for such purposes, and request you would consult on the best means of applying the whole.

Accept, dear sir, my thankful acknowledgments of the kind, charitable care and pains you have taken in this affair, and believe me ever, with sincere and great esteem,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

Franklin to Wren.*

PASSY, *February* 26, 1780.

REVEREND SIR: Your great attention to the wants of our poor captive countrymen and your kind and charitable care of them in their sickness and other distresses I have often heard spoken of by such as have escaped and passed through this place in the strongest terms of grateful acknowledgment. I beg you to accept, among the rest, my sincere and hearty thanks, and my best wishes for your health and prosperity.

I have put a little money lately into the hands of Mr. Digges, and now some into those of Mr. Hodgson, for the relief of the most pressing necessities of the remaining prisoners. Those gentlemen will, I suppose, request your assistance in the disposition of it. I should have done it when I heard the subscription was near exhausted, if I had not been flattered with the hope that they would sooner have been exchanged, first, on account of the solemn paroles in writing given by numbers of Englishmen taken by our vessels and set at liberty, and then against those carried into Holland; but the paroles, after long indecision, I am lately told, are rejected, and the exchange I proposed in Holland was refused at first on the expectation of retaking them in their way to France, and though afterwards agreed to, it was through another channel and for other prisoners. These delays have not been owing to any neglect of mine, as the prisoners of Fortou, in a letter to me of the 3d instant, inform me they are frequently assured. On inquiring, I did not find that we had actually here a sufficient number of

* MSS. Dep. of State.

English to answer another cartel, unless the British Government would have allowed the paroles. I kept the *Alliance* in Europe, and joined her to the little squadron under Captain Jones, principally in hope of obtaining more prisoners to complete the exchange, and I can now inform our people that this latter view will be accomplished, the minister of the marine here having given me assurances that the cartels bringing over Americans shall immediately have the same number of English in exchange to the amount of five hundred. We have also two or three privateers out who have already brought in near one hundred, and are daily making more prisoners, so that I hope their confinement of our people now nearly at an end. I shall be happy to see them at liberty in France, and will assist them what I can in returning to their native country. I have some reason to think that the delays were rather occasioned by the weakness or impatience of those prisoners who basely deserted the cause of their country and entered with its enemies. This naturally gave hopes that more might do the same, and the longer the confinement the greater would be the defection probably, and thence the determination relating to the paroles was kept back, and I had no positive answer till within these two weeks.

The prisoners, not having signed their above-mentioned letter with any names, but requesting me to answer it in a letter to you, occasions my desiring that you would be so good as to communicate to them the contents in such manner as you shall judge best.

With very great esteem and respect, which I shall rejoice in an opportunity of demonstrating, I have the honor to be, reverend sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. F.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *February* 27, 1780.

SIR: There are so many gentlemen of rank going out to America, that there can be no doubt Congress will be fully informed of the state of public affairs.

Mr. Lee, Mr. Izard, the Marquis de La Fayette, Mr. Wharton, and many others are going by different vessels. Besides these, Monsieur de l'Etombe, who is appointed consul-general of France for the northern district of America, as M. Holker for the middle (I have not yet learned who for the southern), will go soon.

There is an armament preparing with the greatest expedition at Brest, which is to be commanded by M. de Ternay, and to consist of eight or ten ships of the line and frigates—six of the line and several frigates as it is said (perhaps it is not yet certain nor determined exactly how many of either)—with several thousand men; all numbers are men-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 644.

tioned from six to ten thousand men, under the general officers De Rochambeau and Jaucort. Whether this force is destined to the Continent or West Indies time will discover; at present it ought not to be known. On the other hand, I see by a paragraph in a London paper of the 16th of this month that the *Thunderer*, *Torbay*, *Ramillies*, *Royal Oak*, *Triumph*, and *Egmont* are ordered for the West Indies, under Captain Walsingham; the *Southampton*, *St. Albans*, and *Winchelsea*, which were talked of to go with him, are found unfit for service, and in so bad a condition as to be ordered to be paid off. Thus the French are likely to be drawn into the American seas in sufficient force, where they have great advantages in carrying on the war. It is much to be wished that the Spaniards could be drawn into the same field of battle, for Gibraltar must be taken in America, if ever.

There are some persons, however, who think that the English will avenge the French, the Spaniards, and above all the Americans, upon one another, and it is certain that parties in England are working up to a crisis. The peritions of the counties, their numerous committees of correspondence, their hints of associations, have most certainly alarmed the king and his ministers to so great a degree, that for some time their conduct was equivocal, giving hopes at times to the people that the crown would favor the desired reformation in the expenditure of money. But upon the news of Rodney's successes they grew bolder, and determined to exert all the authority of the crown to suppress the meetings of the people. Accordingly the cry of faction, sedition and rebellion was set up in Parliament by the majority, and the king was advised to dismiss those lieutenants of counties who had favored the meetings of the people—advice which he has certainly taken. This is a decisive measure. It will either discourage and suppress those meetings, petitions, correspondence, and associations altogether, or it will give them greater force.

By a debate in the House of Commons on the 14th of this month one would think that the nation was nearly on the brink of a civil war. Yet I confess I can not think that there are any characters at present in whom the nation have sufficient confidence to venture themselves at any lengths under their guidance; and I believe that this spirited conduct of the king will defeat the measures of the counties, unless, indeed, in the course of the next campaign, his arms, especially by sea, should meet with any signal defeat, which would perhaps reanimate the people. But supposing the people go on and succeed so far as to effect a change in the ministry, the question is whether this would be an advantage to us or our allies? I am myself very far from being convinced that it would.

There are none of the principal leaders of the people who avow any fixed principle that we can depend upon; none that avow a design of acknowledging our independence, or even of making peace.

By letters which I have received from Brussels and Holland since

my arrival I am told that the late desperate step of the English in seizing the Dutch ships has made a great change in the minds of the people there, and the government, too, in our favor—even the prince declares he has been deceived by the English, and that he will promote unlimited convoys; that an American minister is much wished for, who, although he might not yet be publicly received, would be able to do as much good as if he was; that money might be borrowed there by such a minister directly sent by Congress, applying directly to solid Dutch houses. I hope every hour to hear of Mr. Laurens' arrival.

I have subscribed for the English papers, but have not yet received any, which I am sorry for, because I can get none to enclose. As fast as they come to me I will send them. I have the honor to enclose another *Mercure de France.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Cooper.*

PARIS, *February* 28, 1780.

DEAR SIR: This will be delivered to you by the marquis, your friend. Your grandson is well and very contented. He has seen the world; to be sure, such a part of it that none of the rest can ever be superlatively disagreeable to him hereafter.†

Instead of wishing and hoping for peace, my dear countrymen must qualify themselves for war, and learn the value of liberty by the dearness of its purchase. The foundations of lasting prosperity are laid in great military talents and virtues. Every sigh for peace, until it can be obtained with honor, is unmanly. If our enemies can be obstinate and desperate in a wicked and disgraceful cause, surely we can be determined and persevering in the most just, the most honorable, and the most glorious cause that was ever undertaken by men.

I am, with great affection, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the President of Congress.‡

CADIZ, *February* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to your excellency in the enclosed papers § all the intelligence I have received from Madrid. Mr. Secretary Thomson will decipher them. An opinion begins to prevail

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 646.

† Alluding to the journey through the north of Spain.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 156.

§ See *supra*, Carmichael to Jay, February 15 and 18; and Jay to Carmichael, February 25, 1780.

that America will be the theatre of war the ensuing campaign, and that the islands there will be the principal objects of contention.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *February* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have this moment received a letter from M. Genet, who is one of the first secretaries in the office of foreign affairs, and who has the care of publishing all things relative to America, and has already translated the constitutions of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, requesting me to assist him in procuring those of Georgia, North Carolina, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire.

There is so great a curiosity through all Europe to see our new constitutions, and those already published in the languages of Europe have done us so much honor, that I thought I should be excusable in making a direct request to Congress for their assistance in procuring those which M. Genet still desires. Those of Rhode Island and Connecticut, being according to their ancient charters, M. Genet has already; those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, whenever they shall be formed and established, will be easily obtained. But those of North Carolina and Georgia I could not obtain when I was at Boston, and these are therefore the ones which M. Genet wants at present, and which I have ventured to beg the aid of Congress to procure.

I have the honor to enclose the gazette of the day, in which Congress will see the news from England and Holland.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Jones.†

PASSY, *March* 1, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received the letters you did me the honor of writing to me the 25th and 28th past.

I am glad to learn that you can take a quantity of the clothing and arms, and that you can accommodate the four gentlemen I had mentioned to you. I could wish also that you would find room for Mr. Brown, of South Carolina, who is about returning there. M. de Sartine desires also a place for a passenger that goes on some business from him. I make no doubt of your willingness to oblige the minister. I do not know that I have authority to give the order you desire to Lieu-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 547.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

tenant Rhodes, but if you and he agree in the transposition proposed I have no objection to it.

Captain Landais has demanded of me an order to you to deliver him his trunks and things that were left on board the *Alliance*.

I find him so exceedingly captious and critical, and so apt to construe as an intended injustice every expression in our language he does not immediately understand, that I am tired of writing anything for him or about him, and am determined to have nothing further to do with him. I make no doubt, however, that you will deliver his things to any person he may empower to receive them, and therefore think such an order unnecessary.

I have as yet received no answer to the memorial I sent to the court of Denmark, reclaiming the prizes sent into Norway and delivered up unjustly by that court to the British consul. I have not heard that they have yet left Bergen. I hope we may yet recover them or their value.

There is a Mr. Lockyear, who has served twenty-two years in the British navy as a master and having met with some injustice, would go to America with hopes of finding service there. He wishes to go with you, and if you can give him any employment on board it will be very agreeable to him.

Dr. Bancroft, being by this time with you, will take all the steps possible to promote your refitting and forward the payment of the prize money. I do not comprehend what the weight of metal has to do with the division, unless where the ships are fitted out by different owners.

I hope your indisposition will soon be over and your health re-established, being with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, etc.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 3, 1780.

SIR: The news of the day is that Rodney has gone with his whole fleet to the West Indies, that Du Chaffault is to command the French fleet in America, and the Count d'Estaing in the channel; that a large force is to go to America, either to the islands or to the Continent, both of ships and troops, in two divisions; that the last letters from Holland breathe a spirit somewhat warlike, and indeed the English have treated them with so much indignity and contempt as well as injustice, that one would think it was not always to be borne.

It is not agreeable to my principles nor to my feelings to injure the character even of an enemy at war, but it is often possible to draw important inferences from the true known character of a commander of the forces of an enemy. It is therefore my duty to mention that Rod-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 648.

ney is reported to be a man of dissipation and prodigality, a great spendthrift, and virulent against us; that he has often declared that, if he had a command in America, his mode to humiliate and subdue us should be to burn every town and every house that he could come at upon the seacoast.

That such a plan of military execution will be sooner or later adopted by the court of London I have not the least doubt from their known principles, tempers, characters, and past conduct, provided it should ever be in their power to attempt it in whole or in part. And if this is the disposition and system of their Admiral Rodney, the appointment of him raises a presumption that they have given him express orders to this purpose at this time. An uncommon coincidence of favorable circumstances has thrown the whole Caracas fleet into his hands, and given a victory, although pretty dearly paid for, over a much inferior fleet of Spanish men-of-war. If he is, therefore, a man of such levity as is represented, and so malicious against us, and has such malignant orders from his court, and goes to America flushed and giddy with success, we may expect he will do mischief if he can, and we ought to be upon our guard.

My business is peace, but I think of nothing but war. While our enemies think of nothing else, we ought not to think more of peace than to be ready to treat of it, as soon as it shall be put into the hearts of our foes to be willing for it. Americans must be soldiers, they must war by sea and land; they have no other security.

I have the honor to enclose the gazette of the day, and to be with much respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

CADIZ, *March* 3, 1780.

SIR: Captain Morgan being still here, waiting for a fair wind, I have an opportunity of transmitting to your excellency a copy of a letter † just come to hand from the Count de Florida Blanca in answer to mine to M. Galvez.

Being apprehensive that if present I should probably be amused with verbal answers capable of being explained away if necessary until the two courts could have time to consult and decide on their measures, I thought it more prudent that my first application should be by letter rather than in person.

The answer in question, divested of the gloss which its politeness spreads over it, gives us, I think, to understand that our independence shall be acknowledged, provided we accede to certain terms of treaty,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 157.

† See *supra*. Florida Blanca to Jay, February 24, 1780.

but not otherwise; so that the acknowledgment is not to be made because we are independent, which would be candid and liberal, but because of the previous considerations we are to give for it, which is consistent with the principles on which nations usually act.

I shall proceed immediately to Madrid. There are many reasons (hereafter to be explained) which induce me to suspect that France is determined to manage between us so as to make us debtors to their influence and good correspondence with Spain for every concession on her part, and to make Spain hold herself obligated to their influence and good correspondence with us for every concession on our part. Though this may puzzle the business, I think it also promotes it.

M. Gerard has often endeavored to persuade me that a certain resolution of Congress would, if persisted in, ruin the business, which, however, he did not appear much inclined to believe, but on the contrary, that if every other matter was adjusted you would not part on that point. I assured him that ground had, in my opinion, been taken with too much deliberation now to be quitted, and that expectations of that kind would certainly deceive those who trusted them. And indeed, as affairs are now circumstanced, it would, in my opinion, be better for America to have no treaty with Spain than to purchase one on such servile terms. There was a time when it might have been proper to have given that country something for their making common cause with us, but that day is now past. Spain is at war with Britain.

I do not like the cipher in which I write, and shall therefore defer further particulars till Mr. Thomson shall receive the one now sent him.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your excellency's most obedient servant.

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

CADIZ, *March* 3, 1780.

SIR: Agreeably to my promise to the Marquis de la Flotte, I must inform your excellency that a Monsieur Jean Guy Guatier, merchant at Barcelona, recommended to the marquis by Monsieur Aubere, the French consul there, is desirous of becoming the consul of the United States at that port. He had been encouraged, as M. Aubere says, to expect this appointment by Dr. Franklin; but, as he supposed my arrival would prevent the doctor's interference, it became necessary to make the application to me. I told the marquis that my commission did not authorize me to comply with his request, and that all I could do would be to mention his friend's application to Congress.

How far it may be proper to grant appointments of this sort to any but citizens of America is a question whose importance will not, I am

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 157.

persuaded, escape the notice of Congress. A sensible, active consul is a very useful officer in many respects, and has many opportunities of doing essential services to those who employ him, or to whom he may be most attached. It is most certain that for want of proper persons appointed to take care of our distressed seamen, who, escaping from captivity at Lisbon, Gibraltar, etc., daily arrive here, America loses many of them. Humanity, as well as policy, calls for this provision. I have some of them now with me, destitute of bread and money, and almost of clothes, and of the means of getting either, unless by entering into the French or Spanish service. Such as may arrive here after my going to Madrid will be friendless unless I employ some person to take a little care of them, which I shall take the liberty of doing, being fully persuaded that the same principles which press me into that measure will induce Congress to approve it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to Samuel Adams.*

PARIS, *March* 4, 1780.

SIR: This will be delivered to you by Mr. Izard, who goes out in the *Alliance* with Mr. Lee, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Brown, and others. He will wait on you, of course, and will be able to give you good information concerning the intentions of the English, and their military preparations by sea and land, and those of the French and Spaniards at the same time. He will also give his opinion very freely concerning American and other characters here, as well as measures.

In many things his opinions may be just, but in some, and those not a few, I am sure they are wrong. The great principle in which I have differed from him is this—in the mode of treating with this court. He has been always of the opinion that it was good policy and necessary to hold a high language to this court; to represent to them the danger of our being subdued if they did not do this and the other thing for us, in order to obtain money and other aids from them. He is confident they would not have dared to refuse anything.

Although no man in America or in the world was earlier convinced than I was that it was the interest of France and Spain to support the independence of America and that they would support it, and that no man is more sensible than I am of the necessity they are under to support us, yet I am not, nor ever was, of opinion that we could with truth or with good policy assume the style of menace, and threaten them with returning again to Great Britain and joining against France and Spain, even telling them that we should be subdued, because I never believed this myself, and the court here would not have believed it

*2 Sparks' Rev. Dip. Corr., 651.

from us. The court have many difficulties to manage as well as we, and it is delicate and hazardous to push things in this country. Things are not to be negotiated here as they are with the people of America, even with the tories in America, or as with the people of England. There is a frankness, however, that ought to be used with the ministry, and a candor with which the truth may be and has been communicated; but there is a harshness that would not fail to ruin, in my opinion, the fairest negotiation in this country.

We are anxious to hear from you, having nothing since the beginning of December, and very little since we left you.

Your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 4, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose the *Mercure de France* of this day, which contains, among other interesting intelligence, Admiral Rodney's narration, after his good fortune on the 8th of January last in meeting the Spanish Caracas fleet, which sailed from St. Sebastian the 1st of January under convoy of seven armed vessels belonging to the Caracas company. The *Guipuscoa*, of sixty-four guns and five hundred and fifty men; the *San Carlos*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred men; the *San Raphael*, of thirty guns and one hundred and fifty-five men; the *Santa Theresa*, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and fifty men; the *Corbetta San Firmin*, of sixteen guns and sixty men. These armed vessels were all taken, and the *Guipuscoa* was christened *Prince William*, in honor of his royal highness, in whose presence she was taken, and given to one of the English captains, as a better ship than his former one, the *Bienfaisant*.

The merchant vessels under this convoy are the *Nostra Senora de l'Ores*, the *San Francisco*, the *Conception*, the *San Nicholas*, the *Jeronimo*, the *Divina Providentia*, the *San Gibilan*, the *San Pactora*, the *San Lauren*, the *Belona*, and the *Esperanza*, all loaded with flour and corn. The *Cervidada de Merica*, loaded with provisions for the navy, the *Amisted*, the *San Michael*, loaded with anchors and cables, and the *Bilboa*, loaded with tobacco. Those with provisions for the navy and that with tobacco were sent to England under convoy of the *America* and the *Pearl*, and those with corn and flour were carried into Gibraltar.

This fleet seems to have been met at sea by the admiral by perfect accident, of which the English do not appear to have had the least hope nor the Spaniards the smallest fear. It must, therefore, be allowed to be one instance of the good fortune of the English ministry and their admiral, or rather, as it is reported, of the king and his admiral.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 649, with verbal changes.

Their good fortune, however, did not end here, for eight days afterward, on the 16th of January, they fell in with Don Juan de Langura, with eleven vessels of the line, who being so much inferior could not hope for a victory. He fought the English, however, upon the retreat with so much bravery, skill, and success, that they were able to take only three of his ships. The *Phœnix*, of eighty guns, and the *Princessa* and *Diligent*, of seventy-four, were taken and the *San Domingo* blown up. The *S. Genero*, the *S. Justo*, and the *Monarcha*, having separated before the battle, and the *S. Juliano*, the *S. Eugenio*, the *S. Augustine*, and *S. Lorenzo* having since arrived in Cadiz, although in a bad condition.

Thus the English have been permitted, against probabilities and appearances, to throw succor into Gibraltar, and perhaps Mahon, to give a little fresh confidence to the ministry, and make a few bonfires for the populace, but have added very little to their riches or their power. In the mean time Rodney must have been retarded by these lucky accidents in his course to the West Indies, and given opportunity to the Count de Guichen to arrive before him in the West Indies, and prevent the reconquest of the Grenadas, and perhaps do more; but of this Congress will be informed sooner than I.

These successes have not suppressed the independent spirit of Ireland, which is going on in a regular train, deliberating upon bills for the independence of the judges, the habeas corpus, the restriction of subsidies, and discipline of their troops; and they seem determined to throw off all the authority of the British Parliament; nor that of the committees of correspondence and petitioners in the counties of England which threaten associations, and as the ministry themselves say, sedition, faction, tumults, and rebellion; nor provided a fleet for the British channel for the ensuing summer, nor assuaged the serious resentment of Holland for the piracies committed in violation of the faith of treaties, as well as the laws of nature and nations, upon their commerce. As it is most interesting to us to know the forces to be employed in America, by which word I comprehend the West India Islands, as well as the coasts of the continent, all these being connected together in such a manner as to make but one whole, I beg leave to lay before Congress in one view the French force that is intended to be in that service.

There are actually at Cape François the *Tonant*, of eighty-four guns; the *Robuste* and the *Fendant*, of seventy-four; the *Sphinx*, of sixty-four; and the *Amphion*, of fifty; in all five. At Martinique, the *Admirable*, the *Magnifique*, the *Dauphin Royal*, and the *Diadème*, of seventy-four; the *Réfléchi*, the *Vengeur*, the *Artisane*, of sixty-four; and the *Fiers*, of fifty; in all eight, making in the whole thirteen ships of the line, reckoning as such two fifties. If the Count de Guichen should happily arrive he has seventeen, which will amount to the number of thirty, besides frigates. Six others are preparing at Brest with all possible expedition, under the command of M. de Ternay. The *Duc de Burgone*, of eighty

guns; the *Neptune*, of seventy-four, M. Destouches; the *Magnanime*, of seventy-four, M. de Vaudreuil; the *Eveille*, of sixty-four, M. de Trobuiand; the *Jason*, of sixty-four, M. de Marigny. With this fleet the troops are to be embarked, and there are many conjectures that it is intended for North America. The *Languedoc*, the *Cæsar*, the *Provence*, and the *Fantasque*, of the fleet of the Count d'Estaing, are careened and refitted; and the *Royal Louis*, of one hundred and ten guns, the *Northumberland* and the *Astrea*, are to be launched immediately.

In the course of my perigrinations at Brest, L'Orient, and Ferrol I have had an opportunity to see most of these ships and to be on board many of them, and one would think there was force enough to protect us and quiet our fears; but the battle is not always to the strong, and we must wait patiently for time to decide events.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Huntington, President of Congress.*

PASSY, *March* 4, 1780.

SIR: M. Gerard, under whose care I understand the dispatches from Congress to me were forwarded, is not yet arrived here, and I have not received them. I can not, therefore, at present answer anything that may be contained in them. He is, however, expected next week, and I may afterwards have time to write further by the *Alliance*. Mr. Adams is come, but did not bring duplicates of those dispatches. I have, in obedience to the order of Congress, which he produced to me, furnished him with one thousand louis d'ors. I have also given a credit to Mr. Jay upon the correspondent of our banker at Madrid for an equal sum. I have not yet heard of his arrival there. His letter to me was from Cadiz, of the 28th of January.

In my last I gave some account of the success of our little squadron under Commodore Jones. Three of their prizes sent into Bergen, in Norway, were, at the instance of the British minister, seized by order of the court of Denmark and delivered up to him. I have, with the approbation of the minister here, drawn up and sent to that court a memorial reclaiming those prizes. It went through the hands of the French minister residing there, who has delivered it, but I have yet no answer. I understand from the French consul at Bergen that the prizes remain still in that port, and it is said there is some hope that the order may be reversed, but this is doubtful; and I suppose the Congress will immediately consider this important affair and give me such instructions upon it as they may judge proper. With this I send a copy of the memorial.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 93; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 19.

During the cruise a mortal quarrel took place between the commodore and Captain Landais. On their arrival in Holland M. de Sartine, minister of the marine, proposed to me the sending for Landais in order to inquire into his conduct. I doubted the propriety of my meddling in the affair, but Captain Landais' friends, conceiving it a measure that might be serviceable to him and pressing it, I complied, and came accordingly to Paris. I send the minutes of the inquiry for the consideration of Congress. I have not presumed to condemn or acquit him, doubting as well my own judgment as my authority. He proposes to demand a court-martial in America. In his absence from the ship, the commodore took the command of her, and on quitting the Texel made a cruise through the channel to Spain, and is since returned to L'Orient, where the ship is now refitting in order to return to America. Captain Landais has not applied to me to be replaced in her, and I imagine has no thought of that kind, having before on several occasions expressed to me and others his dissatisfaction with his officers and his inclination on that account to quit her. Captain Jones will therefore carry her home, unless he should be prevailed with to enter another service, which, however, I think, is not likely, though he has gained immense reputation all over Europe for his bravery.

As vessels of war under my care create me a vast deal of business (of a kind, too, that I am unexperienced in, and by my distance from the coast is very difficult to be well executed), I must repeat my earnest request that some person of skill in such affairs may be appointed, in the character of consul, to take charge of them. I imagine that much would by that means be saved in the expense of their various refittings and supplies, which to me appears enormous.

Agreeable to the order of Congress, I have employed one of the best artists here in cutting the dies for the medal intended for M. de Fleury. The price of such work is beyond my expectation, being one thousand livres for each die. I shall try if it is not possible to have the others done cheaper.

Our exchange of prisoners has been for some time past at a stand, the English admiralty refusing, after long consideration, to give us any men in return for those who had been dismissed by our armed vessels on parole, and the actual prisoners we had being all exchanged. When the squadron of Commodore Jones arrived in the Texel with five hundred English prisoners I proposed exchanging there, but this was declined, in expectation, as I heard from England, of retaking them in their way to France. The stay of our ships in Holland, through the favor of the states, being prolonged, and the squadrons stationed to intercept us being tired of cruising for us, the British minister consented, at length, to a cartel with France, and brought Frenchmen to Holland to exchange for those prisoners instead of Americans. These proceedings have occasioned our poor people to be kept longer in confinement, but the minister of the marine having given orders that I should have as many

English, another cartel charged with Americans is now daily expected, and I hope in a few months to see them all at liberty. This for their sakes, and also to save expense, for their long and hard imprisonment induces many to hazard attempts of escaping, and those who get away through London and Holland and come to Paris in their way to some seaport in France cost, one with another, I believe, near twenty pounds sterling a head.

The delays in exchange have, I think, been lengthened by the admiralty, partly with the view of breaking the patience of our people and inducing them to enter the English service. They have spared no pains for this purpose, and have prevailed with some. The number of these has not, indeed, been great, and several of them lost their lives in the blowing up of the *Quebec*. I am also lately informed from London that the flags of truce with prisoners from Boston, one of which is seized as British property, will obtain no Americans in exchange, the returned English being told that they had no authority or right to make such agreements with rebels, etc. This is not the only instance in which it appears that a few late successes have given that nation another *hour of insolence;* and yet their affairs, upon the whole, wear a very unpromising aspect. They have not yet been able to find any allies in Europe. Holland grows daily less and less disposed to comply with their requisitions; Ireland is not satisfied, but is making new demands; Scotland and the Protestants in England are uneasy; and the associations of counties in England, with committees of correspondence to make reforms in the government, all taken together, give a good deal of apprehension at present even to their mad ministers, while their debt, on the point of amounting to the amazing sum of two hundred millions hangs as a millstone upon the neck of their credit, and must ere long sink it beyond redemption.

The disposition of this court continues as favorable as ever, though it can not comply with all our demands. The supplies required in the invoice sent me by the committee appeared too great and numerous to be immediately furnished. Three millions of livres were, however, granted me, with which, after deducting what will be necessary to pay the interest bills and other late drafts of Congress, I could not venture on ordering more than ten thousand suits of clothes. With these we shall have fifteen thousand arms and accoutrements. A good deal of the cloth goes over in the *Alliance*, purchased by Mr. Ross, which, it is computed, may make seven or eight thousand suits more. But although we have not obtained that invoice of goods, this court, being at immense expense in the preparations for the next campaign, I have reason to believe that a part of those preparations will be employed in essential assistance to the United States, and I hope effectual, though at present I can not be more particular.

I have sent to Mr. Johnson the vote of Congress relative to the settlement of the accounts. He has expressed his readiness to enter on the

service. Mr. Deane is soon expected here, whose presence is very necessary, and I hope with his help they may be gone through without much difficulty. I could have wished it had suited Mr. Lee to have been here at the same time.

The Marquis de La Fayette, who during his residence in France has been extremely zealous in supporting our cause on all occasions, returns again to fight for it. He is infinitely esteemed and beloved here, and I am persuaded will do everything in his power to merit a continuance of the same affection from America.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Washington.*

PASSY, *March* 5, 1780.

SIR: I received but lately the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me in recommendation of the Marquis de La Fayette. His modesty detained it long in his own hands. We became acquainted, however, from the time of his arrival at Paris; and his zeal for the honor of our country, his activity in our affairs here, and his firm attachment to our cause and to you impressed me with the same regard and esteem for him that your excellency's letter would have done had it been immediately delivered to me.

Should peace arrive after another campaign or two, and afford us a little leisure, I should be happy to see your excellency in Europe, and to accompany you, if my age and strength should permit, in visiting some of its ancient and most famous kingdoms. You would, on this side the sea, enjoy the great reputation you have acquired, pure and free from those little shades that the jealousy and envy of a man's countrymen and contemporaries are ever endeavoring to cast over living merit. Here you would know and enjoy what posterity will say of Washington; for a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years. The feeble voice of those groveling passions can not extend so far either in time or distance. At present I enjoy that pleasure for you, as I frequently hear the old generals of this martial country, who study the maps of America and mark upon them all your operations, speak with sincere approbation and great applause of your conduct, and join in giving you the [character of one of the greatest captains of the age.

I must soon quit this scene, but you may live to see our country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after the war is over, like a field of young Indian corn which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discolored, and which, in that|† weak state, by a thunder-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 25; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 429.

† Part enclosed in brackets not in letter book, but in type copy.

gust of violent wind, hail, and rain, seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet, the storm being passed, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigor, and delights the eye not of its owner only, but of every observing traveler.

The best wishes that can be found for your health, honor, and happiness ever attend you.

From your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. F.

Franklin to Luzerne.*

PASSY, *March* 5, 1780.

SIR: I received with great pleasure the letter you did me the honor of writing to me from Boston. I rejoiced to hear of your safe arrival and that the reception you met with in my country had been agreeable to you. I hope its air will suit you, and that while you reside in it you will enjoy constant health and happiness.

Your good brother does me sometimes the honor of calling on me, and we converse in English, which he speaks very intelligibly. I suppose that by this time you do the same. M. de Malesherbes did me lately the same honor. That great man seems to have no wish of returning into public employment, but amuses himself with planting, and is desirous of obtaining all those trees of North America that have not yet been introduced into France. Your sending a box of the seeds would, I am persuaded, much oblige him. They may be obtained of my young friend Bartram, living near Philadelphia.

You will have heard that Spain has lately met with a little misfortune at sea, but the bravery with which her ships fought a vastly superior force has gained her great honor. We are anxious here for further news from that coast, which is daily expected. Great preparations are making here for the ensuing campaign, and we flatter ourselves that it will be more active and successful in Europe than the last.

One of the advantages of great states is, that the calamity occasioned by a foreign war falls only on a very small part of the community, who happen from their situation and particular circumstances to be exposed to it. Thus as it is always fair weather in our parlors, it is at Paris always peace. The people pursue their respective occupations; the play houses, the opera, and other public diversions are as regularly and fully attended as in times of profoundest tranquillity, and the same small concerns divide us into parties. Within these few weeks we are for or against Jeannot, a new actor. This man's performance and the marriage of the Duke de Richelieu fill up much more of our present conversation than anything that relates to the war. A demonstration this of the public felicity.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 27; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 430.

My grandson joins with me in best wishes for your health and prosperity. He is much flattered by your kind remembrance of him. We desire also that M. de Marbois * would accept our assurances of esteem.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *March* 8, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to Congress the gazettes of France, of The Hague, and Amsterdam of the 1st, 3d, and 4th of this month. They contain all the news which makes the subject of conversation at this time, except that M. du Chaffault is to command in the West Indies, and the Count d'Estaing in the channel, which, although it is not announced by the court, seems to be very generally believed in the world.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *March* 8, 1780.

SIR: Yesterday I went to court in company with the American minister plenipotentiary, and had the honor to be presented to the king by the secretary of state for foreign affairs, after which I had the honor to go round with all the foreign ambassadors and make a visit to the queen, the king's brothers, sister, aunts, and daughters, which are all the branches of the royal family, and to be presented to each of them in turn, and after them to the Count de Maurepas.

After these ceremonies were over we were all invited to dine with the Count de Vergennes.

As ceremonies of this kind are so much attended to in this and all other countries of Europe, and have often such important effects, it is proper that Congress should have information of them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

* Secretary of French Legation in the United States.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 653.

Bernstorf, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Denmark, to Franklin.*

[Translation.]

COPENHAGEN, *March* 8, 1780.

SIR: Were you a person less known and respected I should have been quite at a loss on the subject of the letter which I have had the honor of receiving from you, which did not come to hand till the 31st of January. I should have considered it as a measure calculated to place us under a new embarrassment, as painful as the first; but there is no fear nor risk with such a sage as you are, sir, generally respected by the universe which you have enlightened, and known for that prevailing love for truth which characterizes the good man and the true philosopher. These are the titles which will transmit your name to the remotest posterity, and in which I am particularly interested at the time when the situation of affairs imposes on me the necessity of divesting myself of every public character in writing to you, and only to aspire at appearing to you what I truly am, the passionate friend of peace, truth, and merit.

This mode of thinking not only decides my personal sentiments with respect to you, but also those I have respecting the unfortunate affair which you have thought fit to mention to me, and which from its commencement has given me the utmost pain. You will readily agree with me, sir, in granting that there are perplexing situations in which it is impossible to avoid displeasing one party. You are too equitable not to enter into ours. There would be no consolation in such cases, nor would the persons who have been led into them ever be forgiven, were it not that opportunities sometimes present themselves of being heard, and preventing in future such essential embarrassments.

The Baron de Blome will speak to you in confidence and with the utmost freedom on this subject, and if my wishes can be accomplished I shall be recompensed for all my pains, and there will only remain the agreeable recollection of having had the satisfaction of assuring you from under my hand, of that superior and perfect esteem with which I have the honor of being, sir, etc.,

R. BERNSTORF.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 8, 1780.

SIR: I have just received from Martinique a letter from M. Gerard who informs me that at his request the commander of Martinique has procured for the frigate *Confederation*, belonging to Congress, the same

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 97; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 30; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 433.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr. 681.

sources and facilities as are enjoyed by his majesty's own vessels. But there are no materials for masts, and as this vessel has been dismasted, M. Gerard knows no other means of hastening her repairs than that of sending masts to him from Boston or any other part of the continent where Congress can procure them.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *March* 10, 1780.

SIR: Enclosed are the *Courrier de l'Europe* of the 3d and the *Gazette de France* of this day. The House of Lords and the House of Commons are voting thanks to Admiral Rodney for his good fortune, for they all seem to confess that his brilliant successes were not owing to more skill, valor, or vigilance than others have shown, but merely to his good luck, which, by a report that spreads and gains credit to-day, did not end with his advantage over Langara and his safe departure from Gibraltar. It is said that two French ships of the line and several frigates, with transports, bound to the Isle of France, in the East Indies, have been doomed to fall in his way and be taken.

Whether this is true or not, he has done enough, it seems, to be in a fair way of paying his creditors some part of their demands for money which he has gambled away and which they had despaired of ever receiving. This run of good luck, however, could never have happened to this gambler if the game had been played otherwise by the opposite party. If France and Spain, instead of keeping immense fleets in Europe with nothing to do, or employed in blocking up Gibraltar, which is a trifle if taken in comparison of other objects in view, had but employed but a fourth part of them in the American seas, where they had and still have the enemies in their power, Rodney's creditors had still been in despair, together with the British Government and nation.

I would not desire a better proof that the English are in the power of their enemies in the American world than the list of the prizes printed in the *Courrier de l'Europe* as condemned by N. Cushing, judge of Admiralty for the middle district of Massachusetts Bay. I am very glad to see this method taken of publishing to the world the success of our privateers, because it will in time show our allies where our strength lies and the weakness of our enemies.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* See on this subject, Jay to the President of Congress, Dec. 20, 22, 25, 26, 1779.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 653, with verbal changes.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 12, 1780.

SIR: It is an observation made some years ago by a great writer of this nation, de Mably, that the project of being sole master of the sea and of commanding all the commerce is not less chimerical nor less ruinous than that of universal monarchy on land, and it is to be wished, for the happiness of Europe, that the English may be convinced of this truth before they shall learn it by their own experience. France has already repeated several times that it was necessary to establish an equilibrium, a balance of power at sea, and she has not yet convinced anybody, because she is the dominant power, and because they suspect her to desire the abasement of the English only that she may domineer the more surely on the continent. But if England abuses her power, and would exercise a kind of tyranny over commerce, presently all the states that have vessels and sailors, astonished that they had not before believed France, will join themselves to her in avenging her injuries.

The present conjuncture of affairs resembles so exactly the case here put, that it seems to be a literal fulfillment of a prophecy.

A domination upon the sea is so much the more dangerous to other maritime powers and commercial nations, as it is more difficult to form alliances and combine forces at sea than at land; for which reason it is essential that the sovereign of every commercial state should make his nation's flag respected in all the seas and by all the nations of the world. The English have ever acted upon this principle in supporting the honor of their own flag, but of late years have grown less and less attentive to it as it respects the honor of other flags. Not content with making their flag respectable, they have grown more and more ambitious of making it terrible. Unwilling to do as they would be done by, and to treat other commercial nations as they have insisted upon being treated by them, they have grown continually more and more haughty, turbulent, and insolent upon the seas, and are now never satisfied until they have made all other nations see that they despise them upon that element. It is said by the Baron de Bielfield that piracies and robberies at sea are so odious, so atrocious, and so destructive to the interest of all the European nations, that everything is permitted to repress them. Providence has not granted to any people an exclusive empire upon the seas. To aim at setting up a master there to prescribe laws to other free nations is an outrage to all Europe.

I have quoted these authorities, because they contain the true principle upon which, as I have ever conceived, the English began this war and upon which they will assuredly continue it, as long as they can get men and money, which will be as long as they have success. They contain also the true principles of France, Spain, and Holland, and al

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 654; 7 John Adams' Works, 131.

the powers of Europe. The outrages committed upon the Dutch commerce and the insults offered to their flag ought to be and are alarming to all the maritime powers. The late successes of the English will have no tendency to allay the fears of these powers; on the contrary, they will increase the alarm, by showing the precarious situation they will all be in if England should finally succeed, which some of them may perhaps apprehend from the late brilliant fortune of Admiral Rodney.

One can not but be struck with the rapid series of fortunate incidents for the English which have been published here in about the course of three months that I have been in Europe. The little affair of Omoa began it; the repulse at Savannah succeeded, with all its consequences; the Curaçoa fleet was next; Langara's fleet soon followed; Gibraltar was relieved; Don Gaston's squadron was dispersed by a storm; and Admiral Rodney had opportunity to get safe out of Gibraltar. The French East India fleet brings up the rear. There is hardly in history such a series of events, that no human wisdom could provide against or foresee. Yet after all, the advantages gained are by no means decisive, although no doubt it will raise the ambition of the English and in some degree damp the ardor of their enemies.

It must not have this effect, however, upon America. Let the maritime powers fare as they will, we must be free, and I trust in God we shall be so, whatever be their fate. The events of war are uncertain at sea more than even by land; but America has resources for the final defense of her liberty which Britain will never be able to exhaust, though she should exhaust France and Spain, and it may not impossibly be our hard fate, but it will be our unfading glory finally to turn the scale of the war, to humble the pride, which is so terrible to the commercial nations of Europe, and to produce a balance of power on the seas. To this end Americans must be soldiers and seamen.

It is proper, however, to keep constantly in sight the power against which we have to contend. The English have in all the ports of England in a condition for actual service, or at least given out and reported to be so, twenty ships of the line; in the course of the spring and the month of June eight others which are now repairing, and three new ones in the course of the year. The whole squadron for the channel will be thirty-one. The squadron of Arbuthnot at New York consists of five. That of Jarvis at the Western Islands is two, including the *Dublin*, which was detached from Admiral Rodney, and is now in bad condition at Lisbon. One only at Jamaica, for the *Lion* is too far ruined to be counted. The fleet at the other islands, joined by the *Hector*, detached from Rodney, the *Triumph* and the *Intrepid*, lately sailed from England, are nineteen, seven of which at least are in too bad a condition for actual service. That of India, including two which serve for convoys, consists of ten, two of which, however, are returning to be repaired or condemned; the *Lenox* is a guard-ship in Ireland.

Rodney entered Gibraltar with four Spanish ships of the line—the *Phœnix*, of eighty guns, the *Monarca*, the *Princessa*, and the *Diligente*, of seventy, beside the *Guipuscoa*, now the *Prince William*, of sixty-five, which he took with the convoy on the 8th of January. He entered also with the *Shrewsbury*, of seventy-four, which joined from Lisbon. His squadron must therefore have consisted of twenty-four ships of the line. If he left the *Panther* and another at Gibraltar, he must have gone out with twenty-two. Whether he has gone with the whole fleet to the West Indies, or whether with part of it and what part, is yet undetermined by the public.

France and Spain, however, have a vast superiority still remaining, which, if it should be ably managed, will easily humble the English, but if it should be unwisely managed, or continue to be as unfortunate as it has been from the moment of the Count d'Estaing sailing from Toulon, it will even in this case last long enough to consume and exhaust their enemies.

I have the honor to enclose the *Mercure de France* of the 11th of March, The Hague *Gazette* of the 6th and 8th, the Amsterdam *Gazette* of the 7th, and the Leyden of the 7th.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 14, 1780.

SIR: I have taken some pains to inform myself what number of regular troops the enemy have in the three kingdoms, because we may form some judgment from this whether they will be able to send any and what re-enforcements to North America or the West Indies. I am assured that they have not more than four thousand regular troops in Ireland, and these chiefly horse; nor more than ten thousand in England and Scotland, and these chiefly horse. It is not to be expected, then, I think that they can spare any of these. There is too much danger even of popular commotions in England, Scotland, and Ireland to spare many of these if they were perfectly safe, or thought themselves so, from French and Spanish invasions. I have, however, written to obtain more exact and authentic information, which I will not fail to transmit as early as possible.

I have received an account at length, both by the Gazette Extraordinary and by letter from London, that Admiral Digby is returned with the fleet and Spanish prizes from Gibraltar, and brought in with him the *Protée*, a French sixty-four-gun ship, and three small store-ships, part of a fleet bound from L'Orient to the East Indies. The sixty-four-gun ship had about sixty-three thousand pounds in cash on board. This

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 662, with omissions.

fleet was unlucky enough to fall in with Digby on the 23d of February. Rodney sailed from Gibraltar on the 14th and parted with Digby on the 18th, taking only four ships of the line with him to the West Indies. A like number will probably go under Walsingham about the 20th or 25th of this month with the fleet to the West Indies. It is said in letters from London that by every appearance there are no more troops going to North America, and that it looks as if the ministry mean not to continue the American war, but to let it dwindle and die away. If this should be the case, it is to be hoped that the Americans and their allies will not let it dwindle, but put it to death at a blow.

The Marquis de La Fayette and his brother, the Viscount de Noailles, a young noble officer who is worthy of his family and of the relation he bears to the marquis, who I hope will be the bearer of this letter, will be able to say more upon this head. At present the king and his general are the only persons who ought to know the secret.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 14, 1780.

SIR: By a letter from London of the 3d of this month, received since my former of this day's date, I learn that the friends of the ministry were in hopes every hour to hear that Clinton, who embarked seven thousand effective men (though they are said to be ten) in the latter end of December, is in possession of Charleston. The detachment consisted of the light infantry and grenadiers of the seventh, twenty-third, thirty-third, forty-second, sixty-third, and sixty-fourth British regiments, a legion of horse, yagers, four battalions of Hessian grenadiers; the New York volunteers, Ferguson's corps; one Hessian regiment, and a detachment of the seventy-first British regiment. Many are of opinion that a part of this army was intended for the Windward Islands, and that they embarked and sailed the 26th of December, and was much hurt by a storm after sailing. Two thousand, under Lord Cornwallis, were said to be intended for the Chesapeake, to burn two or three men-of-war in James river, and to serve as a division to the other five going against Charleston.

The friends of the administration are not in spirits about the picture of affairs in America and the West Indies. They fear the French will have a superiority there, from whence some late accounts are arrived of vast sickness and disorder on board the English ships. The naval war will, to appearance, be removed for the next summer to that quarter. Rodney was to sail with four ships only to the West Indies, and Wal-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 660, with verbal changes and omissions.

singham will not take more than that number as a convoy to about one hundred West Indiamen, which were to sail about the 20th of this month, and more ships of war would probably conduct this fleet off the land, and it was probable in the New York and Quebec trade about fifty vessels more would sail about the same time. That there was no talk of any troops or ships going to New York or Quebec; that there was a rumor that Wallace would have a small squadron, and carry four or five thousand men out, but this was not believed; that the ministry had been hard pressed in several parliamentary questions lately; that their party was losing ground daily; that the county petitions for reformation were a heavy weight upon them; that it was likely there would be serious disturbances if reforms do not take place; that the committees for each county have already appointed three deputies to meet and act for the whole, which is the beginning of a congress, and will probably be soon called by that name; that it was hard to determine whether these movements at home or the proceedings in Ireland chagrin the ministry most; that the sovereignty of England over Ireland will not be of many months' duration; that the armed associations in the latter amount to sixty-four thousand men, who seem determined to free themselves from every restriction that has been laid on them; that their parliament is about putting an end to all appeals to England; to render the judges independent of the crown, they at present holding their offices *durante bene placito*, and not *quamdiu se bene gesserunt*, as in England; to have a habeas corpus act; to repeal Poyning's law, which enacts that all bills shall originate in the council and not in the commons; to confine the new supplies to the appointment of new duties only; to give bounties on their own manufactures, and to have a mutiny bill, which last goes immediately to the grand point of jurisdiction.

That, however, notwithstanding all the present appearances against Great Britain, and the certainty of America's succeeding to her wish, there are not among even those who are called patriots in parliament many who possess directly a wish for American independence; that Lords Camden, Effingham, Coventry, and the Bishop of St. Asaph are clearly and decidedly for it; Sir G. Saville and but a few others in the House of Commons; that the rest of the patriots are for independence on certain provisos, such as England to retain a nominal sovereignty; America to give up the French alliance, make up a federal alliance with England, by which, no doubt, they mean an alliance offensive and defensive, etc.

It is surely unnecessary for me to make any observations upon the absurdity of these provisos, so injurious to the honor of our country and so destructive of her most essential rights and interests. By a letter of the 7th, a vessel with two hundred Hessians or yagers on board has arrived at St. Ives, in Cornwall. She sailed with the expedition from New York the 26th of December, and a few days after received much

damage in a storm, which, it is thought, separated and dispersed the fleet. This gives us great spirits and sanguine hopes for Charleston.

I have the honor to enclose several newspapers, and, with much respect, to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to the Navy Board.*

PASSY, *March* 15, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I acquainted you in a former letter that there were great misunderstandings between Captain Landais and the other officers of his ship. These differences arose to such a height that the captain once wrote me he would quit the command rather than continue with them. Some of them leaving the ship, that disturbance seemed to be quieted. But there has since arisen another violent quarrel between himself and Captain Jones. These things give me great trouble, particularly the latter, the circumstances of which I am under a necessity of communicating to you, that measures may be taken for putting properly an end to it by a court-martial, if you find that step necessary. Soon after the arrival of our little squadron in the Texel I had a letter from Commodore Jones, complaining highly of Captain Landais, and mentioning that he was advised to put him under arrest in order to his trial by a court-martial, for which, however, there was not a sufficient number of officers in Europe. But he would do nothing in it until he heard from me. I had another from Captain Landais, complaining of Commodore Jones, and begging me to order inquiry into the matter as soon as possible. I received also a letter from the minister of the marine, of which the following is an extract viz:

Je suis persuadé, monsieur, que vous n'aurez pas été moins touché que moi de la perte du grand nombre de volontaires Français qui ont été tués dans le combat du *Bonhomme Richard* contre le vaisseau de guerre anglois le *Serapis*. Cet événement est d'autant plus fâcheux, qu'il paroit que si la frégate américaine *L'Alliance* avoit secondé le *Bonhomme Richard* en combattant en même tenir l'avantage remporté par le Comm. Jones, auroit été plus prompte, auroit couté moins de monde, et n'auroit pas mis le *Bonhomme Richard* dans le cas de couler bas trente-six heures après le combat. Le Capitaine de cette frégate ayant tenu une conduite très extraordinaire, je ne doute pas monsieur, que vous ne lui mandiez de se rendre auprès de vous pour en rendre compte, et que dans le cas où vous reconnoitrez que c'est par sa faute que la victoire a couté tant de sang, vous me jugiez à propos d'en informer le Congrès, à fin qu'il fasse rayer le Capitaine de dessus la liste des officiers de sa marine, etc.

Upon this, and with the advice of a very respectable friend of Captain Landais, M. de Chaumont, who thought sending for him to come to Paris, in order to an inquiry into his conduct, would prevent many inconveniences to the service that might attend a more public discussion, I wrote to him October 15, acquainting him with the principal heads of the charges against him, and directing him to render himself

* MSS. Dep. of State.

here, bringing with him such papers and testimonies as he might think useful in his justification. I wrote at the same time to Commodore Jones to send up such proofs as he might have in support of the charges against the captain, that I might be enabled to give a just account of the affair to Congress. In two or three weeks Captain Landais came to Paris, but I received no answer from Commodore Jones. After waiting some days I concluded to hear Captain Landais on the 15th of November, without longer delay, and that the impartiality of the inquiry might be more clear I requested the above named, a friend of Captain Landais, and Dr. Bancroft, a friend of Commodore Jones, to be present. With this I send the minutes that were taken on that occasion.

The justification Captain Landais offers in answer to the charge of disobedience of the commodore's orders seems to call on me for an explanation of what relates to those I had given Captain Landais. The armament was made at l'Orient. M. de Chaumont was present there, and had the care of it. I was necessarily at a great distance, and could not be consulted on every occasion, and I was not on the following. A convoy being wanted for some merchant ships to Bordeaux, and our squadron being ready, and there being time sufficient, it was employed in and performed that occasional service. The *Alliance* and *Bon Homme Richard* afterwards at sea ran foul of each other in the night, the latter received great damages, and all returned to L'Orient, the state of the crew, as well as that of the ship, making it at first doubtful whether the *Bon Homme Richard* might not be long detained in port. I was applied to for the conditional order I gave on the 28th of July to Captain Landais. I could not foresee that he would think a cruise, for which he was to take on board six months' provisions and during which he was to be under the orders of Commodore Jones, was accomplished by the little trip to Bordeaux and the return above mentioned, and that he was therefore no longer under those orders. Nor could I imagine that a conditional order for cruising alone, in case the *Bon Homme* could not be ready in time, would, if she was ready, and they sailed together, be construed into an exemption from that subordination in a squadron which regular discipline and the good of the service requires, otherwise I should certainly have removed those misapprehensions by fresh and very explicit orders. How far Captain Landais is justifiable in those interpretations and his consequent conduct must be left to his proper judges.

The absence of Commodore Jones and of all the witnesses, so that none of them could be cross-examined, have made this inquiry very imperfect. You will perceive that contradictions appear in the evidence on both sides in some very material points. Those, with my ignorance in the maneuvering of ships engaged, and their possible operations under all the variety of circumstances that wind, tide, and situation afford, make it as impracticable for me to form, as it would be improper

for me without authority to give, a judgment in this affair. I will only take the liberty of saying in favor of Captain Landais that, notwithstanding the mortal quarrel that rose between them at sea, it does not appear to me at all probable he fired into the *Bon Homme Richard* with design to kill Captain Jones. The inquiry, though imperfect, and the length of it, have, however, had one good effect in preventing hitherto a duel between the parties, that would have given much scandal, and which I believe will now not take place, as both expect justice from a court-martial in America.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, etc.

Dumas to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

AT THE HAGUE, *March* 15, 1780.

HONORED SIRS: My three last letters were of the 30th December last, since which time the ice, which obstructed our waters, and my sickness, have not permitted me to continue till now. I send you herewith:

(1) A plan of a treaty to be concluded between the United States and the seven United Provinces of the low countries as soon as circumstances will permit it. A great deal of its materials has been furnished me by the pensionary of Amsterdam, who, as well as his excellency Franklin, have examined and corrected it. If the most honorable Congress will be pleased to do the same, and send me the plan back again, with powers to carry on a negotiation on such terms, then nothing will remain but to watch opportunities, which may perhaps very soon present themselves.

(2) A declaration and denunciation of the principal trading cities in Holland.

(3) A copy of my last letter to the great pensionary of Holland.

(4) Summary abstracts of my letters to his excellency Franklin.

(5) Gazettes.

I am told his excellency Laurens will soon come over here as plenipotentiary. I shall be very glad of it, and promise to be his *fidus Achates* in every sense, for the public as well as his own service.

I pray the Almighty for the United States, for the most honorable Congress, and for you, honored sirs, being, with very great respect,

Your most, etc.,

DUMAS.

Permit me to retain always my motto Concordia, etc.

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*MSS. Dep. of State given with variations in 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 295.

A. Lee to J. Adams.*

L'ORIENT, *March* 15, 1780.

DEAR SIR: By the bursting of the lock of one of my trunks on the journey I was so unfortunate as to lose the packet of M. Gerard's letters, among which was that you copied, and of which I must beg you to send me an authenticated copy. Since my arrival here I received a packet from Congress, which came by the *Confederacy*. In that is a copy of one of the most false and wicked papers I have read upon the subject, given into Congress by Mr. Carmichael. In that he says: "I have frequently declared that Mr. A. Lee had not the confidence of the court of France. My reasons for this declaration are, among others, the Chevalier Grand and his brother, M. Grand, gentlemen who at various times acted as secret agents between the commissioners and the court of France, in whose assertions I placed confidence, because I saw the court intrusted them with secrets of the highest importance, and because I never found myself deceived by these gentlemen in any other information I had the honor to receive from them while employed by the commissioners abroad. I was informed and believe that this want of confidence arose from information given by M. Garnier, chargé d'affaires for the court of Versailles at London." You will oblige me much if you will show this extract to M. Grand and M. Garnier, and write me what they say to it. I always entertained and do still entertain too high an opinion both of Mr. Grand's veracity and discretion to believe he ever told Mr. Carmichael what he here asserts. But I shall change my opinion if he refuses to contradict this assertion, since it has been made with a manifest design of injuring me and imposing upon Congress. As Mr. Carmichael could not know that these gentlemen were intrusted with secrets of the highest importance by the court unless they communicated those secrets to him, I do not see how any other conclusion can be drawn from what Mr. Carmichael says of them but that either they were not so trusted or that they betrayed their trust in such communication to him. I can not determine whether Mr. Deane or Mr. Carmichael is the most contemptible liar. And I confess to you, sir, that it astonishes me that such contemptible and manifestly malignant performances should have had the smallest influence on any man of common sense or common honesty in or out of Congress. We have no news here, nor is it likely we shall sail this month. I beg my compliments to Mr. Dana.

With the greatest esteem, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 133.

J. Adams to Lovell.*

PARIS, *March* 16, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have received, since my arrival here, your favor of the 16th of November, 1779. I shall take proper notice of your remarks upon the thirteenth and nineteenth articles of the treaty. They are both of them of importance, and, as to the last, I wish for an instruction upon it, because there is no doubt to be made that, whenever a serious negotiation shall be commenced, great pains will be taken for the banished, although little attention is paid to them now. I learned yesterday that they have received no payment of their pensions these eighteen months. The delay is colored with a pretense of waiting for some funds for Quebec, which have been stopped by the interruption of that trade. They are still bitter, as I am told, and are firmly persuaded that America can not hold out six months longer.

You assure me that I shall not be without the orders and credit which I mentioned in a letter of mine. I thank you for this assurance, which is conceived in such strong terms that one would think you did not expect any opposition to it; at least an effectual opposition. I wish there may not be, but I am not without conjectures—I will not call them suspicions—upon this head. Denying them, however, would be virtually recalling me and Mr. Dana, and in a manner the most humiliating and disgraceful. Indeed, I do not know how we should get away from our creditors. You know what sort of minds can not bear a brother near the throne; and so fair, so just, so economical a method would not escape minds of so much penetration as a refusal to lend money without orders. I am not sure, however, that the measure would be hazarded in the present circumstances by persons by whom I have been treated politely enough since my return.

I should be glad to know what the board of treasury have done with my accounts; whether they have passed upon them, or whether there are any objections to them and what they are. I do not know but I was indiscreet in sending all my original vouchers, because if any of them should be lost I might be puzzled to explain some things. However, I know by a letter from Mr. Gerry that they were received, and I presume they will be preserved.

I wish to know your private opinion whether Congress will continue Mr. Dana and me here at so much expense, with so little prospect of having anything to do for a long time—an uncertain time, however—or whether they will revoke our powers and recall us; or what they will do with us. A situation so idle and inactive is not agreeable to my genius; yet I can submit to it as well as any man, if it be thought necessary for the public good. I will do all the service I can, by transmitting intelligence and in every other way.

You must have observed that in all my public letters—and indeed in

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 663.

a great measure in my private ones—I have cautiously avoided giving accounts of the state of our affairs in France. I had many reasons for this caution. In general I was sure it would do no good, and I doubted the propriety of stating facts and remarking upon characters without giving notice of it to the persons concerned and transmitting the evidence. There is no end of conceiving jealousies; but I am sure that officers of government, especially foreign ministers, ought not to attack and accuse one another upon jealousies, nor without full proof; nor then without notifying the party to answer for himself.

Thus much let me say, however: that the present plan of having a distinct minister in Spain, another in Holland, and another to treat with Great Britain, and having secretaries independent of ministers is a good one. I pray you to stand by it with the utmost firmness if it should be attacked or undermined. If you revoke the powers of a separate minister to treat with the King of Great Britain, you ought to revoke the former powers of treating with all the courts of Europe which were given to the commissioners at Passy; for under these authority will be claimed of treating with the English if my powers are revoked. The powers of treating with all other courts ought to be separated from the mission.

Your friend, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Cooper.*

PASSY, *March* 16, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your kind favor by Captain Chavagnes, which I communicated to the minister of marine, who was much pleased with the character you give of the captain. I have also yours of November 12, by your grandson, who appears a very promising lad, in whom I think you will have much satisfaction. He is in a boarding school just by me, and was well last Sunday, when I had the pleasure of his company to dinner with Mr. Adams' sons and some other young Americans. He will soon acquire the language, and, if God spares his life, will make a very serviceable man to his country.

It gives me infinite satisfaction to find that with you the wisest and best among our people are so hearty in endeavoring to strengthen the alliance. We certainly owe much to this nation; and we shall obtain much more if the same prudent conduct towards them continues, for they really and strongly wish our prosperity, and will promote it by every means in their power. But we should, at the same time, do as much as possible for ourselves, and not ride (as we say) a free horse to death. There are some Americans returning hence with whom our people should be upon their guard, as carrying with them a spirit of en-

*8 Sparks' Franklin, 439; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 37.

mity to this country. Not being liked here themselves, they dislike the people; for the same reasons, indeed, they ought to dislike all that know them.

With the sincerest respect and esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours, most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Griffin.*

PASSY, *March* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have just received the letter you have done me the honor to write me, and shall immediately deliver the packet it recommends to my care. I will take the first opportunity of mentioning to M. Gerard what you hint relative to our entertaining strangers so frequently and liberally, as is the custom in France. But he has traveled in Europe and knows the modes of nations differ. The French are convivial, live much at one another's tables, and are glad to feast travelers. In Italy and Spain a stranger, however recommended, rarely dines at the house of any gentleman, but lives at his inn. The Americans hold a medium.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Lovell.†

PASSY, *March* 16, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The Marquis de la Fayette, our firm and constant friend, returning to America, I have written a long letter by him to the President, of which a copy goes by this ship. M. Gerard has since arrived, and I have received the despatches you mentioned to me, but no letter in answer to mine, a very long one, by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, nor any acknowledgement that it came to hand.

By the many newspapers and pamphlets I send you will see the present state of European affairs in general. Ireland continues to insist on complete liberty and will probably obtain it. The meetings of counties in England and the committees of correspondence they appoint alarm a good deal the ministry, especially since it has been proposed to elect out of each committee a few persons to assemble in London, which, if carried into execution, will form a kind of congress that will have more of the confidence and support of the people than the old Parliament. If the nation is not too corrupt, as I rather think it is, some considerable reformation of internal abuses may be expected from this. With regard to us, the only advantage to be reasonably expected from it is a peace, the general bent of the nation being for it.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 98; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 34; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 434.

The success of Admiral Rodney's fleet against our allies has a little elated our enemies for the present, and probably they will not now think of proposing it. If the approaching campaign, for which great preparations are making here, should end disadvantageously to them, they will be more treatable, for their debts and taxes are daily becoming more burdensome, while their commerce, the source of their wealth, diminishes, and though they have flattered themselves with obtaining assistance from Russia and other powers, it does not appear they are likely to succeed; on the contrary, they are in danger of losing the neutrality of Holland.

Their conduct with regard to the exchange of prisoners has been very unjust. After long suspense and affected delays for the purpose of wearing out our poor people they have finally refused to deliver us a man in exchange for those set at liberty by our cruisers on parole. A letter which I enclose from Captain Mitchell will show the treatment of the late flags of truce from Boston. There is no gaining anything from these barbarians by advances of civility or humanity.

Enclosed I send for Congress the justification of this court against the accusation published in the late English memorials.

With great esteem, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

A. Lee to Jay.*

L'ORIENT, *March* 17, 1780.

SIR: I had not the honor of receiving your favor dated 26th of January till this day and at this place, where I am to embark as soon as the *Alliance* is ready. Your letter had a double seal upon it, the undermost seeming to be a head, and the one above being a coat of arms, but what I can not clearly make out. I mention this, that you may judge whether these seals were of your applying.

Give me leave, sir, to take this opportunity of expressing my concern for the dangers and sufferings which you and your family experienced in your passage, and to congratulate you and my country on your safe arrival in Europe.

I waited some time in Paris after I received notice of your appointment in expectation of your arrival, that I might communicate many things to you in a personal interview which cannot be committed to paper. It would have given me very great pleasure to obtain for you those recommendations to the confidence of some of the first persons at the court of Madrid that were promised me, which might have been effected by making you personally acquainted with those who were to give them.

The copies of memoirs and the letters which I wrote to Congress

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 581, with verbal changes.

contained in general what you do me the honor of asking. I have reason to believe that you will find a favorable disposition where you wish. There is no court in Europe at which secrecy will so much recommend a negotiator as that to which you are destined; insomuch that, as far as you can keep the capital parts of your negotiation entirely to your own breast, you will have reason to think it prudent. You are to negotiate with a people of honor and a ministry of wisdom. They will propose fairly and perform faithfully. You will not be embarrassed by intrigue, at least none of Spanish origin, nor will it be advantageous to employ any. These considerations, together with the good sense and great abilities for which you are distinguished, make me hope, sir, that you will accomplish with facility the important purposes of your mission to the advantage of our country and to your own honor.

The house of Gardoqui has executed what was intrusted to them with diligence, and as far as I can judge with fidelity. They therefore deserve your confidence. There is due to them from the public 12,000 livres, which they advanced for the freight of goods sent to Congress, and which, as it was done without my knowledge, I had made no provision for, and therefore could not repay it. The part of the prize money due to the public for the prizes sent into the ports of Spain by Captain Cunningham was never remitted to me, nor has the account been settled to my knowledge.

Accept my thanks for your care of the letters for me. As I shall certainly have quitted Europe before they can reach me, I must beg the favor of you to enclose them to Mr. Lovell with the first despatches which you send to Congress.

If an entire stranger may be permitted to offer his homage to your lady, I beg the favor of you, sir, to make mine acceptable to Mrs. Jay.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

W. Lee to J. Adams.*

BRUXELLES, *March* 17, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I understand that our enemies have now in contemplation the offering some terms to America, which go no further than a truce; probably somewhat similar to the propositions made last year by Spain to Great Britain.

Though I am not informed of the terms of peace with which you are charged, nor whether your powers are discretionary, I trust you will not think it an intrusion in me to offer my sentiments on such a proposition as a truce for America, supposing it should be made.

A truce with America must, of course, accompany a peace in Europe; in that case our enemies, after recovering from their present exhausted

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 134.

state, having their hands clear of European troubles, would have their whole strength to employ against America; for I conceive that with such a prospect before them there would not be the most distant probability of agreeing on a peace before the expiration of the time.

In America we must keep up a great military and naval establishment to prevent our being taken by surprise at nearly as great an expense as we are now at in war, and besides risk the dreadful misfortunes which have almost universally attended standing armies and a heavy load of debt on the state. I can not suppose it possible that France and Spain would consent to a truce with America while the war is to continue between Great Britain and them; but if they should, would it be wise in America to accept of a truce on such terms, and to let our allies run the hazard of being destroyed, that we may become an easy prey afterwards?

These are some of the evident objections to a truce in any shape, nor can I see any possible argument in its favor, though I know there are some Americans, though well-intentioned but visionary geniuses, whose heads run much on the idea of a truce; but I hope nothing will be attended to unless they are fair, open, and honorable propositions for a substantial and lasting peace, in which blessed work I most heartily wish you speedy and full success. The Dutch are in a very disturbed state. As yet there does not seem to be a probability of their taking a decided and open part with us in the war. The influence and power of the Prince of Orange are unfortunately too great to permit them to adopt those measures which their honor and interest direct, and which I believe a great majority of the people wish. The prince is retained against us by the flattering prospect of marrying his daughter to the Prince of Wales; but in Europe, where everything is bought and sold, France and Spain may do great things, for the confidant and director of the prince is as mercenary a wretch as can be found in England or even in Scotland.

We shall probably see Mr. Laurens here on his way to Holland; but if he does not pass through this town, I shall be much obliged to you for giving me any interesting public intelligence that he brings.

Be pleased to present my respects to Mr. Dana; and if I can be of any service here in promoting the great work you have in hand, or in rendering any services to our country, I shall be always happy in receiving your commands.

Being with great esteem, dear sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

W. Lee.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 18, 1780.

SIR: We have this moment the news of the arrival of the convoy from St. Domingo, with sixty sail of merchant vessels, which is a great event for this country.

It is also reported that ten sail of Spanish ships of the line, with ten battalions of land forces, have sailed, and their destination is supposed to be North America.

The armament preparing at Brest is thus described in one of the public papers: The Count du Chaffault de Bresné, lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France, has taken leave of the king, being presented to his majesty by M. de Sartine. The report runs that orders have been sent on the 29th of February for the officers who are at Paris to join their regiments upon the coasts by the 15th of March, and that eight regiments are to embark under the command of the Count de Rochambeau. These regiments are that of Anhalt, whereof the Marquis de Bergen is colonel in second; Auvergne, colonel-commandant the Viscount de Laval, and in second the Comte de Lamette; Bourbonnois, colonel-commandant the Marquis de Laval, and in second the Viscount de Rochambeau; Neustrie, colonel-commandant the Count de Guibert, and in second the Viscount le Veneur; Romergne, colonel-commandant the Viscount de Custine, and in second the Marquis du Ludec; Royal Corse, colonel-commandant the Marquis du Luc, and in second the Count of Pontevez; Royal Deux Ponts, colonel-commandant the Count de deux Ponts; Saintonge, colonel-commandant the Viscount de Beranger and in second the Marquis de Themines. It is asserted that there will be added a detachment of artillery, and that the Baron de Viveneuil, the Count de Chastellux, and the Count de Witgenstein will embark with these troops, and that the Duc de Lazun will have the command of a body of twelve hundred volunteers, and be joined to the armament under the Count de Rochambeau. All these troops, as it is believed, will embark at Brest, and go out under the convoy of the Count du Chaffault de Bresné.

They add that he will have more than thirty-seven ships of the line under his command, destined for an expedition whereof the genuine object is yet unknown. Many other regiments have also orders to march down nearer to those upon the seacoast, and there are many vessels taken upon freight for the service of the king in the different ports of the kingdom. The freight at Havre is thirty livres a ton, on condition that the owner furnish his vessel for twelve months. They say the Prince de Condé will go and command upon the coast of Brittany with the Count de Vaux.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 665, with verbal changes and omissions.

By a letter I just now received from Holland I am told that the grand business is done between the northern powers on a footing very convenient for Holland, as it must compel the English to cease interrupting the trade of the neutral powers. This would be more beneficial to France and Spain than to Holland, by facilitating the acquisition of ship timber, hemp, and all other things for the supply of their arsenals of the marine. A principal branch of the British policy has ever been to prevent the growth of the navies of their enemies by intercepting their supplies.

What gives further countenance to this letter and the reports to the same purpose which have been some time circulated is an article in the *Mercure de France*, enclosed. They talk of a quintuple alliance which has been concluded between Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Prussia, and the United Provinces for the maintenance of the honor of the flags of these powers. Congress will see also another paragraph from London which favors this idea; that the Baron de Nolker, envoy extraordinary from Sweden, had declared that if the convoy of his nation was not released forthwith, with an indemnification for expenses and losses, he had orders to quit the court of London in twenty-four hours.

Some other paragraphs seem to show the Dutch in earnest about equipping a respectable naval force of fifty-two vessels.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Reed, President of the State of Pennsylvania.*

PASSY, *March* 19, 1780.

SIR: I have just received the pamphlet you did me the honor to send me by M. Gerard, and have read it with pleasure. Not only as the clear state of facts it does you honor, but as it proves the falsehood of a man, who also showed no regard to truth in what he said of me, "*that I approved of the propositions he carried over.*" The truth is this: His brother, Mr. Pulteney, came here with those propositions; and after stipulating that, if I did not approve of them, I should not speak of them to any person, he communicated them to me. I told him frankly, on his desiring to know my sentiments, that I DID NOT *approve of them, and that I was sure they* WOULD NOT *be accepted in America.* But I said there are two other commissioners here; I will, if you please, show your propositions to them, and you will hear their opinions. I will also show them to the ministry here, without whose knowledge and concurrence we can take no step in such affairs. No, said he, as you do not approve of them, it can answer no purpose to show them to anybody

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 99; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 41; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 443. See, as sustaining this letter, Franklin to Pulteney, March 30, 1778, *supra*, and also notice of Pulteney, in Introduction, § 203.

else; the reasons that weigh with you will also weigh with them; therefore I now pray that no mention may be made of my having been here or my business. To this I agreed, and therefore nothing could be more astonishing to me than to see in an American newspaper that direct lie, in a letter from Mr. Johnstone, joined with two other falsehoods relating to the time of the treaty and to the opinion of Spain.

In proof of the above I enclose a certificate of a friend of Mr. Pulteney's, the only person present at our interview; * and I do it the rather at this time, because I am informed that another calumniator (the same who formerly, in his private letters to particular members, accused you, with Messrs. Jay, Duane, Langdon, and Harrison, of betraying the secrets of Congress in a correspondence with the ministry) has made this transaction with Mr. Pulteney an article of accusation against me as having approved the same propositions. He proposes, I understand, to settle in your government. I caution you to beware of him; for in sowing suspicions and jealousies, in creating misunderstandings and quarrels among friends, in malice, subtility, and indefatigable industry he has, I think, no equal.

I am glad to see that you continue to preside in our new State, as it shows that your public conduct is approved by the people. You have had a difficult time, which required abundance of prudence, and you have been equal to the occasion. The disputes about the constitution seem to have subsided. It is much admired here and all over Europe, and will draw over many families of fortune to settle under it as soon as

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* To B. Franklin:

Dear Sir: I send you adjoined the certificate you desire, and am perfectly convinced, from conversations I have since had with Mr. Pulteney, that nobody was authorized to hold the language which has been imputed to him on that subject; and as I have a high opinion of his candor and worth, I know it must be painful to him to be brought into question in matters of fact with persons he esteems. I could wish that this matter may receive no further publicity than what is necessary for your justification.

I am, etc.,

W. Alexander.

Paris, *March* 19, 1780.

I do hereby certify whom it may concern that I was with Mr. Pulteney and Dr. Franklin at Paris when, in a conversation between them on the subject of certain propositions for a reconciliation with America, offered by Mr. Pulteney, Dr. Franklin said, he did not approve of them, nor did he think they would be approved in America, but that he would communicate them to his colleagues and the French ministry. This Mr. Pulteney opposed, saying that it would answer no good end, as he was persuaded that what weighed with Dr. Franklin would weigh also with them; and therefore desired that no mention might be made of his having offered such propositions, or even of his having been here on such business, but that the whole might be buried in oblivion, agreeable to what had been stipulated by Mr. Pulteney and agreed to by Dr. Franklin before the propositions were produced, which Dr. Franklin accordingly promised.

W. Alexander.

there is a peace. The defects that may, on seven years' trial, be found in it can be amended when the time comes for considering them.

With great and sincere esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 19, 1780.

SIR: Enclosed is a paper of the 10th of March which was accidentally omitted to be enclosed in the season of it.

There are two articles of intelligence which ought not to escape our observation, because they have relation to the armament equipping at Brest, although I do not suppose them of much consequence. The first is of a small squadron of frigates, which is said to have sailed from Portsmouth on the 28th of February, in consequence of orders sent from the admiralty on the 22d, under the command of Captain Marshall, who is on board the *Emerald*, of thirty-two guns. The others are the *Hussar*, of thirty-two, the *Surprise*, of twenty eight, the *Squirrel*, and *Heart of Oak*, of twenty; the sloops, the *Beaver's Prize*, of fourteen, the *Wolf* and the *Wasp*, of eight, with the cutters the *Nimble*, and the *Griffin*. It is thought that this little squadron is gone to make a cruise on the coast of France, to hinder the transports assembled in different ports from going out, or even to destroy them, if that shall be found to be possible. There is not, however, much to be dreaded from this squadron so near the neighborhood of Brest.

The other paragraph discovers the marks of more ingenuity and less truth—it is taken from the English papers—that Captain Jarvis, in the *Foudroyant*, of eighty guns, who has been out upon a cruise with a small division in the mouth of the channel, has returned to Plymouth and gone to court, to be himself the bearer to government of dispatches of great importance from the court of France to Congress, found on board a sloop which on her passage to Philadelphia fell into his hands. It is asserted that these dispatches contain an ample detail of the operations concerted between the court of Versailles and Dr. Franklin, among which the most probable is the project of attacking Halifax, which is to be made by a body of troops from New England and by a detachment of French troops very considerable by sea and land.

This moment a letter from London of the 10th of March informs me that a packet boat is arrived from Jamaica, which sailed the 29th of January, with accounts that Fort Omoa is again in possession of Spain. That an English man-of-war has taken a Spanish ship-of-war bound to South America with stores. She was pierced for sixty-four, but carried only fifty-two guns. The Jamaica fleet sailed on the 24th of Jan-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 667.

uary, convoyed slightly with two fifties and two frigates, about forty merchantmen in all. Nothing yet from America, but it is generally believed that a storm has separated and dispersed Clinton's fleet, intended for the southern expedition.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 20, 1780.

SIR: I have at length received a parcel of English papers, which I have the honor to enclose with this to Congress. They are the General Advertiser and the Morning Post, both of which I shall for the future be able to transmit regularly every week. Congress will see that these papers are of opposite parties, one being manifestly devoted to the court and the ministry and the majority, the other to the opposition, the committees, the associations, and petitions. Between both I hope Congress will be informed of the true facts.

There is the appearance of a piquancy and keenness in the temper of the opposite parties, by their writings and paragraphs in these papers, that looks like the commencement of a serious quarrel.

By the virulence of the manner in which such characters as Keppel, Howe, Burgoyne, Richmond, Shelburne, Rockingham, etc., are treated it should seem that the ministry were exasperated to a greater degree of rancor than ever, and that they were thoroughly alarmed and determined to throw the last die. Time and the events of war will decide what will be the consequences of these heated passions.

By a conversation this morning with the Viscount de Noailles, I am led to fear that the fleet from Brest will not be able to put to sea before the 10th of April. This will be about the time the Marquis de la Fayette will arrive in America. He sailed from Rochelle the 13th of this month.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to Franklin.†

CADIZ, *March* 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have this day drawn bills on your excellency for three thousand five hundred and ninety-six livres thirteen sols in favor of Messrs. Jacques le Content Laur^{t}. (Content & Company) payable in ninety days from the date. I can not omit this opportunity of express-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 668.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

ing to you the obligations I am under to the gentlemen of this house, as well for their particular civilities to me as their attention to all Americans in general.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *March* 20, 1780.

SIR: In compliance with your excellency's opinion, expressed in the letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 14th of October last, that I should send for Captain Landais to Paris to give an account of his conduct respecting the late engagement with the *Serapis*, wherein it had appeared to your excellency "that if the frigate *Alliance*, which he commanded, had seconded the *Bonhomme Richard*, by engaging at the same time, the advantage gained by Commodore Jones would have been sooner obtained, have cost fewer lives, and not have left the *Bonhomme Richard* in such a condition as to sink in thirty-six hours after the combat." I immediately wrote to the said Captain Landais, acquainting him with that and other charges against him, and directing him to render himself here, and to bring with him such evidence as he could obtain and should think proper for his justification; and I wrote at the same time to the commodore, acquainting him with this step, and directing him to send me the evidence he had to support the charges against Captain Landais contained in his letters. Captain Landais, who had also himself desired of me to order an inquiry, was necessarily detained some time after in Holland, sundry accidents, such as the delay of Commodore Jones' expected proofs, and the indisposition at different times of myself and Captain Landais, have drawn the inquiry to a length unexpected, and after all I find so much contradiction in the declarations of the parties and in the written evidence adduced in support of them, and such an insufficiency of marine knowledge in myself, when all the possibilities are to be considered of this or that maneuver of a ship under the various circumstances of wind, tide, and situation, that I can not presume, even if I had the authority for so doing, to condemn the conduct of Captain Landais, or to advise the Congress to erase his name from the list of their sea officers. His regular trial will be before a court-martial, consisting of a competent number of such officers, which can only be found in America, and to that I must therefore refer him. That court will judge how far he is chargeable with disobedience to orders, delay in coming to the assistance of the commodore, or neglect of taking the merchant ships. I will only venture to give your excellency an opinion of mine in his favor, that his firing into that ship instead of the *Serapis*, if that fact should be

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 46.

found clear, could never have been the effect of design, but merely from accident, occasioned by the night or the natural spreading of shot; for though it appeared in the course of the inquiry that a mortal quarrel had arisen during the cruise between the commodore and him, human nature is not yet so depraved as to hazard the killing of many for the chance of hurting one, nor is it probable that if Captain Landais had given such orders his people would have obeyed them. All I can further do is to transmit to Congress copies of the minutes of the inquiry, with the papers produced, and to leave Captain Landais at liberty to return to America in order to a trial. The inquiry, imperfect as it is, has, however, had one good effect, the preventing a duel in Holland between those officers, which might have proved fatal to one or both of them, and would, at best, have occasioned much inconvenient rumor, scandal, dispute, and dissensions prejudicial to our affairs.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient, etc.

J. Adams to W. Lee.*

PARIS, *March* 21, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have just received your favor from Brussels of the 17th of this month, and I thank you for this instance of your atttention to me.

Considering the state of Ireland, and the spirit that seems to be rising in England, which has already attained such a height as to baffle the minister and the East India Company, and to carry many votes in the House of Commons almost to a balance with him and even some against him, I should not be at all surprised, if terms such as you mention should be offered to America; nor should I be surprised if another rumor, which was propagated at the Palais Royal this day, should prove true, that a great change is made or to be made in the ministry, and that the Lords Shelburne and Rockingham, Burke, etc., are in. Yet I have no proper accounts of either.

Whatever may be my powers or instructions, or whether I have any or not, I am very much obliged to you for your sentiments on such a proposition as a truce for America, supposing it should be made. Your arguments are of great weight, and will undoubtedly be attended to by every one, whoever he may be, who shall be called to give an opinion upon such a great question. You will not expect me at present to give, if it is proper for me even to form, any decided opinion upon it. Yet thus much I may venture to say, that having had so long an experience of the policy of our enemies, I am persuaded, from the whole of it, if they propose a truce, it will not be with an expectation or de-

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 669.

sire that America should accept it, but merely to try one experiment more to deceive, divide, and seduce, in order to govern.

You observe that the heads of some well-intended, though visionary, Americans run much upon a truce. I have seen and heard enough to be long since convinced that the Americans in Europe are by no means an adequate representation of those on the other side of the water. They neither feel nor reason like them in general. I should, therefore, upon all occasions hear their arguments with attention, weigh them with care, but be sure never to follow them when I knew them to differ from the body of their countrymen at home.

You say the Dutch are disturbed. Do you wonder at it? They have been kicked by the English as no reasonable man would kick a dog. They have been whipped by them as no sober postilion would whip a hackney-coach horse. Can they submit to all this upon any principle which would not oblige them to submit if the English were to bombard Amsterdam or cut away their dikes?

I wish I knew the name of the principal confidant and director of the prince, whom you mention.

I am very anxious to hear of the arrival of Mr. Laurens, but suspect you will learn it first. Mr. Dana returns his respects to you.

I thank you, sir, for your offers of service; nothing can oblige me more than to communicate to me any intelligence of the designs of our enemies in politics or war and their real and pretended forces by sea and land. Pray, what is the foundation of the story of a quintuple alliance between Holland, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and Denmark?

I am, sir, with great esteem, your humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *March* 21, 1780.

SIR: In the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 24th of February your excellency proposed that the principal object of my mission should be inserted in the Gazette of France when it should make mention of my presentation to the king and royal family.

In the answer to this letter, which I had the honor to write on the 25th of February, I informed your excellency that I should not think myself at liberty to make any publication of my powers to treat of peace until they should have been announced in the Gazette. It was on the 7th of March that I had the honor to be presented to the king and royal family, but no notice has been taken of it in the Gazette of France. Whether the omission is accidental, or whether it is owing to any alteration in your excellency's sentiments, I am not able to determine.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 669.

Your excellency will excuse the trouble I give you on this occasion, as it arises wholly from a desire to be able at all times to render an account to my sovereign of the motives and reasons of my own conduct.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

AT THE HAGUE, *March* 21, 1780.

MOST HONORED SIR: Honored since many years with the correspondence and friendship of Dr. Franklin, I received quite unexpectedly, in April, 1776, by an express (Mr. Thomas Story), instructions and credentials from the committee of foreign affairs, signed B. Franklin, J. Dickinson, and J. Jay, at Philadelphia, dated December 9 and 12, 1775, for sounding the dispositions of the several European courts towards the American confederates, and making proposals of intercourse and alliance to those I should find inclined to accept them, "recommending to my discretion to proceed in this affair with such caution as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, *at present*, of my being employed in any such business, as thereby they imagine many inconveniences may be avoided and my means of rendering service to America increased. They sent me, *for the present*, enclosed a bill for one hundred pounds sterling to defray expenses, and *desired me to be assured that my services will be considered and honorably rewarded by Congress.*" By another letter of the 2d of March, 1776, Dr. Franklin "recommended to my correspondence the bearer, Mr. Silas Deane."

In the mean time I had addressed myself to the court of France [with an exalted mind and fired with philanthropy]† and to the account I gave Congress of my negotiation Dr. Franklin answered in the following terms on the 1st of October: "I have just time to acknowledge the receipt of your two packets, with the pamphlets enclosed, the contents of which are very satisfactory. You will hear from me more fully in a little time." He soon came over, and brought me a letter from the committee, signed Robert Morris, Richard H. Lee, J. Witherspoon, W. Hooper, wherein they expressly "*desire me to continue that correspondence*, which he had opened and conducted hitherto with me *on behalf of Congress, requesting to hear from me frequently*, promising me the reimbursement of expenses and a reasonable *allowance* for my time and trouble in *this agency.*" The committee wrote me two other letters, August 8, 1777, and May 14, 1778, in the latter of which they "acknowledge that I had so early and warmly espoused their cause

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 296, with many variations and omissions.

† For passage in brackets is substituted in Sparks' ed. the words "deep interest in your concerns."

and aided it with such judgment and resolution, that they shall write particularly to the gentlemen at Paris respecting the injuries I had received from their enemies, and shall instruct them to pay the strictest attention to the engagements made to me in behalf of Congress at the commencement of our correspondence."

By some dark maneuvers of those enemies, who by interceptors and spies had got at last some general knowledge of my operations, I had been defrauded not only of the sum of six hundred pounds sterling due to me, but also of a livelihood which had rendered me hitherto yearly three hundred pounds sterling. However, I did not apply to the commissioners for the above sum; and after having received for the course of the whole year 1778 only one hundred pounds sterling, I obtained two hundred pieces a year for 1778, and twenty-five pieces more for the ordinary charges and expenses of the following years. With this small sum of two hundred and twenty-five pieces to live on in a country like this I have been obliged not only to dismiss my servant, but to make other reductions in my house, which makes my little family, as well as myself, unhappy, because they apprehend I have undone them. I keep them up, however, with the confidence I have in the justice and magnanimity of Congress, who, when affairs become more prosperous, will not forget me, nor my daughter, a good child of thirteen years old, who, from the beginning of this war, has been taught to pray fervently for the United States.

This state, by its constitution, can make no war nor any treaty with a foreign power without a unanimity of all its provinces and cities. And as there is a very strong party in favor of England, there is not the least probability that they will conclude a treaty with the United States before England permits them to do so by setting them the example. The only, but very necessary, thing therefore which remained to be done here was to hinder the English to draw this republic into their quarrel, which by her immense wealth and public credit would have had very bad consequences against America. And to this I have greatly and daily co-operated these three years ago. We found a very weak opposition, which is now strong enough to resist the torrent.

Besides the commissioners at Paris, to whom I constantly communicate all what has passed, Mr. William Lee, who has written me from September, 1776, to May, 1779, twenty-nine letters, knew. He wrote to me so early as December 26, 1777, in these terms: "Though I have not for some time past had the pleasure of your correspondence, yet I have not been a stranger to your continued exertions in the cause of humanity and liberty, for which thousands yet unborn will bless your memory." Even with respect to a treaty, I left the matter not untried; for immediately after the conclusion of the treaty between the United States and France I concerted with the city of Amsterdam and the commissioners at Paris to communicate the said treaty by means of the great pensionary of Holland to their high mightinesses, together

with a letter of his excellency Franklin to the great pensionary, inviting them to treat on the same footing, *mutatis mutandis*, whenever they should think fit, on which an answer was politely declined for the present. Of this curious transaction I sent at that time an account to Paris, as well as to the committee on foreign affairs. One of the letters of the first pensionary of Amsterdam, dated July 31, 1778, has been translated and printed in the Baltimore Journal with these words at the head of it, "*Letter of a steady friend of America at The Hague.*" I have, besides, in my power the proofs of all this in several letters of the honorable gentlemen of Paris and at Amsterdam. Mr. William Lee knew this too when he gave rendezvous to M. de Neufville, an eminent merchant of Amsterdam, at Frankfort first and then at Aix-la-Chapelle, unknown to me, to get a declaration from the first pensionary of the friendly dispositions of the city of Amsterdam, which this gentleman delivered, thinking Mr. William Lee was one of the commissioners at Paris. A similar declaration M. Van Berckel delivered to me on the 23d of September, 1778,* with an explanatory letter of the expression *dès que l'indépendance des États-Unis en Amérique sera reconnue par les Anglais*, because I told him such a condition would hurt the honorable Congress, and make them pay no attention at all to a declaration which would appear to them insignificant. Both the declaration and the letter will be found in the records of the committee of foreign affairs, to whom I sent copies of them towards the end of 1778. As to the sketching and proposing a treaty, his opinion and mine also were that it was premature at that time; and therefore we postponed it till the last summer, when he delivered me some papers, out of which and of the French treaty I have made the sketch reviewed afterwards and corrected by him and by Dr. Franklin, of which I have dispatched on the 19th of this month three different copies to the committee aforesaid, and which I expect back again with the amendments of the most honorable committee of Congress, and with instructions and credentials for proposing it on the first opportunity, which in the mean time I am carefully watching.

It is with the most painful concern I mention to your excellency this attempt of Mr. William Lee to undermine me in this manner, when I thought he had enough ado to fulfill his commissions through Germany, and therefore was very open and unaware in my letters to him. It is with the same concern I learn † just now, by a letter of a very worthy servant of the United States, that his brother, Arthur Lee, has complained against me in a memorial to Congress, as if I had extolled Dr. Franklin at his expense in the Leyden Gazette. Whoever told him so has told him an absolute falsehood. This assertion may perhaps receive,

* See Van Berckel to Dumas and Declaration of Van Berckel, September 23; Commissioners to Van Berckel, October 29, 1778, *supra*.

† The following lines are not in the original letter in the Department, which is imperfect in this respect.

even in his own mind, additional strength by my ingenuously telling him, however, that his being at enmity with Dr. Franklin will not hinder me to retain still in my bosom a most tender respect and love for the latter. I am sure he will do the same when dispassionate.

I recommend myself to the protection of Congress, and am, with the deepest respect, etc.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 23, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose the English papers of the 11th, 13th, and 14th of March, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, and The Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam gazettes. We are in hourly expectation of great news from Holland, Ireland, England, Spain, and, above all, from America and the West Indies. I have not had a letter from America since I left it, except one from my family, of the 10th of December; and, indeed, although several vessels have arrived, I can hear of no letters or news.

By the English papers Congress will perceive the violent fermentation in England, which has arisen to such a height as to produce a congress in fact, and it will soon be so in name. The proceedings in the House of Commons on the 14th, which were terminated by a resolution of the committee of the whole house to abolish the Board of Trade and Plantations, carried against the ministry, after a very long and warm debate, by a majority of eight voices, is not only the most extraordinary vote which has passed in the present reign, but it tends to very extensive consequences.

I believe it is very true that this board has been the true cause of the quarrel of Great Britain against the Colonies, and therefore may be considered as an object of national resentment, but a resentment of this kind alone would not probably have produced this effect.

Whether it is the near approach of an election that has intimidated the members of the House of Commons, or whether committees, petitions, associations, and congress have alarmed them, or whether the nation is convinced that America is indeed lost forever and consequently the board of trade would be useless, I do not know. Be this as it may, the English nation, and even the Irish and Scotch nations, and all parts of the world, will draw this inference from it, that even in the opinion of the House of Commons America is lost. The free and virtuous citizens of America, and even the slavish and vicious, if there are any still remaining of this character, under the denomination of tories, must be convinced by this vote, passed in the heyday of their joy for the successes of Admiral Rodney's fleet, that the House of Commons despaired of ever regaining America. The nations subject to the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 671, with verbal changes.

house of Bourbon can not fail to put the same interpretation upon this transaction.

Holland and all the northern powers, with the Empress of Russia at their head, who are all greatly irritated against England for their late violence against the innocent commerce of neutral powers, will draw the same consequences. The politicians of Great Britain are too enlightened in the history of nations and the rise and progress of causes and effects in the political world, not to see that all these bodies of people will, in consequence of this vote, consider the Colonies given up as lost by the House of Commons, and they are too well instructed not to know the important consequences that follow from having such points as these thus settled among the nations. I can not, therefore, but consider this vote, and the other respecting the secretary of state for the American department, which arose almost to a balance, as a most important declaration of the sense of the nation. The first probable consequence of it will be one further attempt, by offering some specious terms which they know we can not, in justice, in honor, in conscience, accept, to deceive, seduce, and divide America, throw all into confusion there, and by this means gaining an opportunity to govern. There is nothing more astonishing than the inconsistencies of the patriots in England. Those who are most violent against the ministry are not for making peace with France and Spain, but they would wish to allure America into a separate peace, and persuade her to join them against the house of Bourbon. One would think it impossible that one man of sense in the world could seriously believe that we could thus basely violate our faith, thus unreasonably quarrel with our best friend, thus madly attach ourselves to our bitterest enemies. But thus it is.

Sir George Saville threw out in the House that he wished to carry home to his constituents the news of an accommodation with America; and Mr. David Hartley has given notice of his intentions to make a motion relative to us. But I confess I have no expectations. Mr. Hartley's motions and speeches have never made any great fortune in the House, nor been much attended to; from whence I conclude, if the present great leaders, even of opposition in the House, were seriously disposed to do anything towards a pacification which we could attend to, they would not suffer Mr. Hartley to have the honor of making the motion.

The heads of many people run upon a truce with America, and Mr. Hartley's motion may tend this way; but a truce with America can not be made without a peace with France and Spain, and would America accept of such a truce? Give Great Britain time to encroach and fortify upon all our frontiers? To send enemies into the States, and sow the seeds of discord? To rise out of her present exhausted and ruined condition? Suffer France and Spain to relax? Wait for alterations by the death of princes or the changes in the characters of princes or ministers in Europe? I ask these questions that Congress may give

me instructions, if necessary. At present I do not believe my powers are sufficient to agree to a truce if it was proposed, nor do I believe it would be for our interest or safety to agree to it if I had. I do not mean, however, to give any decided opinion upon such a great question in this hasty letter. I am open to conviction, and shall obey the instructions of Congress with the most perfect respect.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 24, 1780.

SIR: It has been observed in former letters that there is scarcely an example of such a series of fortunate incidents as that which happened to Rodney's fleet; and it may be proper to dilate a little upon some of these incidents, to show that the enthusiastic applause which is given him by the court, the lords, the commons, and the city of London is no otherwise merited than by the boldness of his enterprise, unless simple good fortune is merit.

It must be allowed that it was a desperate plan in the minister to order him out on the design to succor Gibraltar, and it was a desperate resolution in him to undertake it, because he had to expect to meet with the whole Spanish squadron at Cadiz and in those seas, and he had reason to expect that a strong squadron from Brest would follow him, which was in fact the case.

Don Gaston sailed from Brest the 13th of January in search of Admiral Rodney with twenty Spanish ships of the line, with four French ships of the line—the *Glorieux*, the *Burgundy*, the *Zodiac*, and the *Scipio*—with the frigate the *Nereis*, under the chef d'escadre the Chevalier de Bousset. If these four and twenty ships of the line had joined Don Langara's squadron, there is scarce a possibility of doubt, after the brave defense made by him with such inferior force, that Rodney's fleet would have been totally ruined, and consequently Gibraltar reduced to extremities. But this was not to happen. The next day after Don Gaston sailed from Brest he met with a terrible storm, which separated his fleet. Two of his Spanish ships arrived at Cadiz the 31st of January—the *Serious* and the *Atlant*, each of seventy guns. The 3d of February there arrived twelve others; the *Rayo*, commanded by Don Gaston, and the *St. Louis*, both of eighty guns—the *Velasco*, the *St. Francis de Paule*, the *S. Isabella*, the *S. Joachim*, the *St. Peter*, the *St. Damase*, the *Arrogant*, and the *Warrior*, all of seventy; the *Mink*, of fifty-six, and the frigates the *Assumption* and the *Emerald*, with the French division under the Chevalier de Bousset, excepting the *Scipio*, commanded by the Baron de Durfort, which did not arrive until the 17th of February, after having cruised ten or twelve days off St. Vincent, which had

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 675, with verbal changes.

been appointed as the place of rendezvous and reunion in case of separation. The *Guardian Angel*, of seventy guns, which was also separated from the squadron, did not arrive till several days after Don Gaston at Cadiz, having suffered very much, as well as all the other vessels, in their masts and rigging, by the bad weather, and especially by the violent gale of wind which they met with on the 1st of February near the Cape of St. Vincent. Of the five remaining Spanish vessels, four went into Ferrol—the *St. Vincent Ferries*, of eighty guns, commanded by Don d'Acre, lieutenant-general; the *St. Charles*, of eighty; the *Vengeur*, of seventy; and the *Septentrion*, of sixty; the fifth, named the *St. Joseph*, of seventy, by Don Orsorno, chef d'escadre, returned to Brest dismasted. This separation and dispersion of the fleet, and of its principal officers exposed Langara and made Rodney's fortune; and the necessity these vessels were in of reparation gave liberty to the English fleet to put to sea from Gibraltar and regain the Atlantic ocean on the 13th of February to the number of twenty-two ships of the line, comprehending those of Rodney, Digby, and Ross, and four of the vessels taken from the Spaniards, and three frigates, with twelve merchant ships under their convoy, leaving at Gibraltar the *Edgar*, of seventy-four; the *Panther*, of sixty, which has been there a long time; and the *Guipuscoa*, of sixty-four guns, taken from the Spaniards on the 8th of January, with twenty-four merchant vessels under her convoy.

There has been much conversation for several days concerning a Spanish armament preparing at Cadiz, and letters from Carthagena say that the regiment of infantry called the Flankers' regiment, which has been in garrison in that city, has been completed by orders from court from the regiment of Naples, and on the 1st of March the first battalion marched for Cadiz; on the 4th of March the second battalion marched. It is said that this regiment is to embark, with several others, which from different garrisons have arrived at the same place for America, in all parts of which, according to appearances, the English will have enough to do to maintain their ground this ensuing campaign.

In Ireland, on the 22d of February, an assembly of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the city of Dublin, resolved unanimously that the advantages obtained in commerce are neither complete nor solidly established; that the sense of the nation is that the Irish parliament alone, in concert with the sovereign, can give to the laws already obtained of the prince their obligatory force; that what has been done ought not to be considered as anything more than a great beginning; and that the general hope was that the end of the session would be as advantageous to the political constitution of the country as the commencement of it had been favorable to commerce; that the fathers of the country are particularly requested and instructed to obtain a declaratory act, which may preserve forever the free and independent state of Ireland, and by introducing some necessary modifications of Poyning's law to prevent in future all controversy between the king and the parliament of Ireland concerning fundamental laws.

These instructions were given by the sheriffs to the representatives of Dublin, who answered that they were convinced that no foreign legislative power whatsoever had any right or ought to arrogate to itself any authority over their nation, and, without injuring the legal and known authority which his majesty has a right to exercise over this kingdom in a manner conformable to the laws, they would neglect nothing to obtain an act which should take away every unjust restriction and which should tend to assure the constitutional independence of the kingdom. This is said to be the general sense of the whole kingdom, so that it may truly be said that the British empire is crumbling to pieces like a rope of sand, insomuch that, if the war should continue, I shall not be at all surprised if even Scotland should become discontented with the union, and the disputes between the ministry and the East India Company should terminate in the independence of Asia; nay, it would be no miracle if the West India Islands should request the protection of France or Spain or the United States.

I will take the first opportunity to write upon the subject of Lord North's loan, which, together with the other ways and means, amounts to the amazing sum of £20,674,000 sterling.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 24, 1780.

SIR: Mr. Burke's bill not being as yet public, we are not yet informed of the extent of it. But as it already appears that it strikes at the department of secretary of state for America and at the board of trade, there seems to be little reason to doubt that it goes further and strikes at the American board of commissioners, at all the American judges of admiralty, governors of provinces, secretaries, and custom-house officers of all denominations. At least, if this should not be found to be a part of the bill, there are stronger reasons, if possible, for abolishing this whole system of iniquity, together with all the pensions granted to the refugees from America, than even for taking away the board of trade. And from several late paragraphs in the papers, and from Mr. Fox's severe observations in the House of Commons upon Governor Hutchinson, calling him in substance the "firebrand that lighted up all the fire between the two countries," it seems pretty clear that it is in contemplation to take away all these salaries and pensions.

If such a measure should take place, exiled as these persons are from the country which gave them birth, but which they have most ungratefully endeavored to enslave, they will become melancholy monuments of Divine vengeance against such unnatural and impious behavior.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 673, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 136.

Nevertheless, as these persons are numerous, and have some friends in England as well as in America, where they had once much property, there is a probability, I think, that whenever or wherever negotiations for peace may be commenced they and their estates, now almost universally confiscated, will not be forgotten; but much pains and art will be employed to stipulate for them in the treaty both a restoration of their property and a right to return as citizens of the States to which they formerly belonged. It is very possible, however, that before the treaty shall be made, or even negotiations commenced, these gentlemen will become so unpopular and odious that the people of England would be pleased with their sufferings and punishment. But it is most probable that the court will not abandom them very easily.

I should, therefore, be very happy to have the explicit instructions of Congress upon this head, whether I am to agree, in any case whatsoever, to an article which shall admit of their return or the restoration of their forfeited estates. There are sentiments of humanity and forgiveness which plead on one side; there are reasons of state and political motives (among which the danger of admitting such mischievous persons as citizens is not the least considerable) which argue on the other.

I shall obey the instructions of Congress with the utmost pleasure; or if, for any reasons, they choose to leave it at discretion, if I ever should have the opportunity I shall determine it, without listening to any passions of my own of compassion or resentment, according to my best judgment of the public good. There is another point of very great importance which I am persuaded will be aimed at by the English ministers—I am sure it will by the people of England—whenever terms of peace shall be talked of. For facilitating the return of commerce, they will wish to have it stipulated by the treaty that the subjects of Great Britain shall have the rights of citizens in America and the citizens of the United States the rights of subjects in the British dominions. Some of the consequences of such an agreement to them and to us are obvious and very important; but they are so numerous that it is difficult to determine whether so great a question should be left to my determination. If, however, contrary to my inclinations, it should fall to my lot to decide it without instructions, it shall be decided according to my conscience and the best lights I have.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress. *

PARIS, *March* 26, 1780.

SIR: On the 2d day of this month the news of the royal consent to the bill which the British Parliament has passed for granting to Ireland a free commerce with the American Colonies, the West Indies, and

*MSS Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr. 678, with verbal changes.

the coast of Africa was celebrated in Dublin by public rejoicings; the guns of the park were discharged, the garrison made a *feu de joie*, the castle and other public buildings were illuminated, as well as some private houses. The government were probably encouraged to these demonstrations of joy by the motion which was made the day before, that is, the 1st of March, by Mr. Dennis Daly, in the House of Commons, for an address of thanks to the king, to which both parties unanimously consented, not excepting the principal patriots, such as Mr. Ogle, Mr. Hussy Burgh, and Mr. Grattan.

The address contains an assurance of their attachment to the royal person and government of the king; a profession of gratitude for his majesty's uninterrupted attention to the interest of Ireland, and for the happy alteration which the wisdom of his councils and the liberal sentiments of the British Parliament have effected in the situation of their affairs. They express a double satisfaction for the benefits which have been granted them, because they appear to them to be an efficacious remedy for the poverty of that country, and because they furnish an unquestionable proof of that fraternal affection which they think they have a right to expect from Great Britain, and which they will constantly endeavor to cultivate and augment to the most perfect degree of mutual confidence. They profess the sincerest pleasure in finding that the ties which have ever united the two kindoms have been bound faster than ever by the conduct of their fellow subjects; and they assure his majesty that on their part they will never fail to make the greatest efforts for the maintenance of that close connection between the two kingdoms which they firmly believe to be inseparable from their happiness and prosperity.

The next day the House of Peers, even at the motion of the Duke of Leinster, followed the example of the House of Commons. Their address is in substance the same, with this addition, that the benefits received afford a remedy proportioned to their distress, and that they will discountenance with all their power all attempts that deluded men might make to excite ill-founded apprehensions in the people, and to turn their attention to the commerce which has been granted them in a manner so extensive.

To these additions, however, there was an opposition, and finally a protest, signed by Lord Carrisford, the Earls of Charlemont and Arran, and the Viscounts Powerscourt and Mountmorris, and by the proxies of the Earl Moira, and the Lords Eyre and Irnham.

The Duke of Leinster, however, has brought upon his reputation by this motion suspicions all over Europe that he has been gained by the king, which a little time and his future conduct will either dissipate or confirm.

The next day Parliament adjourned to the 11th of April. Congress will be able to put a just interpretation upon these addresses by the account I gave in my last of the instructions of the city of Dublin to

their representatives, and their answer, as well as by those of the county of Dublin, which remain to be communicated. On the 7th of March there was held at Kilmainham an assembly of the freeholders of the county of Dublin, when the following instructions to their representatives were agreed on:

We, your constituents, desiring to acknowledge, as we ought, the advantages our commerce will derive from the particular attention which his majesty has given it, from the integrity of our Parliament, the firmness of our countrymen, and the justice which the English nation begins to render us, we declare to you that what follows is the principal cause of our joy upon this occasion. It appears to us that the desire of monopolizing commerce was the only motive which could make England imagine that she had a right to usurp a legitimate authority over this kingdom, and from the moment when she renounced this monopoly she has taken away the principal obstacle which opposed our liberty, and consequently the British nation will not arrogate to itself an arbitrary power from which she can derive no other advantage than that of reducing this kingdom to slavery. We desire to know, moreover, whether the united efforts of the parliament and people of Ireland ought to confine themselves so as to leave this island in a state of dependence and submission to laws to which the nation has never consented, to laws dictated by a Parliament in which she has no representatives? Let it not be said this power attributed to the English Parliament is chimerical. We may see the proofs of it even in the repeal of several of the acts and in this, that some persons declare, however falsely, that this power is founded upon law. Having an equal right to political liberty and to commerce, but deprived of both, and nevertheless content to be restored to the enjoyment of a free commerce alone, will it not appear that we absolutely give up the former? This idea would be absurd. It is, then, our duty to declare to the universe that we are of right a free nation, not to be subjected to any laws but such as are made by the king and parliament of Ireland.

Desirous of nothing so much as to live always in good intelligence with the British nation, on account of the union of the two crowns, our instructions are, that you shall make the greatest efforts to obtain an act which shall establish forever the independence of the legislative power of Ireland. We wish, moreover, that you would endeavor to qualify Poyning's law, by taking away from the privy council the legislative power. In accomplishing these important objects you will acquire honor to yourselves and give satisfaction to the nation.

It is not to be doubted that you will also fall upon some plan of economy, by making savings, which are become necessary to increase the revenue of the crown and improve the commerce of the nation.

It seems now very plain that the Irish nation aspires to an independence of Great Britain the most unlimited, and acknowledges no other connection with her but that of affection and subjection to the same king. The troops already raised by associations amount to between sixty and seventy thousand men, which are to be forthwith augmented by ten thousand more, who are to be formed of countrymen; each officer is to furnish four, who will be clothed and paid out of the funds that each regiment will establish for this purpose. The principal objects of these armed associations are said to be a free and unlimited commerce to all parts of the world, except only the East Indies. The repeal of Poyning's law, passed under Henry the Seventh, and another under George the First, which restrains the legislative authority of the Irish parliament, with an express clause that the parliament of Ireland ought and

shall be forever and wholly exempt from all kind of control and dependence of the British Parliament in all cases whatsoever. That students shall no longer be obliged to go to the Temple in London and other seminaries in England to study law. But in future they shall study in the university of Dublin, under proper professors, and shall be admitted to the bar in Ireland by the lord chancellor and the other judges after a proper examination; the judges to be natives, except the chancellor; the bishops also to be natives.

In the mean time the slightest circumstances may blow up the flames of war between the two kingdoms, which would have been done some weeks ago if the regular officers of the king's troops had not given way to the Dublin volunteers.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

A. Lee to J. Adams.*

L'ORIENT, *March* 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have but one moment to thank you for your favor, with one from London enclosed, which I received on my return from Brest. We are likely to be detained here by the prize money for the *Serapis*, etc., not being paid, without which the crew of the *Alliance* threaten a mutiny. If, as I apprehend it may, the application I requested you to make to Mr. G. should at all interfere with your plan, which I think very prudent, of keeping as free as possible from those disputes, which indeed are a reproach to us, I beg you will think no more of it. What has been Gerard's conduct since his arrival and what his reception? He is a man to be observed narrowly. I do not mean on my account, but on that of the public, to which I think he will yet do much mischief if he is listened to. Farewell.

Franklin to Dumas.†

PASSY, *March* 29, 1780.

DEAR SIR: It is some time since I have written to you, having nothing material to communicate; but I received duly your letters of February 1, 18, 25, March 2, 11, 13, 17, and 23, and thank you for the intelligence they contain. The last this minute came to hand, and I shall answer it separately.

I pray you to assure M. ——— of my respect, and that it was only on one packet for him that I put my name, when I thought to have sent it by a friend. The baseness of the post-office opening it surprises

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 138.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 300.

me. No other letter for him has since passed through my hand. If any others come to me for him I shall send them under cover to you.

I forwarded your letter to Captain Jones. I do not know which of his English pilots it was mentioned in yours to ———. I know he has been generous to an excess with them. Explain to me, if you please, the fact that is the subject of that letter and who Mr. Gordon is.

I am curious to know what the States will do about the confiscation of the goods taken in Bylank's convoy.

I received your large packets; that for Captain Jones shall be carefully sent to him. I thank you for the philosophical pieces, which I will read attentively as soon as I have time. The original acts of Confederation are very curious, and will be acceptable to Congress.

I am ever, my dear sir, yours, affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *March* 29, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I did receive the letter you mentioned to have enclosed for Mr. Carmichael in yours of the 25th of February. I had before received a letter from him dated at Cadiz, acquainting me that he was just setting out for Madrid, and desiring I would send him a credit there for 200 louis. Mr. F. Grand, our banker here, had undertaken to do this with his correspondent, a banker there. I, not knowing how to address your letter to Mr. Carmichael, at Madrid, sent it to Mr. Grand's to be put under his cover to his banker, who might deliver it to Mr. Carmichael, as he would necessarily find out his lodging, to acquaint him with the credit.

The day after Sir George Grand was gone for Holland his brother came to me, and expressing a great deal of concern and vexation, told me that Sir George seeing that letter on his desk, said, this superscription is M. Dumas' handwriting; and some time afterwards came to him with the letter in his open hand, saying, this letter is full of ingratitude (or some words to that purpose) and I will carry it to Holland, and show it to the ambassador, and that he had accordingly carried it away with him, notwithstanding all that was or could be said to the contrary; that it gave him infinite pain to acquaint me with this action of his brother, but he thought it right I should know the truth.

I did not mention this to you before, hoping that upon reflection Sir George would not show the letter to the ambassador, but seal it up again and send it forward, and I was desirous to avoid increasing the misunderstanding between you and Sir George. But, as I understood by yours to M. Boudoin, that he has actually done it, I see no reason to keep it longer a secret from you. If I had known it to be a letter of

*7 Bigelow's Franklin 48; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 449.

consequence, I should nevertheless have taken the same method of forwarding it, not having the least suspicion that any person in that house would have taken so unwarrantable a liberty with it. But I am now exceedingly sorry that I did not rather send it to the Spanish ambassador's. Let me know in your next what you may think proper to communicate to me of the contents of it.

I am, etc,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.

PARIS, *March* 29, 1780.

SIR: I think it my duty to lay before Congress what may occur in Holland relative to the present war, at least until the arrival of Mr. Laurens, whose presence is much desired there. Many appearances make it probable that the grasping and vindictive temper of the English will compel the republic into the war. If they do take a part, it is very certain it will be against England. As plunder and revenge are the two present ruling passions of the English, it is probable that a war with Holland is rather wished for than otherwise, because the ministry and their principal supporters seem to have no idea that it is possible to make things worse, and all the plunder they can get will be so much clear gain. The Dutch are so much alarmed and aroused that it is very certain the prince finds it necessary to give out that he has been deceived by the English, that he has changed his sentiments, and that he will promote with all his influence unlimited convoys. It is certain that they are fitting their men-of-war with a great deal of activity, and it is confidently affirmed that they have made a treaty with Russia and Sweden, who are to make a common cause. The states of the province of Friesland have come to a resolution that it was certain Byland was not the aggressor, but that Fielding had not hesitated to make use of force to visit the Dutch ships under convoy, to stop those that were loaded with hemp, and to insult the flag of the republic. That this proceeding shows that the complaisance hitherto shown to England, in depriving the ships loaded with masts and ship timber of the protection of the state, in leaving them to sail alone and without convoy, has had no effects, and consequently the states judge that a similar condescension ought no longer to take place; but, on the contrary, all merchandise whatsoever, which the treaties do not expressly declare to be contraband, ought without the least difficulty to be admitted under convoy and enjoy the protection of the state, and to this effect his most serene highness ought to be requested to give orders to the commanders of the men-of-war and of the squadron of the republic to protect, as heretofore, all merchandise.

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*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 681, with verbal changes.

This resolution was taken the 29th of February, and laid before the States-General, who, after debating upon it, determined to require the deputies of the other provinces to obtain as soon as possible the decision of their provinces upon the same subject. These two provinces, Holland and Friesland, have already decided for unlimited convoys.

Sir Joseph Yorke, on the 21st of March instant, laid before their high mightinesses another memorial, insisting on the aid which he had demanded before, upon condition, in case of refusal, that his master would, after three months, consider all treaties between the two countries as null, and in which he contends that the protection afforded to Captain Jones, whom he calls a pirate, in the Texel and in Amsterdam, was a violation of the treaties.

In order more clearly to comprehend the dispute between Great Brittain and the States-General, it may not be amiss to observe that, by the marine treaty between the two powers, concluded at The Hague, in 1667, all the subjects and inhabitants of the United Provinces may, with all safety and freedom, sail and traffic in all the kingdoms, countries, and estates which are or shall be in peace, amity, or neutrality with the States-General, without any hindrance or molestation from the ships-of-war, gallies, frigates, barques, or other vessels belonging to the King of Great Britain or any of his subjects, upon occasion or account of any war which may hereafter happen between the King of Great Britain and the above said kingdoms, countries, and estates, or any of them, which are, or shall be, in peace, amity, or neutrality with the States-General; and this freedom of navigation and commerce shall extend to all sorts of merchandise, excepting contraband goods. That this term of contraband goods is to be understood to comprehend all sorts of fire-arms, their appurtenances, and all other utensils of war called in French "*servans à l'usage de la guerre*," and that under this head of contraband goods these following shall not be comprehended: corn, wheat, or other grain, pulse, oils, wine, salt, or generally anything that belongs to the nourishment or sustenance of life, but they shall remain free, as likewise all other merchandise and commodities not comprehended in the foregoing article, and the transportation of them shall be permitted even into places at enmity with Great Britain, except such places are besieged, blocked up, or invested. Masts, yards, ship timber, and hemp, the articles now in dispute, are not contraband by this treaty or by the law of nations. Yet Great Britain, in the hours of her insolence and madness, which are not yet at an end, makes no scruple to seize, condemn, and confiscate them. She pretends that as the Dutch refuse to her the aid she demands by treaty, she has a right to seize upon masts, timber, and hemp, which are not prohibited by treaty. Not to enter into the inquiry whether the present case is such as by the treaties obliges the Dutch to furnish her aid, but admitting for argument's sake it is so, yet the consequences will not follow. It would only follow that Great Britain was absolved from the obligation of the

treaty, not by any means that she is discharged from the obligations of the law of nations.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *March* 30, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 21st instant. I remember very well to have said to you that your presentation should be inserted in the Gazette of France, but from the information I have since obtained it seems that the presentations, whether of ambassadors or ministers plenipotentiary, are not thus announced in our Gazette, and it would have the appearance of affectation to insert yours. As a substitute, I will have it mentioned, if you wish, in the *Mercure de France*, and you can take measures to have the notice repeated in the foreign gazettes.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

P. S.—I enclose a draft of an article which I propose to send to the *Mercure de France*. It will not be sent till I learn your opinion of it:

"Mr. Adams, whom the Congress of the United States has designated to assist at the conferences for a peace when that event shall take place, arrived here some time ago, and has had the honor to be presented to the king and the royal family."

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *March* 30, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor of your excellency's letter of this day, in answer to mine of the 21st of this month. Until the receipt of it I had taken it for granted that the presentation of every ambassador was regularly inserted in the Gazette of France, and until very lately, several days since the date of my letter to your excellency of the 21st of this month, I had supposed that the presentation of ministers plenipotentiary was constantly inserted likewise.

The information your excellency has given me, that the presentations of neither ambassadors nor ministers plenipotentiary have ever been inserted, has perfectly satisfied me, and I doubt not will equally satisfy

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 684; 7 John Adams' Works, 139.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 684; 7 John Adams' Works, 140.

my countrymen, who have heretofore been under the same mistake with myself.

I approve very much of your excellency's proposition of inserting my presentation in the Mercury of France, and shall take measures to have it repeated in the foreign gazettes.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 30, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to Congress copies of certain letters which I have had the honor to write to the Count de Vergennes and others which I have received from him.

It seems that the presentations of the American commissioners and ministers plenipotentiary have not been inserted in the Gazette, which occasioned some uneasiness in the minds of some of our countrymen, as they thought it a neglect of us, and a distinction between our sovereign and others. The enclosed letters will explain this matter, and show that no distinction has been made between the representatives of the United States and those of other powers.

I ought to confess to Congress that the delicacy of the Count de Vergennes about communicating my powers is not perfectly consonant to my manner of thinking, and if I had followed my own judgment I should have pursued a bolder plan, by communicating, immediately after my arrival, to Lord George Germain my full powers to treat both of peace and commerce; but I hope Congress will approve of my communicating first to this court my destination and asking their advice and then pursuing it, because I think no doubt can be made that it is my duty to conduct my negotiations at present in concert with our ally, as I have hitherto done.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 30, 1780.

SIR: There is an anecdote which causes a great speculation at present, because it is supposed to show the tendency of things in Ireland, and what is to be expected by Great Britain if the ministry should oppose themselves to the wishes of the Irish nation. On the 23d of February three bodies of volunteers—those of Dublin, commanded by Colonel John Allen, those of the Liberties, commanded by Sir Edward Newing-

* MSS. Dep. of State.; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 685.

ham, and another body commanded by Mr. Taylor—assembled at the exchange, from whence they made a long march in a circuit of four miles, accompanied with other volunteers on horseback to the park, the avenues of which were guarded by five other corps of volunteers. There they went through the maneuvers and firings with as much celerity and precision as any regular troops. They were there reviewed by the Duke of Leinster, as general and commander-in-chief, accompanied with four aids-de-camp, and they all rendered to this nobleman military honors almost equal to those which are rendered to a king.

Returning from the review, the volunteers met in Barrack street a detachment of the royal troops marching to the castle. These required that the volunteers should turn out of the way, and endeavored to break their ranks; but the volunteers, with their bayonets fixed and charged, stood their ground and discovered such a resolution, that the commanding officer of the king's troops ordered them to halt, and desired to speak with the Duke of Leinster. They entered into a conference. The regular troops pretended they had a right to the pavement as the troops of the king. The volunteers thought they had a right to keep it as free citizens, voluntarily armed for the defense of their country, and consequently superior to mere mercenaries. They supported these arguments by preparations for battle; the people declared themselves in favor of the volunteers by collecting together a sufficient quantity of stones to overwhelm the troops, who at last gave way in order to avoid a scene of blood. The next day the volunteers sent to the viceroy an excuse, but couched in terms which justified their conduct as necessary to maintain the liberty, independence, and dignity of the nation. I have seen so much of the spirit of the king's troops in several contests between them and the citizens of Boston as to know very well what all this means. The volunteers must have great confidence in their own strength, and the king's troops equal diffidence of theirs, before an altercation of this kind could terminate in this manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *March* 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I wrote to you yesterday relating to the affair of your letter to Mr. Carmichael, that you might know exactly the truth of the transaction. On reflection, I think it proper to add that what I wrote was for your satisfaction only; and that as the making it public would give infinite pain to a very worthy man, Mr. F. Grand, who would then appear in the light of *délateur de son frère*, and it can serve no other purpose but that of vengeance on Sir George and be of no advantage to you, I must insist on your generosity in keeping it a secret to your-

*8 Sparks' Franklin, 449; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 50.

self. In this you will also very much oblige me, who would by no means have my name publicly mentioned on this occasion; and I depend on your compliance.

B. FRANKLIN.

W. Lee to J. Adams.*

BRUSSELS, *March* 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have had the honor of receiving yours of the 21st instant. The name of the person you wish to know is the Duke of Brunswick, brother to Prince Ferdinand, field marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch land force. He is not liked by his family, as they conceive he is too much attached to the house of Austria. The quintuple alliance that you mention, I conceive, is only the conjecture of some politicians; for there is not in fact any solid appearance of the Dutch resenting, like men or an independent nation, the cruel injuries and insults (that would be intolerable to any other people) which they have received from the English. The Prince of Orange, the better to deceive, and perhaps reflecting on the fate of De Witt, pretended to resent highly the insult offered to his flag; but you will agree with me that it must be only a pretense, when you know that Admiral Byland is to be honorably acquitted; and, in consequence, it is expected that the best captain in the Dutch navy will resign.

I hope you did not construe my last into any design of drawing from you any of the secrets of your mission, for, believe me, I have no such curiosity, being quite satisfied with that information respecting it which the world is, and has been a long time in possession of; and, besides, I know too well how extremely necessary circumspection and secrecy are to procure success to a negotiation.

Diffidence and distrust of an enemy are always warrantable, but particularly so when one has had repeated experience of their duplicity and treachery; the fatal experience of the Dutch in the negotiations at Gertruydenberg, as well as many other examples, teach us that distrust and resentment should not be carried to unreasonable lengths.

A great and good man has wisely observed that the best time to make peace is when your enemy wishes for it; and I hope that the affairs of Ireland, with vigorous and well-directed operations on our part this campaign, will reduce our enemies to wish for peace in earnest before this year ends, although they seem to be getting the better of the opposition at home, which it appears they are determined to do either by fraud or violence, as the papers will tell you how narrowly the life of Lord Shelburne has escaped one of the Scotch assassins.†

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* 7 John Adams' Works, 140.

† This alludes to the duel which took place on the 22d of this month between Lord Shelburne and a Mr. Fullerton, in which the former was wounded. Horace Walpole treats the matter in a very different view. See his letter to Sir Horace Mann, Apr. 8, 1780.—Note to 7 John Adams' Works, 141.

With infinite pleasure I shall communicate to you what information I may receive in my retirement of the nature you may require; but I apprehend that a few hundred pounds sterling per annum, properly applied, might procure you such intelligence as would be worth millions to America; for in our enemies' quarters every thing goes by purchase and sale, therefore it was high time for us to have done with them.

We have no intelligence of the arrival of Mr. Laurens, though there are letters which mention his being embarked.

The Spaniards will do well to keep a watchful eye on the buccaneering expedition now preparing in England against their possessions in South America.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

J. Adams to A. Lee.*

PARIS, *March* 31, 1780.

SIR: I have received yours of the 26th and that of the 15th of this month. I enclose a copy of the letter you desire.

M. Garnier is gone into the country, and I have not seen him since I arrived here. Mr. Izard, however, has seen him and will give you a satisfactory account of what he says.

If I were to apply to the other gentleman you know what would be the consequence. It would fly very soon to you know where, and I should have only the credit of meddling unnecessarily with disputes, which I have kept out of as much as I could, and which it is certainly now the public interest, and consequently my duty, to keep out of as much as I can. I had therefore rather be excused. The gentleman himself would probably give you the same answer to a letter from you directly to him as he would give to me, unless I should use arts with him which would be unworthy of you as well as of me, and which I can not use with anybody.

I shall have enough to do to steer my little bark among the rocks and shoals. I shall have perplexities enough of my own which I can not avoid, and dangers, too. These I shall meet with a steady mind, and perhaps none of them will be greater than that, which I think my duty, of avoiding things that do not belong to me.

Scarcely ever any minister executed a commission for making a peace without ruining his own reputation in a free government. No minister that ever existed had a more difficult and dangerous peace to make than I have.

The gentleman you mention has hitherto been very still, but he has been well received, by all that I have learned.

Adieu,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 687; 7 John Adams' Works, 142.

Franklin to Carmichael.*

PASSY, *March* 31, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received by M. Gerard your kind letter written at Philadelphia. His safe return has given me great pleasure.

As soon as I received yours of January 25, from Cadiz, I ordered a credit of 1,000 louis d'ors to be lodged for Mr. Jay and you by M. Grand with his banker at Madrid. He wrote by the next post. It does not appear by yours of March 13 that you had then been acquainted with this or received my letter. This surprised me, and I inquired of M. Grand about it, who tells me that a letter from his correspondent of March 12 mentions the receipt of the order, and he supposes that M. d'Yranda would soon find you out.

The M. de la Fayette is gone again to America. He took leave at court in his American uniform. He carries with him a warm heart for our cause and country. Dr. Bancroft is just returned here from L'Orient, where he has been to assist in getting one of our frigates out, the *Alliance*. He will probably write to you by next post.

I thank you for your intelligence of the state of affairs at home and for the extracts of Mr. Lee's philippics against me. Such they were intended, but when I consider him as the most malicious enemy I ever had (though without the smallest cause), that he shows so clearly his abundant desire to accuse and defame me, and that all his charges are so frivolous, so ill-founded, and amount to so little, I esteem them rather as panegyrics upon me and satires against himself.

I am glad to understand by yours of February 19 and March 17 that you had met with so agreeable a reception at Madrid. The more so, as I once imagined that the long delay of that court in acceding to the treaty had a dubious appearance.

Here I have every proof of the utmost cordiality and the sincerest good-will to us and our cause. It is true I do not obtain all I have been directed to ask for. The committee of commerce sent me over an invoice of goods, amounting, I guess, to more than 12,000,000 of livres. I have been obliged to abridge it greatly, the sum granted me not sufficing. I send, however, some of the most necessary articles, viz, fifteen thousand complete dress for soldiers, fifteen thousand new fusils, and one thousand barrels of gunpowder. If Mr. Jay can obtain a sum from Spain it may help to supply the deficiency. You have reason, as you say, to pity my situation. Too much is expected from me, and not only the Congress draw upon me, often unexpectedly, for large sums, but all the agents of the committee of commerce in Europe and America think they may do the same when pinched, alleging that it is necessary to the credit of the Congress that their particular credit should be supported. From the desire here of carrying on the war without levying new taxes and the extraordinary expenses of the navy so much money can not be spared

* MSS. Dep. of State.

to us as is imagined in America; but essential aid will be given us this campaign, either by an actual junction of force or concert of operations in the United States, or by a powerful diversion in the West Indies, a very considerable armament of ships and troops being on the point of departure for those countries.

Mr. Adams is at Paris with Mr. Dana. We live upon good terms with each other, but he had never communicated anything of his business to me and I have made no inquiries of him, nor have I any letter from Congress explaining it, so that I am in utter ignorance. Indeed, the Congress seems very backward in writing to me. I have no answer to a long letter I wrote by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, nor even any acknowledgment that it came to hand; pray can you tell me the reason?

FRIDAY, *April* 7.—Having met with some interruptions, I did not finish my letter in time to go by the last post. M. Grand has since read me part of a letter from M. le Marquis d'Yranda, in which he mentions his having seen you and his willingness to serve Mr. Jay and you, but that you appeared somewhat reserved. We concluded that you had not received M. Grand's letter, which went at the same time with mine (of which latter I enclose copies), because he had acquainted you with his having recommended you to the marquis, and had given you such a character of him as would have induced you to have conversed freely with him. We could not imagine how these letters could miscarry; but since M. Grand left us I have thought that you may possibly have forgotten that you advised me to direct for you under the name of M. Clement, to be left at the post-office, and perhaps you have not asked, therefore a letter so addressed might have incommoded you.

I did not imagine Mr. Jay would have stayed so long at Cadiz, or I should have written to him there. After some doubts about the manner of our future corresponding I am inclined to think the best way will be to convey our dispatches with those of the respective courts, the fidelity and honor of the people managing the post-offices not being so much to be relied on, and we will probably have no secrets that our friends may not safely be acquainted with, though not proper to be known by others. M. de Vergennes informed me the other day that Mr. Jay was on his way to Madrid, and I therefore now write to him there. I wish it had so happened that he had first called at Paris, and if he could spare you a few weeks to take a trip hither to visit your old friends it would, besides the pleasure of seeing you, be a great satisfaction to me, who am at present very ignorant of the true state of America, and I am persuaded such an interview between us would be useful in many respects.

Dr. Bancroft yesterday read me a letter he had received from you, in which you express your surprise at not having heard from me. You will now find that I had written by the very first opportunity after the receipt of yours from Cadiz. He will write to you by the next Tuesday post.

Messrs. Lee and Izard are gone to L'Orient, in order to embark in the *Alliance* together, but they did not travel together from hence. No soul regrets their departure. They separately came to take leave of me, very respectfully offering their services to carry any despatches, etc. We parted civilly, for I have never acquainted them that I know of their writing against me to Congress. But I did not give them the trouble of my dispatches. Since Mr. Lee's being at L'Orient he has written to M. Grand, requesting a certificate from him in contradiction to something you had said of him in a paper delivered to Congress. I suppose M. Grand will explain this to you. There has been a fracas between our friends Sir George Grand and M. Dumas, in which both have been to blame, and each ought to forgive the other. It relates to a letter from Dumas to you which had been intercepted. I suppose he will acquaint you with the affair, and if you should not fully understand it from his account, I can give the explanation.

I retain my health *a merveille*; but what with bills of exchange, cruising ships, supplies, etc., besides the proper business of my station, I find I have too much to do. Your friend Billy (who presents his respects) is a great help to me, or I could not possibly go through with it.

With sincere esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to W. Lee.*

PARIS, *April* 2, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 30th of March is just come to hand and I thank you for it. I did not construe anything in your last into a design of drawing from me any of the secrets of my mission; indeed, there is no secret in it but my instructions, which will, I hope, remain so until they are executed, if that time should ever come.

I have had reasons, however, for saying nothing until now about my commission, but those reasons exist no more. I have, indeed, the honor to be minister plenipotentiary, with full powers, with the ambassadors or ministers from France and Great Britain and all other princes and states whom it may concern, to enter into conferences, negotiations, and treaties for peace.

When our enemy will wish for peace so far as to think of it in earnest I know not. Peace concerns her more than any of the belligerent powers. America even can sustain the war, although it will be irksome and grievous, infinitely better than England. America grows more powerful, more numerous, more brave, and better disciplined every year of the war, and more independent, too, both in spirit and circumstances. Their trade, it is true, does not flourish as it did, but their agriculture, arts, and manufactures increase in proportion to the decline of their trade. England is wasting away, notwithstanding the

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 143.

violence of her convulsive struggles, in wealth, in commerce, in manufactures, in sailors, soldiers, population, and, above all, in political consideration among the powers of Europe every day. Her reputation, which is a more durable source of power and a more constant cause of prosperity to states as well as individuals, declines amidst all her activity, exertions, and successes.

The hopes and fears of other nations are turning by degrees from her to other people, and these she will find it harder to regain than even the good-will of America, which is also leaving her every day. The English nation do not seem to me to see anything in its true light or weigh anything in a just balance. The points already gained by Ireland do not appear to be understood in England in their consequences; if she should carry the other points she aims at she will become a dangerous rival to Great Britain in trade, and even in political power, and dangerous to her even in military; and she must and will carry those points if this war is continued. Yet the predominant temper drowns all in England. Their pride, revenge, and habits of domineering will not suffer them to listen to anything that does not soothe these lively passions. The fury that appears among members of Parliament convinces me that the opposition is more formidable than you seem to think it. The committees go on, and although I do not found my expectations upon characters that now appear, I know that these committees will bring up others to public view who will do the work. When society gets disturbed, men of great talents and good qualities are always found or made.

I think I am perfectly sure of myself that I shall never be led much astray by my resentments against the English, however strong they may have been and however justly founded. Distrust of them I have, quite separate from all resentment, so fixed by twenty years' incessant attention to their policy that it is very possible they may be in earnest about terms of peace before I shall believe it; but this error, I hope, will do neither them nor me any harm.

I wish you had been more particular concerning that buccaneering expedition which you say is preparing in England against the Spanish possessions in South America.

Nothing from America, nor from Mr. Laurens.

Adieu.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 3, 1780.

SIR: The Prince of Orange, stadtholder, is not only supposed to have ambitious views of allying his family to that of Great Britain, but is very much influenced by the Duke of Brunswick, who is a field marsha

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 687.

and commander-in-chief of the Dutch land forces, who is also a brother of Prince Ferdinand. The duke is not upon the best terms with his family, because they think he is too much attached to the house of Austria. By this double attraction of England on one side and their old friends the house of Austria on the other it is not very surprising that his most serene highness is drawn a little aside from the line of the American cause, which is now so closely connected, and likely to be more so, with the house of Bourbon. Hence it is said that the Count de Byland is to be honorably acquitted by the court-martial, and hence the embarrassments the Dutch are under in their wishes to resent like men the unparalleled injuries that have been done them by the English. There is, however, so much spirit in the United Provinces as to oblige the prince to put on the appearance of resentment at the insults offered to his flag, and to oblige the British minister to assume the tone of menace in order to work upon the fears of the people, whose property is so exposed as to make them dread a war with any nation whatever.

Congress will, however, be able to judge of what is doing in Holland by the following proceedings. A petition was presented to their high mightinesses on the 25th of February for the equipment of fifty-two ships of war in the following terms:

Your high mightinesses having thought proper, by your resolution of the 17th of this month, which came to us the 22d, to require us to present to your high mightinesses, without influencing, however, in anything the deliberations of the confederates, a petition for the sum of 2,620,598 florins, to assist toward the one-half of the necessary expense for an extraordinary equipment of fifty-two vessels of war and frigates, which are to be put in a condition of service by the 1st of May, as well as of other articles more fully particularized in the report contained in the resolution of your high mightinesses and in the estimate enclosed with it, which we flatter ourselves were made with all possible accuracy, while the funds necessary for the half of the equipment above mentioned will be found in the produce of certain duties.

We have been the more zealous not to delay giving satisfaction to the requisition of your high mightinesses, as we consider the said plan as tending to accomplish what has been for so many years represented and advised, as well by his serene highness as by us, in general petitions addressed successively to your high mightinesses, as well as to the confederates; that is to say, to put the republic in a more respectable state of defense by augmenting her marine and troops, an object upon which it has been again insisted in the petition of the current year, which employed such reasons and such urgent motives to this purpose, that expressions now fail us for adding anything to what has been already said; and persuaded, moreover, as we are, that the circumstances and facts, such of them as have passed in a manner so remarkable, render useless and superfluous all further reasonings in such sort, that all these details, being already perfectly understood as well by your high mightinesses as by the confederates, we think we may depend upon this knowledge in expectation of the definitive resolutions of your high mightinesses equally salutary and unanimous, and the effect of which will be to prevent and ward off the new misfortunes which may threaten the republic; assured, moreover, and persuaded that the serious intention of the confederates is to accomplish the equipment proposed, with all that depends upon it, and that to this end their high mightinesses will be pleased not only to give their consent to the petition of 2,620,598 florins, formed by the present, but also, what is more important, to furnish as soon as possible their quota to the general treasury, by which means the colleges of the admiralty, whose duty it is to attend to the equip-

ments, may be possessed of the means necessary to this operation at convenient periods, which will be thought more indispensably necessary on casting an eye on the reasons more amply alleged in the report of the colleges of admiralty, and expressed in the resolution of your high mightinesses the 17th of February, to which we refer.

MEMORIAL.

On the 21st of March, 1780, Sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses of the following tenor:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The king, my master, has always cultivated the friendship of your high mightinesses, and has always considered the alliance which has so long subsisted between the two nations as founded upon the wisest principles, and as essential to their mutual prosperity. The principal objects of this alliance, which stands upon the immovable basis of a common interest, are the safety and prosperity of the two states, the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the preservation of that just balance so often disturbed by the ambitious policy of the house of Bourbon. When the court of Versailles, in direct violation of the public faith and of the common rights of sovereigns, had broken the peace by a league made with the rebel subjects of his majesty, avowed and declared formally by the Marquis de Noailles; when by immense preparations France manifested her designs of annihilating the maritime power of England, the king expected that your high mightinesses, too enlightened not to see that the safety of the republic is closely connected with that of Great Britain, would have been zealous to come to his assistance. One of the first cares of his majesty was to inform your high mightinesses of all the circumstances of this unjust war; and in the critical situation in which the king found himself he did not forget the interests of his ancient allies; but, on the contrary, has shown the most sincere desire to favor the commerce and the free navigation of the republic as much as the safety of his people could permit. He even desisted a long time from demanding the succors stipulated by the treaties, fulfilling thus his own engagements without insisting on the accomplishment of those of your high mightinesses. The demand was never made until after the united forces of France and Spain showed themselves ready to fall upon England, and there attempt a descent by the assistance of a formidable fleet. Although frustrated in this enterprise, the enemies of the king meditate still the same project; and it is by the express order of his majesty that the undersigned renews at this time, in a manner the most formal, the demand of the succors stipulated by different treaties, and particularly by that of the year 1716.

Hitherto your high mightinesses have been silent upon an article so essential; at the same time, you have insisted on a forced construction of the treaty of commerce of the year 1674, against the abuse of which Great Britain has protested at all times. This interpretation can not be reconciled to the clear and precise stipulations of the secret article of the treaty of peace of the same year.

An article of a treaty of commerce can not annul an article so essential of a treaty of peace, and both are expressly comprehended in the principal treaty of alliance of 1678, by which your high mightinesses are obliged to furnish to his majesty the succors which he now demands. You are too just and too wise not to feel that all the engagements between powers ought to be mutually and reciprocally observed; and although contracted in different periods, they oblige equally the contracting parties. This incontestable principle applies itself here with so much the more force as the treaty of 1716 renews all the anterior engagements between the crown of England and the republic, and incorporates them, as it were, together.

Moreover, the subscriber had orders to declare to your high mightinesses that he was ready to enter into conferences with you, to regulate in an amicable manner all which might be necessary to avoid misunderstandings and prevent every disagree-

able occurrence, by concerting measures equitable and advantageous for the respective subjects.

This friendly offer was refused in a manner as unexpected as it was extraordinary and unusual among friendly powers; and without taking notice of repeated representations, both public and secret, upon the subject of convoys, your high mightinesses have not only granted convoys for different kinds of naval stores, but you have moreover expressly resolved that a certain number of vessels of war should be held ready to convoy in the sequel naval stores of every species destined for the ports of France, and this at a time when the subjects of the republic enjoyed, by the force of treaties, a freedom and an extent of commerce and of navigation far beyond that which the law of nations allows to neutral powers. This resolution, and the orders given to Admiral Byland to oppose himself by force to the visits of merchant ships, have given place to the incident which the friendship of the king would have greatly desired to have prevented. But it is notorious that this admiral, in consequence of his instructions, first fired upon the sloops bearing the English flag which were sent to make the visit in the manner prescribed by the treaty of 1674. It was then a manifest aggression, a direct violation of the same treaty which your high mightinesses seem to look upon as the most sacred of all. His majesty has made beforehand repeated representations of the necessity and justice of this visit, practised in all similar circumstances, and fully authorized by this treaty. They were informed in London that there were in the Texel a great number of vessels loaded with naval stores, and particularly with masts and large ship timber, ready to set sail for France immediately after, or under, a Dutch convoy. The event has but too fully proved the truth of these informations, since some of these vessels have been found even under this convoy. The greatest number have escaped, and have carried to France the most efficacious succors, of which she stood in the greatest necessity.

At the time your high mightinesses thus aided the enemy of the king by favoring the transportation of these succors you imposed a heavy penalty upon the subjects of the republic, to restrain them from carrying victuals to Gibraltar, although this place was comprehended in the general warranty of all the British possessions in Europe, and although at that time Spain had vexed the commerce of the republic in a manner the most outrageous and unexampled.

It is not only on these occasions that the conduct of your high mightinesses towards the king and towards the enemy of his majesty forms a most striking contrast in the eyes of all the impartial world. No one is ignorant of that which passed in the too-well-known affair of Paul Jones. The asylum granted to this pirate was directly contrary to the treaty of Breda, of 1667, and even to the proclamation of your high mightinesses of 1776. Further, although your high mightinesses have kept, and still keep, a silence the most absolute with regard to the just demands of his majesty, you have been forward, at the simple request of the king's enemies, to assure them of an absolute and unconditional neutralty, without any exception of the ancient engagements of the republic founded upon the most solemn treaties. Nevertheless, the king would still persuade himself that all which has passed ought to be attributed less to the disposition of your high mightinesses than to artifices of his enemies, who, after having excited discord among the members of the state, seek, alternately by menaces and by promises, to animate them against their natural ally. His majesty can not believe that your high mightinesses have taken the resolution to abandon a system which the republic has pursued for more than a century with so much success and so much glory.

But if such was the resolution of your high mightinesses—if you were determined to forsake the alliance with Great Britain, in refusing to fulfill the engagements of it—there would arise from this resolution a new order of things. The king would perceive such an alteration with a sensible regret; but the consequences which would follow from it would be necessary and unavoidable. If by an act of your high mightinesses the republic should cease to be the ally of Great Britain, the relations between

the two nations will be totally changed, and they will no longer have any other ties or relations than those which subsist between nations neutral and friendly. Every treaty being reciprocal, if your high mightinesses will not fulfill your engagements, the consequence will be that those of his majesty will cease to be obligatory. It is in pursuance of these incontestable principles that his majesty has ordered the subscriber to declare to your high mightinesses, in a manner the most friendly, but at the same time the most serious, that if, contrary to his just expectations, your high mightinesses do not give him, within the term of three weeks, to be computed from the day of presentation of this memorial, a satisfactory answer touching the succors demanded eight months ago, his majesty, considering this conduct as a departure from the alliance on the part of your high migtinesses, will no longer consider the United Provinces in any other light than that of other neutral powers not privileged by treaties; and consequently will, without further delay, suspend conditionally, and until further orders, in regard to their subjects, all the particular stipulations of the treaties between the two nations, particularly those of the treaty of 1674, and will hold himself simply bound by the general principles of the law of nations, which ought to serve as rules between powers neutral, and not privileged.

JOSEPH YORKE.

On the 24th of March the States-General made the following answer to Sir Joseph Yorke:

That their high mightinesses had resolved to represent to his Britannic majesty, by the Count de Welderen, their envoy extraordinary, that having seen by the memorial of the ambassador, dated the 21st of March, that his majesty fixed a term of three weeks to have a satisfactory answer touching the succors demanded, their high mightinesses wished to satisfy as soon as possible the desires of his Britannic majesty by giving him a positive answer; but they foresaw that the form of government inherent in the constitution of the republic would not permit them to complete their answer in the time specified, as, the memorial of the ambassador having become an object of the deliberations of the representative provinces, it was necessary to wait the resolution of the several states, the assemblies of which were now sitting or about to sit; that their high mightinesses assured themselves that his majesty, considering these reasons, would not persist rigorously in the time fixed, to the end that their high mightinesses might have that of forming, in a manner conformable to the constitution of the republic (in which their high mightinesses had not a right to make any alteration) an answer to the memorial of the ambassador, their high mightinesses promising to neglect nothing for accelerating, as much as possible, the deliberations upon the subject; and they pray the ambassador to support these representations with his good offices with the king, his master.

Sir Joseph Yorke, after reading this answer, replied, that whatever might be his desire to satisfy the inclinations of their high mightinesses, the orders of the king, his master, would not permit him upon this occasion; that, however, he doubted not that they would be equally satisfied by the representations with which their high mightinesses had charged the Count de Welderen at the court of London.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 3, 1780.

SIR: The fermentation in England has already distressed the administration and overawed some of the members of the House of Commons, but there is room to suspect that this is chiefly to be attributed to the approach of an election. The petitions are very far from being universal, and the congress of the subcommittees is not yet numerous.

At a meeting of these from York, Surrey, Middlesex, Sussex, Gloucester, Hertford, Kent, Huntington, Dorset, Bucks, Chester, Devon, and Essex, from the cities of London, Westminster, Gloucester, and the towns of Newcastle and Nottingham, holden at the St. Albans tavern, and afterwards by adjournment at the great room in King street, St. James, on the 11th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 18th, and 20th days of March, 1780, the Reverend Christopher Wyvill in the chair, a memorial was agreed on, containing reasons for a plan of association.

They affirm that there is a despotic system, and they date the commencement of it nearly from the beginning of the present reign, and they say that they have arrived at the crisis which the wisest of political writers marked for the downfall of British liberty when the legislative body shall become as corrupt as the executive. They should have said more corrupt, because that is undoubtedly the fact at present, as well as the case stated by Montesquieu.

They say that by the unhappy war with America, begotten in the first instance of this despotic system and nursed with a view of giving completion to it, the fatal influence of the crown has been armed with more ample means for enslaving Parliament, while the nation has visibly sunk almost into beggary. Never did any country experience so sudden a reverse from prosperity to depression. They state the fall of rents, the accumulation of taxes, and the stagnation of all credit. They then run a long course of reasoning to show the utility, importance, and necessity of the several things they recommended to the people of England, which are all comprehended in a few propositions.

(1) They recommend perseverance in the petitions and an association in support of them.

(2) A new law for taking the suffrages of the people at elections to prevent expense and influence.

(3) To adopt as part of their general associations the following propositions:

I. That an examination be made into all the branches of the receipt, expenditure, and mode of keeping and passing accounts of public money.

II. One hundred, at least, of additional members of counties in the House of Commons.

III. That the members of the House of Commons be *annually elected*.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 694.

IV. That it is recommended to all voters to support at the next election such candidates as shall, by signing the association or otherwise, satisfy them that they will support these regulations in Parliament.

In the Middlesex committee, at the Masons' tavern, March 24, this circular letter and the memorial it contained were unanimously approved and their members in the general congress thanked. In the Westminster committee, King's Arms tavern, Palace yard, March 15, 1780, it was resolved, "that by the resolution of the general meeting, directing this committee to prepare a plan of association on legal and constitutional grounds to support the laudable reform and such other measures as may conduce to restore the freedom of Parliament, this committee conceive themselves bound to enter into the consideration of every question tending to establish the independency of Parliament on a solid and durable basis. That the duration of Parliament and the state of the representatives of the people are questions immediately under this description; that a subcommittee, consisting of seven persons, be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation of the nation and make a report." On the 20th of March the subcommittee reported. The report is dated the 19th.

That new Parliaments, to be holden once in every year, were the ancient usage, and declared to be the hereditary and indefeasible right of the people of England; that the 6th of William and Mary is the first which attempts to appoint the time of the continuance of Parliament to be for the term of three years, though the same act recognizes the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom by which annual Parliaments were confirmed, and declares that frequent and new Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king[s] and people; that by the 1st of George I, the Parliament then chosen for three years (by acquiescence of the people to the act of William and Mary, on the faith of its declaring that from henceforth no Parliament whatsoever that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held shall have any continuance for longer than three years only at the furthest) did pass an act to prolong its continuance to seven years; that temporary considerations are stated in the preamble to the act as the principal motive for the act itself; that the 6th of William and Mary is worded as if declaratory of what was conceived, however falsely, to have been the constitution of the country, but that the septennial act assumes a power of altering the duration of Parliament at pleasure; that these alterations in the constitution of Parliament were made without communication with the constituent body of the people, and have been continued without the sanction of their approbation; that the septennial bill was strongly opposed in Parliament, and a direct infringement on the constitution, and a flagrant breach of trust towards the constituent body; that it was supported almost entirely on the principle of expediency; that the voice of the people appeared strongly against it in many respectable petitions to Parliament on the occasion, and that a constitutional protest was entered by the Peers, stating that frequent Parliaments were the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; that the House of Commons ought to be chosen by the people, and when continued for a longer time than they were chosen for they were then chosen by the Parliament, and not by the people; that they conceived the bill, so far from preventing corruption, would rather increase it, for the longer a Parliament was to last the more valuable to corrupt ones would be the purchase, and that all the reasons which had been given for long Parliaments might be given for making them perpetual, which would be an absolute subversion

of the third estate; that various motions were afterwards made and strongly supported for a repeal of the septennial act, particularly a motion for annual Parliaments in 1774, which was lost only by a majority of thirty-two; that the city of London and other respectable bodies continued to instruct their representatives to prosecute this object in the most vigorous manner as essentially necessary to the independency and integrity of Parliament, the rights of the people, and the prosperity of their country; that by the 8th of Henry the Sixth the Parliament, then elected by the commonalty at large, passed an act to disfranchise the greater part of their constituents, by limiting the right of election of knights of the shire to persons having free lands, or tenants to the value of 40*s.* by the year at the least, which restriction has ever since continued; that many towns and boroughs, formerly entitled for their repute and reputation to send members to Parliament, have since fallen into decay, yet continue to have a representation equal to the most opulent counties and cities, while other towns and places, which have risen into consideration and become populous and wealthy, have no representatives in Parliament; that the number of the inhabitants of England and Wales is about five millions; that of these twelve hundred thousand are supposed capable of voting as the constitution stood before the restrictive act above quoted; that not more than two hundred and fourteen thousand are at present permitted to vote; that out of these one hundred and thirty thousand freeholders elect ninety-two members for fifty-two counties; forty-three thousand citizens, freemen, and others, elect fifty-two members for twenty-three cities and two universities, and forty-one thousand electors choose three hundred and sixty-nine members for one hundred and ninety-two towns and boroughs; that fifty of these members are returned by three hundred and forty electors, and a number scarcely above six thousand, being a majority of the voters of one hundred and twenty-nine of the boroughs, return two hundred and fifty-seven representatives, which is a majority of the whole English House of Commons and the efficient representation of above five millions of people; that many of these boroughs are immediately under the influence of the crown, as the cinque ports; many of them are private property, affording hereditary seats, as those under burgage tenure, and some of them almost without houses or inhabitants, as Galton, Newtown, and Old Sarum; that, considering the representation with reference to property, many counties return representatives out of all proportion to what they contribute to the public revenue; that Cornwall pays to land tax and subsidy sixteen parts out of five hundred and thirty, and sends forty-four members to Parliament, while Middlesex pays not less in proportion than two hundred and fifty-six, and sends eight members; so that the inequality of the representation of this country with regard to property is still greater than when estimated according to the number of its inhabitants.

The Westminster committee, after considering this report, Mr. Fox in the chair, came to the following resolutions:

1. That annual Parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England; and that the act which prolonged their duration was subversive of the constitution, and a violation, on the part of the representatives, of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.

2. That the present state of the representation of this country is inadequate to the object, and a departure from the first principles of the constitution.

3. That thanks be given to the subcommittee for their very intelligent report.

4. That copies of it be sent to the several committees of the counties, cities, and boroughs of the kingdom.

I have been thus particular in stating the proceedings of these committees, because it must be an advantage for Congress to have them all in view and to see the whole of the foundation that is laid. They are some of the most important proceedings of the present reign; they are

the commencement of a new sovereignty in opposition to the old. If there is virtue or good sense in the nation, these machines will discover it and set it in motion, and provided the war continues it will prevail; but if there is neither virtue nor sense remaining, or not enough of these to produce the desired effect, it will probably be the last national effort made in favor of liberty, and despotism will range at large.

If the king would make peace now, he would dissipate all these combinations in England, Ireland, and Holland, as well as prevent the treaty with Spain (which I believe is in a good way, from a letter which I lately saw from Mr. Carmichael) from giving advantages to Spain and disadvantages to England which can never be altered. But if he continues the war long, if he should have signal successes, these may dispel the storms in England and Ireland; but if he should be unsuccessful, the new sovereignty will probably prevail against him, after involving the three kingdoms in confusion and blood.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 4, 1780.

SIR: There is an anecdote from Malaga which ought to be mentioned to Congress, because it can not fail to have serious consequences.

The Swedish frigate the *Illerim*, of thirty-four guns, commanded by Captain Ankerloo, on the 28th of February, at half after 8 o'clock at night, met an English privateer belonging to Minorca, of twenty-eight guns. The Swedish captain, after hailing the privateer, let her continue her course, and went on quietly his own; about half an hour after, the privateer returning ranged herself astern of the frigate and unexpectedly discharged both his broadsides, loaded with langrage, which killed three sailors, broke the thigh and the right leg of the captain, wounded the lieutenant and some people of the crew. Ankerloo, who in the evening had been obliged by a violent gale of wind to draw in his guns and shut up his ports, not finding himself prepared for battle, his officers took immediate measures, with the utmost alertness, for repulsing the privateer, which did in fact at last receive one broadside from the frigate; but upon the whole she escaped in the night by the force of sails and of oars. After this perfidy on the part of the English, Ankerloo would have entered Marseilles for the sake of dressing his wounds, but having met with contrary winds and bad weather for three days, he put into Malaga, where he went ashore to the house of the Swedish consul, where he is since dead of his wounds.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 699.

De Neufville to Jay.*

AMSTERDAM, *April* 6, 1780.

SIR: We beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your safe arrival in Europe. By principle warmly attached to the American cause, we could wish we saw our states in a situation to acknowledge the independence of their sister republic, and though we could only cultivate private connections as yet, we took the liberty to address some intelligence to your excellency when President of Congress. We should reckon ourselves extremely happy to know whether our letter came to hand before your excellency left Philadelphia, and whether we may form any hopes that our zeal may prove successful for the benefit, as we intended, of both countries; [and as we wish to continue always in the same zeal, we could be able to give further information from what since hath happened in Europe, and these to relate, if such confidence prove acceptable].†

Meanwhile we have the honor to be, with all possible regard, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

Franklin to Jay.‡

PASSY, *April* 7, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have been some time in suspense about writing to you, not knowing whether you were at Cadiz or Madrid. But being informed a few days since that you had set out for the latter, I now acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of September 26 from Philadelphia, December 27 from Martinique, January 26 and March 3 from Cadiz.

The account you give of the prudent and pleasing conduct of M. Gerard agrees perfectly with my opinion of him. I communicated it to his brother, who is secretary to the council of state.

Your bill drawn in favor of M. Bingham for 3,379 livres 8 sols came to hand and was immediately accepted.

In a former letter, which I hope you have by this time received, I acquainted you that your bill drawn at Cadiz for 4,079 livres tournois had been presented and accepted; and, though payable only at sixty days from the date, I ordered it, as you requested, to be paid immediately.

I thank you for the communication of the letters you had written to the ministers; they are extremely well drawn. I shall be glad to see also, if you think proper, the answers you received. In my next I shall in return give you some account of a secret negotiation I am engaged

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. 159, Corr., with verbal changes and omissions.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State.

in with Denmark on occasion of their delivering up three prizes to the English that had been taken by the *Alliance.*

The reports you tell me prevail at Cadiz that the loan office bills payable in France have not been duly honored are wicked falsehoods. Not one of them duly indorsed by the original proprietor was ever refused by me or the payments delayed a moment; and the few not so indorsed have been also paid on the guaranty of the presenter on some person of known credit. No reason whatever has been given for refusing payment of a bill except this very good one, that either the first, second, third, or fourth of the same set had been already paid. The pretense that it was necessary for the whole set to arrive before the money could be paid is too absurd and ridiculous for any one to make use of who knows anything of the nature of bills of exchange. The unexpected large drafts made upon me by Congress and others, exclusive of these from the loan office, have indeed sometimes embarrassed me not a little, and put me to difficulties; but I have overcome these difficulties so as never to have been obliged to make the smallest excuse or desire the least delay of payment from any presenter of such bills. Those reports must therefore have been invented by enemies to our country, or by persons who proposed an advantage to themselves by purchasing them at an under rate. Enclosed I sent you a certificate of our banker in refutation of those calumnies. The letters you mention having for me, if they were not those brought to me by M. Gerard, you will be so good as to send me by post; as to the packets, please to open them, and if they contain only newspapers, retain them till you have opportunity by some private hand, as the postage, they being old, will exceed their value.

Your bill for 564 livres 18 sols 10 deniers has been presented and accepted and will be duly paid. I hope you are before this time acquainted with the credit I long since lodged for you at Madrid for 1,000 louis with M. le Marquis d'Yranda, which will make the trouble of drawing on me unnecessary. I hope also you will be able to obtain some aids of money from that court for the Congress to be sent out in the goods I have been obliged to omit for want of money. This court is hearty and steady in our favor. A considerable armament is going out, from which we have reason to hope great advantage in the ensuing campaign.

I wish to hear of your safe arrival at Madrid. Be pleased to make my respects acceptable to Mrs. Jay, and believe me to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 7, 1780.

SIR: There are several articles of intelligence to-day which are connected with the subject of my letter of yesterday. One is from The Hague, the 2d of April:

Thursday night last two couriers from Petersburgh arrived here, alighted at the hotel of the Prince Gallitzin, the envoy extraordinary of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias to the States-General. One of the couriers set off immediately for London to the Russian minister, who resides there. The Prince Gallitzin, having been in conference the next day with the president of the assembly of their high mightinesses relative to the said despatches, this minister sent back the next night after his arrival the same courier. From that time the report runs that the object of these despatches was to communicate to the republic the measures taken by Russia with some of the northern powers for insuring respectively the safety of the navigation and commerce of their subjects and to invite the States-General to enter into the same arrangements.

The other is from Constantinople, the 14th of February:

The privateers continue to vex the neutral ships in the seas of the grand seignior by visiting and stopping them wherever they find them, and even without any discretion, at the entry of the ports and under the guns of our fortresses. The French frigate the *Gracieuse*, which lay at anchor in the road of Cyprus, having learned that an English privateer had brought into the port of this island a French prize, sent to her some boats armed to retake her, which they could not accomplish, however, without having some men killed on both sides. The English consul, having carried his complaints to the government of the island of a violation of the laws of nations and demanded assistance, he was so well succored that the French were obliged to abandon the prize, and all of their nation who were in the island came very near being massacred by the Turks. As the Porte has also been informed that, on the other hand, the ship *Smyrna*, of Rotterdam, has run a risk of undergoing the same fate with the ship of Captain Kinder, of Amsterdam, and perhaps to suffer treatment still harder, and in sight of the city of Smyrna, she has not only resolved to send new orders to all the commandants to enjoin them very seriously to observe a neutrality the most exact by fulfilling their duty, but she has also testified her sensibility in regard to all these depredations to the ambassadors of the courts of France and England, by sending to them last Saturday a representation in writing, purporting that as the Porte had not failed to observe during the war between France and England an exact and perfect neutrality, to facilitate their commerce upon an equal footing and to afford to their ships all possible safety in her seas, it was natural that she should, and ought to, expect that the two powers would answer her conduct with a sincere friendship. That at the news of the first differences arisen between the two kingdoms there were conferences held with their ambassadors, in which it was agreed, upon an equal footing, that the rules of the sea should not be violated, and that they should be, on the contrary, exactly observed and respected. That, in consequence of this agreement, the Porte had not neglected anything to fulfill her engagments, by giving orders to all her commanders of fortresses and castles in the empire to protect the ships of war and merchantmen against every attack, and not to suffer that any hostilities should be commenced in the ports of the grand seignior and under the cannon and in sight of his fortresses.

But in spite of all these measures these powers had not taken care to observe them, which was the cause that no nation could now navigate freely and safely; that even

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 705.

to this time the Porte had not received the least answer on the subject of a regulation of neutrality, which had been formed upon the footing of that which had been established during former wars between Christian powers, and of which communication had been made to the said ambassadors, with a view to put a stop to the intolerable irregularities which had taken place in his seas, and to the end to prevent in consequence continual complaints and representations. That the Porte was informed foreign privateers held his ports blocked up, and forced the ships which entered into them or went out, without even excepting the Turkish vessels, to submit to their unjust visits and searches.

That such a conduct being contrary to the honor of the empire, the Porte ought to determine, as soon as possible, and communicate to the belligerent powers, a good regulation, to the end to procure by that means repose to his subjects whom Providence had confided to his care, and to this end it was necessary that the ambassadors of these two powers should be advertised to request their courts in the first place to send, as soon as possible, to the captains and officers of ships armed for war, or privateers, precise orders; and as some time must pass before they can receive such orders, the Porte hopes that the gentlemen the ambassadors will be so good, in the mean time, as to order the captains and officers to suspend their operations and abstain from all acts of hostility.

And as, in consequence of the ancient regulations, every time that any vessels of war or armed ships come into the seas of the grand seignior the foreign ministers were held to give notice to the Porte of the object of their expedition or voyage, of their destination, and of the time they were to stay, it could not but be regarded as unreasonable, and entirely contrary to the reciprocal friendship, if these formalities should not be observed; the Porte considering it as one of its principal duties to employ all possible means to procure the tranquillity of its merchants, to protect their possessions against all force and injustice, as also to grant its protection to the subjects of the belligerent powers, and those of other powers, who are equally good friends of this empire.

The Porte finishes by giving notice to the ambassadors that the capitan pacha was ordered to oppose himself in a friendly manner to the enterprises of those who should pursue the ancient proceedings, and to protect the merchants and the ships of all nations who carry on commerce in the countries of this empire whose sovereigns live in friendship with the Porte.

A third is a letter from Petersburgh, of March 7:

The rencounter which the Dutch convoy, on going out of the Texel the latter end of December, under the command of Admiral Byland, had with the English squadron under Commodore Fielding, as well as the violent and hostile manner in which they made prize of this convoy, have occasioned here the greatest astonishment; and it is very much desired to know the consequences of this measure, which is generally considered as very offensive to the republic of the United Provinces, and derogatory both to the treaties subsisting between the two nations, to the law of nations, and to the respect which ought to take place between two free and independent powers.

But that which is thought more extraordinary still is, that the court of London should have ordered a step so violent and insulting at a time when, having to maintain a war so dangerous as that against France, Spain, and the United States of America, her situation must appear not less anxious than dangerous, which this court itself seems to acknowledge, by representing, as she has done, that not finding her-

self in a condition to oppose the dangerous designs of the house of Bourbon (which, if you believe her, threaten the safety of all Europe), she believed herself consequently to have cause to demand succors here as well as from the republic of the United Provinces. However this may be, it is nevertheless notorious that the solicitations of England have produced no effect here, which has given no small satisfaction to those who consider in their proper point of light the designs and the conduct of this power since the commencement of this war against the liberty of commerce and the navigation of free and independent powers, by means of which people in general seem so much the more pleased with the present resolution taken by her majesty the Empress of all the Russias relative to the said solicitation, as well as with the system of neutrality which she has adopted; because, without this wise measure, there is no doubt but Great Britain would have pushed much further the irregularity of her proceedings.

The English who are here exert themselves as much as they can to justify, and even to praise, this proceeding of their nation towards the said convoy; but in vain have they attempted to induce the public to adopt this error, by advancing boldly that the court of Russia approves the violence which they have exercised in this rencounter. No man believes them, since, in fact, it is impossible that the empress can approve an action so diametrically opposite to the tenor of treaties, to the law of nations, as well as to the dignity of a sovereign and independent power, the injustice of which is so notorious, that, if it had been committed with similar circumstances upon the Russian flag, the princess herself would have been the first to have condemned it. Thus the reports which the English propagate here, of the approbation given to these proceedings, imply so much the more of a manifest contradiction to the sentiments and manner of thinking of the empress and her ministers, that it is well known that from the beginning of the present troubles the court of Russia has made representations and complaints against that of London for the violent and arbitrary manner of acting which this last has indulged herself in against the navigation and commerce of neutral powers, from whence it has resulted that other nations, in imitation of this proceeding, have embarrassed business more and more, until there exists no safety for any, which causes the greatest embarrassment to merchants and the freighters of ships.

I ought to add to this letter that the English emissaries, who propagate false news everywhere and about everything, having circulated a report that the Porte was discontented with the peace made with Russia, the grand seignior thought it necessary to order the interpreter of the court to declare to all foreign ministers that the sultan and all his ministers had every reason to be very well satisfied with the accommodation with the Empress of Russia, and that he was determined to maintain religiously all the articles contained in that treaty. All these things

tend to show that the state of Europe continues the same, and that England, instead of getting an ally, is likely to have a combination of all maritime powers to bring her to reason.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 8, 1780.

SIR: It will not be disagreeable to Congress to see a list of the naval losses of the English since the commencement of the war.

Taken by the American and French.

Vessel.	Guns.	Vessel.	Guns.
Active	32	Experiment	50
Fox (1st)	20	Montreal	32
Fox (2d)	20	Alert (cutter)	14
Lively	20	Ceres	18
Hellena (schooner)	16	Countess of Scarborough	42
Ardent	64	Liverpool	28
Thorn	16	Unicorn	20
Drake	20	Ariel	16
Minerva	32	Folstone (cutter)	6
Serapis	44	Holderness (destroyed)	4

Lost or cast away.

Somerset	64	Mermaid	28
Arethusa	32	Glasgow (burnt)	20
Speedwell	14	Vestal	20
Acteon	32	Mercury	20
Repulse	32	Quebec (blown up)	32
Viper	16	Grampus	
Success	24	Tortoise	
Pomona	18	Leviathan	

Burnt, sunk, or otherwise destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies.

Augusta	64	Cerberus	28
Lark	14	Syren	28
Juno	32	King Fisher	14
Flora	32	Falcon	18
Orpheus	32	Essex	64

Making a total number of forty-six vessels.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 712.

J. Adams to Carmichael.*

PARIS, *April* 8, 1780.

SIR: I have this moment the honor of your letter from Madrid of the 29th of February, as I suppose, although the month is not mentioned. I thank you, sir, for commencing a correspondence which I have for some time wished to begin. I wrote to Mr. Jay at Madrid on the 22d of February, and wish to know if he has received the letter. It is certainly proper that those who are intrusted abroad should maintain a correspondence and cultivate a good understanding with each other, because, although their departments are in some respects separate, yet in others they are intimately connected. From all that I heard in Spain I expected that you would meet with an agreeable reception at Madrid, and I am much pleased to learn from you that I was not mistaken.

I have sometimes wondered at the slowness of Spain in making a treaty with us; but, when I reflected upon a certain secret article, my surprise ceased. We are already bound in a treaty to her, but she is not bound to us. It would be ungenerous in her, however, to hold us long in this situation. The treaty, notwithstanding all that has been justly said of the advantages to us, is not less advantageous to our allies. The single article that binds us to exclude all armed vessels of the enemies in all future wars from our ports is worth more millions to them than this war will cost; nay, it will be a severer loss to Great Britain than all that she has spent in it. Whether Great Britain has considered this or not I do not know; but she will some time or other discover it, and feel the inconvenience of it.

You ask for news from America. A vessel from Baltimore is arrived at Bordeaux, but not a single letter to Dr. Franklin or me. She brings two or three Baltimore newspapers, one as late as the 15th of February. There has been a hard winter, deep snows, uncommon frosts, frozen over from Connecticut to Long Island and from New Jersey to Staten Island. Lord Sterling went over to Staten Island with a party on the ice, burnt a few vessels and a guard house, took a few prisoners, and brought off a few deserters. Some New Jersey people went over at the same time and plundered without mercy. Finding the communication open with New York, which had been supposed to be obstructed by the ice, he returned. An article from a Fishkill paper says that Clinton and Cornwallis sailed the 26th of December, with seven thousand men, for the West Indies, but that the storm which happened soon after their departure was supposed to have done him mischief. A ship, brig, and schooner were lost in the storm on Cape Cod, unknown who or whence; all perished. Congress had recommended to all the States to regulate prices at twenty for one, which, by the speculations in the papers, was not well liked. Governor Johnson is a delegate for Mary-

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 710; 7 John Adams' Works, 144.

land; General Ward for Massachusetts, in the room of Mr. Dana (who desires me to return you his compliments and respects); the other delegates as last year. This is all the news I can recollect, having seen the papers only a few minutes in a large company.

The general state of affairs appears very well. I see no probability of England obtaining an ally; on the contrary, there are many symptoms of an approaching combination of the maritime powers to protect neutral ships from searches and insults. Ireland is in full career of independence. England seems determined to force Holland into a war against her, that she may have an opportunity to plunder her.

The correspondences and associations in England distress the ministry very much; and if the war continues, and they should not be very successful, it seems likely that they would save us the trouble of dispatching them. I wish, however, that France and Spain were more convinced of the advantages they have in America and the West Indies. The more ships they send into those seas the more they will force England to send there; and the more she sends there, the weaker she is in Europe and the less she is dreaded and respected. Holland, Ireland, the opposition in England, and the other maritime powers all feel a confidence rising in proportion to the diminution of the British naval force in Europe besides the innumerable advantages the French and Spaniards have in supporting the war in the American seas over the English, which they have not in Europe. But I am apprehensive of being tedious. My compliments to Mr. Jay and his family.

I am, with much respect, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 10, 1780.

SIR: There are several miscellaneous articles of intelligence which ought to be mentioned to Congress.

One from Copenhagen, of the 25th of March:

The Count de Lucchese, minister of the King of the Two Sicilies, and charged at the same time with the affairs of the court of Madrid, has received orders to declare to ours that the King of Spain had it in contemplation to make arrangements relative to merchant ships of neutral powers, and with which we should have cause to be very well pleased. However this may be, we have not any news that the Danish ships detained, to the number of twenty, at Cadiz and Malaga have been as yet released, which is a great damage to those who are interested in those vessels.

There is arrived in this city a courier, coming from St. Petersburgh, who has also passed through Stockholm, who, after having delivered his dispatches to the envoy extraordinary of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias at this court, immediately continued his journey for Hamburg.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 713.

Another is from Madrid, the 13th of March:

It is said that our court will soon publish a new regulation relative to the Dutch navigation. In the mean time they have released two ships of this nation, viz, the *Griffin* and the *Zandam*, which were detained at Algeziras.

The register ships destined for the Havana and Vera Cruz, which are ready at Cadiz, are to sail immediately; these ships will be convoyed by twelve ships of the line and two frigates as far as the Canary Islands. It is assured that there will be embarked on board of this fleet twelve thousand men, who are to be transported to America, under the command of Don Victa de Nava, lieutenant-general. The last letters from the Havana import that there were in that port fourteen ships of the line, as well as four thousand men, ready to embark for an expedition, the object of which is yet unknown. Two of our cruisers have entered Barcelona with five very rich prizes, among which one had on board 18,000 guineas, destined for Mahon.

Another from Paris:

Letters from Malta of the 11th of February inform that the king's frigate the *Syracuse*, commanded by M. Clavel, off Candia, has taken the English cutter *The Buck*, of twenty-four guns, twelve swivels, and two hundred and three men, commanded by Captain George Flagg, and that the bad condition to which the engagement had reduced her had induced him to sink her.

Another from Frankfort, of the 1st of April:

They write from Hesse that they continue to raise many recruits, and that there were at Ziagenham six hundred and eighty volunteers, who were to set off in a little time with one thousand one hundred and twenty men for America.

Another from Amsterdam, of the 6th of March:

We learn from Dort that they expected there the English vessels destined to transport the German troops for the service of England, which were still at Nimeguen; and they write from The Hague that General Faucet had arrived there a few days since.

Another from London, of the 31st of March:

The despatches which the court has last received from Sir Joseph Yorke excite the particular attention of the ministry. Although the contents of them have not yet been made public, it is said, nevertheless, that in consequence of the memorial presented on the 21st to the States-General by the British minister, their high mightinesses have taken the *pre-avis* relative to the succors demanded by Great Britain, which, although conceived in very moderate terms, contains, nevertheless, a refusal to furnish the succors demanded; the republic, as it is pretended, founding its inability to comply with this demand principally upon the non-existence of the case of invasion of the British states, as a case which alone could lay them under obligation to accede to the requisition of the King of England, the Count de Welderen, envoy extraordinary of the States-General, has been on the 29th in conference with Lord Stormont, and communicated to him the *pre-avis* of their high mightinesses relative to the requisition of his Britannic majesty, upon the subject of which the States-General will soon take a formal resolution. It is reported also that his excellency has likewise imparted to our ministry the sentence of a court-martial, which has adjudged that Captain Byland was not the aggressor in the affair of the seizure of the Dutch ships by Commodore Fielding. However, it is asserted that the court of St. James has declared afresh "that if the States-General refuse to furnish to England the succors demanded in virtue of treaties, she will give orders to search, without distinction, all Dutch ships under convoy and without convoy, and that all the merchandises and effects destined for the French and Spaniards which shall be found loaded on board these vessels shall be seized and confiscated; adding, that it is nei-

ther just nor reasonable that the republic should be excused on her part from the observation of the treaties, while England should be held on hers to fulfill the conditions, and that thus, in consequence of her former declaration, the republic should be no more considered but on the footing of other neutral powers."

They say, moreover, that the reasons alleged by their high mightinesses in justification of their refusal to acquiesce in the demand of England are of a nature to convince our ministry that such an acquiescence would produce consequences equally hurtful to the respective interests of the two powers in the present conjuncture.

We are assured that each man of the crews of the squadron of Commodore Fielding will receive more than £9 sterling for his share of the proceeds of the captures made of the Dutch convoy, and that there will be £200 sterling paid to the king's ships at Spithead for their part of the prizes which they have made.

The court has received within a few days a great number of despatches from its ministers at foreign courts, the contents of which have given occasion to several cabinet councils. Those of Sir Joseph Yorke have excited a particular attention.

The officers of all the vessels of war destined for sea have received orders to repair on board as soon as possible and be ready to sail on the first notice. The officers of the regiments of regular troops and of the militia must also join their respective corps without delay, that they may be ready to march by the middle of April. The forces will encamp nearly in the same place as last year, and there will be some detached corps ready to join the different camps according to circumstances.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 10, 1780.

SIR: The *memoire* of the Prince Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary from the Empress of all the Russias, to the States-General, presented the 3d of this month, is of too much importance to the United States of America and their allies to be omitted to be sent to Congress. It is of the following tenor:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The undersigned, envoy extraordinary of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, has the honor to communicate a copy of the declaration which the empress, his sovereign, has made to the powers actually at war. Your high mightinessess may regard this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the empress to the republic, equally interested in the reasons which have given birth to this declaration.

He has, moreover, orders to declare, in the name of her imperial majesty, that how much soever she may desire, on the one hand, to maintain during the present war the strictest neutrality, she will, nevertheless, maintain, by means the most efficacious, the honor of the Russian flag, and the safety of her commerce, and the navigation of her subjects, and will not suffer that any injury should be done to it by any of the belligerent powers. That to avoid, on this occasion, all misunderstanding or false interpretation, she has thought it her duty to specify in her declaration the terms of a free commerce and of that which is called contraband; that if the definition is founded upon notions the most simple, the most clear, and the most determinate by the laws of nature, that of the latter is taken by her literally from the treaty of commerce of Russia with Great Britain; that by this she proves incon-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 716.

testably her good faith and her impartiality towards both parties; that she thinks, consequently, that she ought to expect that the other commercial powers will be earnest to accede to her manner of thinking relative to the neutrality.

In pursuance of these two views, her majesty has charged the subscriber to invite your high mightinesses to make a common cause with her; insomuch that this union may serve to protect commerce and navigation, observing at the same time the most exact neutrality and to communicate to you the measures which she has taken in consequence. Similar invitations have been already made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, to the end that, by the common cares of all neutral maritime powers, a neutral system, founded on justice, and which, by its real utility, may serve as a rule for future ages, may be established and made legal in favor of the commercial navigation of neutral nations. The subscriber makes no doubt that your high mightinesses will take into consideration the invitation of her imperal majesty, and concur in making, without delay, a declaration to the belligerent powers founded upon the same principles with those of the empress, his sovereign, by explaining your sentiments at the same time upon the subject of the protection of your commerce, of your navigation, and of the nature of contraband goods, conformably to the terms of your particular treaties with other nations. Moreover, the subscriber has the honor to assure your high mightinesses that if, for establishing solidly a system equally glorious and advantageous to the prosperity of navigation in general, you will commence a negotiation with the neutral powers above mentioned, to the end to establish a particular convention upon this subject, the empress, his sovereign, will be ready to engage in it.

Your high mightinesses will readily perceive the necessity of coming to a resolution upon subjects equally important and advantageous to humanity in general.

The subscriber requests the favor that your high mightinesses would furnish him with a speedy answer.

GALLITZIN.

Declaration of her majesty the Empress of Russia, made to the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and London, mentioned in the foregoing memorial.

The Empress of all the Russias has manifested so visibly the sentiments of justice, equity, and moderation which animate her, and has given, during the whole course of the war maintained against the Ottoman Porte, such convincing proofs of her attention to the rights of neutrality and the freedom of commerce in general, that in this respect she may appeal to the testimony of all Europe. This conduct, as as well as the scrupulous exactness with which she has observed the rules of neutrality during the course of this war, has given her room to hope that her subjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their industry and the advantages which belong to all neutral nations. Experience has, however, taught her the contrary, since neither these considerations nor the regard due to what the law of nations in general prescribes have been able to hinder the subjects of her majesty from being oftentimes troubled in their navigation or interrupted or retarded in their commerce by the subjects of the belligerent powers. These interruptions having come upon business in general, and that of Russia in particular, are of a nature to awaken the attention of all the neutral nations, and oblige her majesty the empress to seek to deliver herself from them by all means suitable to her dignity and the well-being of her subjects.

But before she shall put them in execution, being filled with a sincere desire to prevent all subsequent acts of violence, she has thought that it was consistent with her equity to lay open to all Europe the principles which will govern her, and which are indispensable to prevent all misunderstanding, as well as all which might give occasion to it. To this she has determined herself with so much the more confidence, as these principles are drawn from the primitive law of nations and adopted by all

nations, which the belligerent powers themselves can not enervate--at least not without violating the laws of neutrality and contemning the fundamental rules which they themselves have adopted in divers treaties and alliances now existing:

ARTICLE I. That all neutral vessels ought to navigate freely from one port to another, as well as upon the coasts of the powers now at war.

ART. II. That the effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers shall be free in neutral ships, excepting always contraband goods.

ART. III. That her imperial majesty, in consequence of the limits above fixed, will adhere strictly to that which is stipulated by the tenth and eleventh articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, concerning the manner in which she ought to conduct towards all the belligerent powers.

ART. IV. That as to what concerns a port blocked up, we ought not, in truth, to consider as such any but those which are found so well shut up by a fixed and sufficient number of vessels belonging to the power which attacks it that one can not attempt to enter into such port without evident danger.

ART. V. That these principles above laid down ought to serve as a rule in all proceedings, whenever there is a question concerning the legality of prizes.

From these considerations her Imperial majesty makes no difficulty to declare that, wishing to insure the execution of that which is herein before declared, to maintain at the same time the honor of her flag, as well as the safety of the commerce of her states, and also to protect the navigation of her subjects against all those whom it may concern, she has given orders that a considerable portion of her maritime forces shall be put to sea, with no other intention than to insure the observation of the most exact and the most strict neutrality, which her majesty proposes to keep as long as she shall not see herself absolutely forced to depart from that system of moderation and of perfect neutrality which she has adopted, in such sort that it will not be but in the last extremity that her fleet will exercise her final orders to go wherever the necessity and the circumstances may require.

It is, then, by assuring the belligerent powers in the most solemn manner, and with all that rectitude and sincerity which form the distinguishing character of her Imperial majesty, that she declares to them that she proposes to herself no other thing than to convince them of the sentiments of equity with which she is animated, as well as of the tendency of her salutary views towards the well-being of all nations in general, and particularly of those now at war, and that consequently her Imperial majesty will provide her admiralty as well as her generals with instructions relative to this system, extracted from the code of nations, and which they have so often taken for rules in their treaties.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Hodgson.*

PASSY, *April* 11, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your favors of the 10th and 28th of March. The method you propose of managing the money for the prisoners is perfectly agreeable to me. You desired in your last that I would explain how it happened that no prisoners went back in the last cartel. I did not till this day well understand it myself, or I should have answered sooner. When our little squadron brought near five hundred English prisoners into the Texel I would have exchanged them there for Americans, but

* MSS. Dep. of State.

I was told that would not be agreed to in England, as there was a chance of retaking them in their passage to France. But a cartel being treated of, as I understand, by the ambassadors of England and France at The Hague, the French ambassador applied to Commodore Jones for those prisoners to be exchanged there, who would not deliver them up without my orders and a promise of exchanging them for Americans. The ambassador thereupon wrote to me requesting such orders, which I sent accordingly, expressing my reliance that an equal number (four hundred and seventy-two) of other English would be delivered to me at Morlaix, to be exchanged there for Americans. After this, at the instance of M. de Sartine, I gave orders to our agent at L'Orient to deliver a number of other prisoners we had there to the captain of the *Happy Cartel*, in exchange for so many Frenchmen, with the same reliance as above mentioned. As soon as I received your information that the *Cartel* was sailed from Plymouth with one hundred Americans, I applied for one hundred English to be rendered at Morlaix for the exchange, and was told that orders should that day be given to march them thither from Samnur for that purpose. I imagined it had been done and the exchange made till I heard the contrary from you. To-day I learn that they were not arrived while the *Cartel* was there, and I have now desired of M. de Sartine that two hundred may be immediately sent over, one to pay for the one hundred Americans received and the other to exchange a fresh parcel. His verbal answer is that the request is just and shall be complied with, and he will write a letter to me to-morrow, which I may send over to be shown to the board of sick and hurt, that will explain the matter and clear me from any charge of bad faith. He added that he would also take the first opportunity of sending the remainder to equal the number delivered in Holland in order to exchange for Americans, having no scruple of doing this by advance, the board having shown the greatest honor and exactitude in all their proceedings. I am sure it has been my intention to do the same, and I shall always act accordingly, though I am not insensible of the injustice towards us in the instance of the Boston cartels formerly mentioned. I shall write to Mr. Hartley (from whom I have just received copies of the French certificates, etc.) per next post after I receive the letter from M. de Sartine. In the mean time I wish you would be so good as to communicate to him the contents of this, with my respects.

I should be glad to hear some more particulars about Mr. W. and the reasons of discarding him. I hope the rest of that worthy society are well and happy.

With great esteem, I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 11, 1780.

SIR: The counties in England which have agreed to petitions upon the expenditure of public money, the influence of the crown, and the corruption of Parliament, are these:

York, December 3, 1779.
Dorset, December 27, 1779.
Middlesex, January 7, 1780.
Chester, January 13, 1780.
Hertford, January 17, 1780.
Sussex, January 20, 1780.
Huntington, January 20, 1780.
Surrey, January 21, 1780.
Cumberland, January 22, 1780.
Bedford, January 24, 1780.
Essex, January 24, 1780.
Gloucester, January 25, 1780.
Somerset, January 25, 1780.
Wilts, January 25, 1780.
Devon, January 28, 1780.
Norfolk, January 29, 1780.
Berks, January 31, 1780.
Bucks, February 26, 1780.
Nottingham, February 28, 1780.
Kent, March 4, 1780.
Northumberland, March 8, 1780.
Hereford, March 11, 1780.
Suffolk, March 14, 1780.
Cambridge, March 25, 1780.
Derby, March 30, 1780.

In all, twenty-five counties.

The first meeting of the delegates was March 11, 1780. The cities and towns which have agreed upon similar petitions are London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcastle, Reading, and Bridgewater.

The counties which have not yet agreed upon petitions are Westmoreland, Durham, Lancaster, Salop, Stafford, Lincoln, Leicester, Warwick, Oxford, Worcester, Cornwall, and Rutland. Hants agreed on a petition, but appointed no committee, and Northampton agreed to instruct their members on the points of the petition.

This account takes no notice of the twelve Welsh counties; these, however, are small.

The counties which have already petitioned, it seems, therefore, are a vast majority of the kingdom in numbers as well as property and understanding; and the meeting of their committees may be reasonably considered as a more equitable and adequate representation of the people of England than the House of Commons.

Amidst all the addresses, instructions, petitions, associations, and resolutions, I never found one that dared to expose the true cause of their miseries, and to propose a remedy, until the association of the county of York appeared, which was agreed to by the committee of sixty-one to be recommended to the general meeting of the county of York, held the 28th of March, 1780.

They declare their unanimous assent—

(1) To the economical reform requested by the petitions of the people.

(2) To the proposition for obtaining a more equal representation of the people in Parliament by the addition of at least one hundred

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 719.

knights, to be chosen in a due proportion by the several counties of Great Britain.

(3) To the proposition for the members of the House of Commons to be elected to serve in Parliament for a term not exceeding three years.

But the most important resolution of all was also unanimous—

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby to increase, the enmity which has so long and so fatally subsisted between the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever, but by preventing conciliation threatens the accomplishment of the ruin of the British empire.

This meeting, which is said to have been the largest ever known and perfectly unanimous, gave power to the committee of association to call the county together when they should judge proper.

After all, even this committee does not appear to see the true interest of the country—the necessity of peace. Peace alone can save them. They are for leaving America, which is a great thing, but it does not appear but that they are still for continuing the war with our allies.

An article of the 4th of April says that commotions are reported to have arisen in the county of York, many of the inhabitants of which have peremptorily refused to pay the taxes.

Congress will observe by the paragraphs in the Morning Post of April the 1st that they seem to be in England totally ignorant of the designs of the Empress of Russia and of the other neutral powers.

The paper of April the 3d contains Major-General Campbell's and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson's account of the surrender of the port of Baton Rouge, etc., with about five hundred regular troops, prisoners of war, to Don Bernado de Galvez, the 21st of September.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *April* 13, 1780.

SIR: Since the memorial presented to their high mightinesses by the plenipotentiary of Russia (of which, as well as the declaration† of his court to those of Versailles, Madrid, and London, I join here copies in the Leyden Gazette), the provincial states of Holland are deliberating on the invitation of the empress, and I am sure (knowing it from a very good hand) the resolution of this province will be taken within the next

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 301, which is a liberal paraphrase of the original.

† See this declaration and the memorial, *supra*, John Adams to the President of Congress, April 10, 1780.

week agreeably to the views of the empress and to the general wishes of all good men. Now, as the resolutions of this province are commonly adopted by the others, there is very good hope that this republic will take a step which must accelerate a general pacification.

This intelligence is thought, not only by myself but by many others, very important to the United States. The most devoted partisans of the English court here, seeing that they can not, without rendering themselves too odious, prevent such a resolution from being taken, do what they can to enervate it by obscure and ambiguous expressions, which they propose to be inserted; but our good men take care to sweep the dust which the others throw in their way.

As to the other two objects which at present take up this republic, viz, the unlimited convoys and the assistance which the English court demands from this republic, the province of Holland has already, several weeks ago, unanimously resolved the former, and declined granting the succors as being not within the *casus fœderis* by this war. To this resolution the provinces of Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen have successively acceded, and it is expected the three others will do the same.

I advised the committee of foreign affairs by my letter of June 21, 1779, to think of sending here, *aliquem e medio vestrum pietate gravem ac meritis virum;* it is now time for such a man to be here, at first incognito, till it should be proper to display the character of plenipotentiary. Some American friends here have told me that Mr. Laurens, formerly President of Congress, was designed to come over for this purpose. I should be very glad to have him already arrived. Whenever he comes he may dispose of my faithful services.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 14, 1780.

SIR: Everything which tends to show the probability of a general association of the maritime powers against the violences at sea which the English have practised, and which other nations after their example have begun, and which tends to prove the justice, the wisdom, and the humanity of such an association, is worthy of observation. For my own part, I think that the abolition of the whole doctrine of contraband would be for the peace and happiness of mankind; and I doubt not, as human reason advances, and men come to be more sensible of the benefits of peace, and less enthusiastic for the savage glories of war, all neutral nations will be allowed, by universal consent, to carry what

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 722.

goods they please in their own ships, provided they are not bound to places actually invested by an enemy.

Constantinople, March 3.—The Porte having received the disagreeable news that three xebecs from Malta had seized upon a large Turkish ship with a rich cargo of coffee, rice, hemp, and other productions, this advice has accelerated the departure of two men-of-war and four galleys, which will go before the fleet of the grand admiral, to cruise in the archipelago, and protect the navigation of the European nations against the vexations of the French and English.

Copenhagen, March 28.—Captain Zagel, the courier of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, is returned to St. Petersburgh, accompanied by Captain Socolousky, secretary of the Russian consul in the sound. They are very busy here in equipping the vessels of war the *Wagrie*, of sixty-four guns; the *Infodstretten*, of sixty-four; and the frigate *Combord*, of thirty-four.

London, April 4.—There are lately arrived here interesting despatches to government from Sir Joseph Yorke, which contain some further explanations of the dispositions of the republic, in consequence of the last memorial presented to their high mightinesses by that minister and the resolution to protect the commerce of their subjects. However this may be, there are actually in the ports of this kingdom fifty Dutch vessels seized by our ships of war, because they were found loaded with naval stores for our enemies, and already the most of their cargoes have been adjudged good prizes, these articles being considered as contraband, and their transportation to an enemy contrary to treaties subsisting between the republic and England.

Hague, April 9.—We learn that the states of the province of Overyssell have sent to the assembly of their high mightinesses their instructions relative to the two memorials presented by Sir Joseph Yorke the 28th of July and the 26th of November of the last year, the first purporting a demand of succors stipulated by the treaty of 1678, and the second demanding an immediate and categorical answer. The contents of the instructions are, "That their noble mightinesses, after having maturely reflected upon all which concerns the matter in question, especially upon the treaties existing between the kingdom and the republics, as well as the obligations which the two nations had mutually laid themselves under, and also in particular upon the present situation in which this republic now stands in several points respecting her own preservation, the maintenance of her rights and possessions and respecting the powers actually at war, judge that the two memorials presented by Sir Joseph Yorke may and ought to be answered in the following manner: 'That all the principles alleged and the circumstances at this time existing oblige their high mightinesses more than ever to watch carefully their own preservation and defense, to use every effort to ward off all further dangerous consequences, and to this end to request his majesty not to take it in ill part if, in the critical situation of affairs, in which the least diminution of their forces might be dangerous, their high mightinesses think themselves lawfully authorized to refuse the succors demanded by his majesty, although these succors, considering certain engagements, the pretended application of which it would be useless at this time to search into, may be judged indispensable by his majesty, in the firm confidence that in the circumstances in which their high mightinesses find themselves, his majesty not disapproving of their conduct, will desist, not only from demanding their assistance, but on the contrary, as a proof of the affection of which his majesty had so often given them assurances, will permit them invariably to pursue that neutrality which from the beginning of the present troubles they have adopted.'"

It is asserted that, on the memorial presented by the Prince Gallitzen, envoy extraordinary of the Empress of Russia, their high mightinesses have provisionally concluded, "That, having taken the said memorial into consideration, the deputies of the respective provinces have sent copies of it, as well as of the papers annexed to

it, to be communicated to their assemblies, praying them to procure, as soon as possible, the resolutions of the states their constituents."

In the mean time, since the said memorial has been made public, it is given out that the convention between the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, will in a little time be confirmed, and that Denmark will procure, on certain conditions, five or six thousand seamen for this republic.

We learn that the answer of his Britannic majesty to the representations which the Count de Walderen, minister of the States-General at the court of London, has been charged by their high mightinesses to make to the British Government relative to a prolongation of the term of three weeks, prescribed in the last memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke, for giving him a definitive answer, etc., arrived the 31st of last month, and is found to be in the negative, the king insisting on an answer by the time fixed, which will expire next Tuesday.

They give out that the cities of Dantzic, Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, etc., will adopt, as well as most of the northern powers, the party of neutrality, and that, if England persists in the practice of visiting, stopping and searching neutral vessels, Denmark is resolved to exclude English vessels from the sound.

To judge of things the most impartially, no man can doubt that proceedings so violent, and so contrary to the natural rights of nations, will make the neutral powers *feel* how much it imports them to set bounds to the intolerable excesses to which their vessels, sailing under the faith of treaties, are daily exposed by the ships of one party in the present war.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Digges to J. Adams.*

[Extract.]

LONDON, *April* 14, 1780.

Every day seems to produce more advocates or wishes for withdrawing the troops from America, or giving up an offensive war in that country. A motion was to have been made this day in the Commons relative to the state of war in that country, and to push the ministry for the giving up the principles of that war, and to go seriously to some accommodation. The voice of the majority of the people is decidedly for some such accommodation; but there is no one who can devise the means by which it can be done. Though most of my parliamentary acquaintance are for giving the independence, none of them seem bold enough to stand forth and move it in the House. The time is certainly not yet arrived when it would go down there, but I do not think it very distant; and I am sure had the topic been debated to-day there would have appeared a manifest disposition in the House to abandon the principles of the war in America, and it seems as if the ministry wished to feel the pulse of the House on the subject. A new and unexpected matter put off the whole affair. The Speaker, without appearing to be very *ill*, stood up and declared a wish to resign, from not being able through

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 146.

illness to go on with the business of the House. It appeared as much a political as a real illness, and I dare say some new movements, perhaps in the administration, may be the consequence. He has not, however, resigned, and the House is adjourned for the benefit of his health till next Monday week. Perhaps it may then be too late to renew the intended motion about America or the state of the war there. The possession of Charleston, if but for a week, or the taking of two or three men-of-war from their enemies, may make these wise heads think their arms invincible, and that they may have some better success by prosecuting the war a little further.

I wish you every success and happiness, and am, with very great regard, your obedient servant,

W. S. C.*

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *April* 15, 1780.

SIR: There is an article from Hamburg which deserves attention. It is this.

The neutrality of the powers of the north is decided. They have profited of the divisions which have arisen between England and North America, by selling to the former timber, cordage, hemp, and tar, which she formerly drew from her Colonies. The occasions which the enemies of Great Britain have also had for these articles have established a competition which has procured great advantages to the commerce of the north. They have everywhere taken measures to protect it.

In vain has England sought assistance from that quarter; her conduct has irrevocably deprived her of it.

Leghorn, March 22.—We learn from Naples that the king has purchased of the Order of Malta two vessels to increase the marine of that kingdom. His majesty is attentively engaged in the care of forming officers for this department. The young gentry whom he has sent to serve on board of the squadrons of the belligerent powers have all of them distinguished themselves; and those who remain at Naples, under the direction of the Chevalier Aston, have discovered equal zeal, intelligence, and good-will for the service of the marine.

Madrid, March 25.—Our squadrons, they write from Cadiz the 16th of this month, will put to sea without delay. Transport ships are taken up on freight with great activity, and all the troops are arrived. The following is an exact state of the armament.

The complete regiments of the king Guadalajara, Arragon, Soria, and the second regiment of Catalonia; in all ten battalions, making six thousand six hundred men.

The squadron of D. Solano: the *St. Louis*, of eighty guns; the *St. Augustine*, the *Orient*, the *Gaillard*, the *Arrogant*, all of seventy guns, and the *Rule*, of sixty guns.

The squadron of D. Tomaseo: the *St. Nicholas*, of eighty guns; the *Eugene*, the *Damase*, the *St. Janizer*, the *St. Francis*, the *Assissee*, and the *Warrior*, all of seventy guns.

The first squadron takes in provisions for five months and the second for four and

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* This was one of the signatures assumed by Digges, as to whom see notice in Introduction, § 206.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 725.

one-half months. They fill up the regiments which are destined for the expedition with soldiers from the regiment of Hibernia.

The beautiful wools of Segovia have not been always employed within the kingdom, because the love of labor has not been predominant; but since the establishment of the royal patriotic society industry has recovered its activity. D. Laurent Ortiz de Paz has established spinneries of wool in that city and in St. Ildephonso and other places. His majesty has assigned rewards for men and women who shall distinguish themselves in this kind of labor. This measure can not fail to establish the royal manufacture of fine cloth which the Marquis of Enseñada had already erected at Segovia, and which had fallen into decay, with the favor of that minister.

There are in some of the papers hints of a plan of pacification, which is said to come from the Rockingham party. The substance of it is as follows:

Let us then open our eyes! The hope of subjecting America is a chimera. Nothing but clemency can ever open a way for a reconciliation with its inhabitants. To show that we wish it sincerely, let us give up Nova Scotia, that dry, uninhabitable, and languishing colony, which produces nothing. Let us also permit the Canadians to institute a form of government which may be agreeable to themselves, and let the independence of North America become the object of our support. Sooner or later it will be unavoidable that America should separate herself from us; and I should be very glad that a permanent system of alliance should take place between them and their mother country before our ancient colonies shall be united to France by ties too strict to be relaxed. I am persuaded that neither Nova Scotia nor Canada will remain long under the government of England; and it is to be feared that in contending for them we shall still further embroil affairs. Nova Scotia is not worth the trouble of keeping it, and it will require continual succors. Canada will occasion us more expense than it will bring us in profit, and will never become flourishing under a European government; at least unless the whole country should be recovered. We deceive ourselves if we imagine that, by emancipating the Americans, we shall lose our American islands. We hold these by the strongest of all ties, which is that of their own interest. North America will not seek to make conquests so long as it shall be divided into distinct States and under a republican form of government; and it is probable that several centuries will pass away before she will change the form of her administrations. Commerce will return into England and into our islands without any other motive than that which actuates all the commercial nations of the earth. If we were now disembarrassed of the objects of dispute, concerning which Spain discovers so many pretensions, and if we could content ourselves with a superiority at sea, all that would result from it would be that our trade to the Levant would increase, we should become more respectable, and we should see ourselves more in a condition to maintain our quarrels and protect our rich possessions without hazarding a bankruptcy by expenses which we can not sustain. Our maritime power will always be sufficient to protect our islands. Our naval forces will never want anything so long as we shall have divers markets where our vessels may go. The northern powers of Europe and the northern States of America will be competitors to serve us so long as we preserve the superiority upon the sea, and while, by means of our manufactures, we can pay for them, or make an advantageous exchange with the one and the other. We have as good a right to things which we can purchase in divers foreign markets as if the things were the productions of our own establishments.

Are France and Spain in want of warlike stores? Are they not as well supplied with them as we are? And do they not make Sweden rather incline to their side by means of their commerce with that country for these articles? Is it probable that they can ever shut up from us the ports of America, of Russia, of Denmark, and of

Sweden, while it is the interest of these States to furnish us? It is necessary, then, to resolve to demand peace by the means which offer themselves, and which are not only able to obtain it, but may still be preserved, and in which there is no appearance that we shall be disturbed, if at least at all times we preserve our marine upon a respectable footing; and if we do not, we ever subject ourselves to be restrained upon the article of the number of ships and in the places where we shall employ them. In that case we shall not perceive that Gibraltar or Minorca is wanting to us. We shall always be ready to meet our enemies in those parts where our safety, security, and riches lie, and which nature points out to us as our proper element. Surrounded on all sides by the sea, there is one-half of the nation whose inhabitants understand navigation from their infancy, and they are disposed to become seamen because they are almost educated with the sea. But whenever we shall engage ourselves in the wars of the continent, we shall never draw from them any solid advantages. Where are the trophies, so dearly purchased, of King William and Marlborough? And where is the benefit of the two last wars? The balance of power will not remain long in our hands, although we have engaged the annual produce of an innumerable quantity of taxes.

In America we have destroyed the balance which held our Colonies in dependence. We ought not, then, to lose the opportunity of binding the interests of the United States with ours by some amicable convention which will assure us their attachment, and deliver us from the cruel necessity of continuing the war with our own children. It is by this means we may preserve for a long time our insular property and enjoy still a superiority at sea.

Paris, April 11, 1780.—The ambassador of Russia has notified, within a few days past, to our court that it was the intention of his sovereign that the commerce of the subjects of her empire should not be troubled, and that under no pretense should their vessels be stopped by those of the belligerent powers, and that she is arming to defend her flag and protect it from insults. This declaration was to be made at the same time to the courts of Madrid and London. It is asserted that it is the first fruit of a treaty of commerce which Russia has concluded with us, and of a confederation which she has entered into with the other northern powers, and in which they wish to engage Holland and Portugal. We are very inquisitive to learn how this notification will be received by the court of St. James.

The English ministerial gazettes propagate a report that there was arrived in Europe a deputy of Congress to offer peace to Great Britain. Those of the opposition assert that this deputy, who is in fact arrived, will do nothing but in concert with France, when it shall please England to propose a negotiation of peace.

The following article is published in the English papers to excite the people against the opposition:

If the Marquis of Rockingham should again come into the administration, his first operation would most probably be to declare America independent. This would, nevertheless, be a fatal resolution, which, instead of giving us peace, would throw that event still further off. A proof so striking of our pusillanimity would raise still higher the hopes and the pride of the house of Bourbon. France would demand that we should restore to them Canada, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, as well as the islands which were taken from her the last war. Nothing less would be necessary for Spain than the restitution of Gibraltar and Jamaica. But it can not but be supposed that the Marquis of Rockingham is too much attached to his head to expose it to danger by so shameful a dismemberment of our empire. He would then make us continue the war with the disadvantage of not being able any longer to rein in the Americans, who would assist everywhere their allies by land and by sea. But every English-

man of good sense sees to what disasters this plan of conduct would lead us. The ambition of this marquis and of his party is not to triumph over rebels and the natural enemies of England; it is to humble his king and ruin his country.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Sartine.*

PARIS, *April* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have received the two letters which your excellency did me the honor to write to me on the 5th and on the 12th of this month.

I do not mean to give your excellency the trouble of answering these letters of mine, which contain extracts of letters from abroad or simply news. This would be giving your excellency too much trouble and taking up too much time. Indeed, I think it will very probably be often, if not always, unnecessary, because your excellency's information must be, beyond all comparison, earlier, more exact, and more particular than mine; yet, as it is possible that sometimes a circumstance of importance may escape one channel of intelligence and yet pass in another, I thought it to be my duty sometimes to send your excellency an extract. In this view I now have the honor to send your excellency another extract from a letter of the 6th of this month; but I pray your excellency not to take the trouble to answer it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *April* 17, 1780.

SIR: Late letters from Dantzic imply that commerce was become very languishing there for some time, excepting for ship timber, which bore a very good price there on account of the English, and which they carried away as well in their own vessels as those of Dantzic.

The new face which the affairs of Europe are about to take from the alliance formed between the powers of the north for the maintenance of an exact neutrality, and to which people here are fully persuaded that the republic of the United Provinces will agree, gives occasion to conjectures either that the war will be pushed this year with more vivacity than ever, both by land and sea, or that peace may be made without delay. They say even that there may have been already negotiations commenced on this subject; that it is by the intervention of the King of Sardinia, who would manage the accommodation between the belligerent powers, and that his present ambassador in France is so

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 729.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 3, with verbal changes.

much the better able to labor usefully towards this great work, that having resided in England in the same quality he has the advantage to know perfectly the ministers and their system. However this may be, if there are sometimes occasions in which one may judge of future events by an examination of the present and reflection upon the past, might one be taxed with partiality or temerity if one ventured to lay it down as a fact that, from the beginning of the contest in which Great Britain is at present engaged, her situation has never appeared so critical and so dangerous? In fact, as if it was not enough that she had quarreled with her Colonies; as if it was not enough that she is at war with two powers so formidable as France and Spain in consequence of the quarrel with the Colonies; as if her intestine troubles were not enough, which, by dividing the nation, contribute not a little to weaken it; and at the end of the perspective to see Ireland at the first moment make as much of it as the Americans in declaring herself also independent. In spite of so many alarming considerations England still seems to seek new enemies by attacking without distinction the vessels of all the neutral nations and even of her allies. Thus she has forced them by this proceeding, not less arbitrary than inconceivable, especially in her present circumstances, to make a league with each other for the maintenance of the safety of the navigation of their respective subjects, as well as of the honor of their flags, for which they plainly acknowledge at this day that they never could have hoped for any safety if the English, who, embarrassed as they are, treat them nevertheless with so little ceremony, could ever recover that superiority whereof we can not deny that they found means to put themselves in possession at the end of the last war.

But such is the fate of all human things; to have a commencement, to acquire successfully an augmentation, which ought to be expected up to certain bounds, and beyond which they must necessarily begin to decrease until they descend again to the same point from whence they began; and no human efforts can disturb this constant and immutable order. After this declaration let us judge whether, in fact, this is not the case of England, and we may after this predict very nearly the issue of the present events or of those which may take place in the course of the year.

By the English papers Congress will see the state of parties in England, where the stubble is so dry that the smallest spark thrown into it may set the whole field in a blaze. Opposition have carried triumphantly in the fullest House of Commons ever known, by a majority of eighteen votes against the utmost efforts of the ministry, the resolution that it is necessary to declare that the influence of the crown has increased, increases, and ought to be diminished; that it is in the power of the House to take cognizance of and to reform the abuses which may exist in the employment of the civil-list revenues as well as all other public revenues, and that it is the duty of the House to grant effectual redress

to the grievances exposed in the petitions presented to the House by the different cities, counties, and towns of the kingdom. By the speech of Mr. Fox it will be seen to what soaring heights this young statesman aspires.

Since my arrival the last time in Europe I have had six and forty times, I think, the honor of writing to Congress; but it seems impossible to get a letter across the Atlantic. Many of my letters have been waiting long at the seaports for a passage, but when they will obtain it I know not; if they all arrive, and Congress should be able to see at one view the vast chain that is binding almost all mankind every day closer and faster together in opposition to the dangerous power and the intolerable oppressions of the English, they will see how many of the wisest hands in the world are at work for their safety and glory, and have the utmost cause of gratitude to Heaven for ordering events in the course of His providence so decidedly in their favor.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 18, 1780.

SIR: It is my duty to transmit to Congress, as soon as prudence will admit, everything which deserves consideration, as having either a direct or an indirect tendency to peace, or even to negotiations for that important object. The enclosed letter has been transmitted to Paris through such a channel that I have reason to believe that it was particularly intended for my inspection. It is from a gentleman who, to do him justice, has long expressed an earnest desire for peace, but who nevertheless has never yet reflected maturely enough upon the state of America, of Great Britain, and of all Europe to get into a right way of thinking concerning the proper means to his end. Congress will perceive it from the letter itself, in which it is obvious enough.

The first remarkable sentiment is, "We must at all events support our national honor by the most vigorous exertions, without shrinking; but surely, in such a complicated war as this is, if we can make any equitable offers of a treaty to any of the parties, common prudence calls upon us to use our endeavors to unravel by negotiation the combination of powers now acting against us." In this paragraph I see the manifest marks of a mind that has not yet mastered its subject. True policy would have omitted everything in this letter which should call up to the minds of the people the ideas of national honor. Every man in the world who is thoroughly acquainted with the subject knows that Great Britain never can obtain a peace without a diminu-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 5, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 148.

tion of her honor and dignity. It is impossible without miracles, and therefore the Englishman who undertakes to plan for peace must be convinced of this and take it into his plan, and consequently should avoid with the utmost caution every word which should excite these ideas in the minds of the people. They stir passions which make them mad.

He should have avoided with equal solicitude every insinuation of a design to unravel by negotiation the combination of powers now acting against Great Britain. This combination is in fact much more extensive, much more universal and formidable than the letter-writer had any idea or suspicion of. But if it had been no more extensive than France, Spain, and America, the impracticability of unraveling it ought to have thrown out this sentiment. By it he proposes by negotiation to bring those to dishonor themselves who have certainly no occasion for it; at the same time that he stimulates others to cherish and preserve their honor who have already lost it, and under an absolute necessity, sooner or later, of sacrificing it. By this means he only puts the confederates more upon their guard, and renders the attainment of his professed object—peace—impossible.

The next solecism in politics which he commits is undertaking to vindicate America from the charge of having sought and formed this confederacy. America wanted no such vindication; it is folly to suppose it a fault, for all mankind will agree, even his correspondents themselves, that it was wisdom and virtue. Surely another term must be given to popular ideas before they will be brought to petition for peace.

Nor do I think it was prudent in him to hold up the idea that America had proceeded with reluctance and regret to the treaty. That this is true I know and feel to this very moment; for although I had no such reluctance myself, those gentlemen with whom I had the honor to sit in Congress at the time will remember that I had very good reasons to be sensible that others had. But how well soever he might be informed of the fact, and from what source soever he might draw his information, it was bad policy in him to hold it up, because he ought to have been equally sure that America has now no reluctance to the treaty, nor any inclination to violate it. He ought not, therefore, to have held up a hope of this to the people. Neither ought he to have flattered the people with hopes that America would not form any perpetual alliance with France, nor that their limited alliance might be satisfied and discharged. The alliance already made is limited, it is true, to a certain number of articles, but not limited in its duration. It is perpetual, and he had no grounds to soothe the people with hopes, either that France would give up any of the articles of the treaty, or that America would violate them.

He ought also to have avoided his insinuations that America has been so much harassed by the war. This is an idea so refreshing to

the present passions of the people of England that, instead of tending to dispose them to peace, it only revives their hopes of success and inflames their ardor for war. That America has been harassed by the war is true, and when was any nation at war without being so? Especially, when did any nation undergo a revolution in government and sustain a war at the same time without it? Yet after all America has not been so much harassed, or disastered, or terrified, or panic-struck from the beginning as Great Britain has been several times in the course of it.

But the most exceptionable passage of all is this:

It is apparent to all the world that *France might long ago have put an end to that part of the war which has been most distressing to America* if she had chosen so to do. Let the whole system of France be considered from the very beginning down to the last retreat from Savannah, and I think it is impossible to put any other construction upon it but this, viz: that it has always been the deliberate intention and object of France, for purposes of her own, to encourage the continuation of the war in America, *in hopes of exhausting the strength and resources of this country and of depressing the rising power of America.*

Upon this paragraph I scarcely know what remarks to make. But, after deliberating upon it as patiently and maturely as I can, I will clearly write my opinion of it, for my obligations to truth and to my country are antecedent to all other ties.

I am clearly and fully of the opinion, then, that the fact is true that France might put an end to that part of the war which has been most distressing to Americans; and I certainly know the means were extremely simple and obvious, and that they were repeatedly proposed and explained and urged to the ministry; and I should have had a terrible load of the guilt of negligence of my duty upon my conscience if it had not been done while I had the honor of a commission to this court. But when the letter-writer proceeds so far as to say that it was to *encourage* the continuance of the war in order to exhaust the strength and resources of Great Britain I can not accompany him, much less can I join with him in the opinion that it was to depress the rising power in America. I believe, on the contrary, that France has not wished the continuance of the war, but that she has wished for peace. The war has been attended with too much loss and danger to France to suppose that she wished its continuance, and if she did wish its continuance at all, she could not wish it to depress the power of America.

She could not wish it, in my opinion, for this reason, because it is not the means to this end. It has a contrary tendency. The longer this war is continued in America, the more will America become habituated to the characters of the soldier and the marine. Military virtues and talents and passions will gain strength and additional activity every year while the war lasts; and the more these virtues, talents, and passions are multiplied, the deeper will the foundations of American power be laid, and the more dangerous will it become to some other of the powers of Europe; to France, as likely as to any other power, because

it will be more likely to be ambitious and enterprising, and to aspire at conquests by sea and land.

This idea, however, deserves to be considered with all the attention that Americans can give to it; although I am convinced by everything I see and read and hear that all the powers of Europe, except, perhaps, the house of Austria, and I am not very clear in that exception, rejoice in the American Revolution, and consider the independence of America as for their interest and happiness in many points of view, both respecting commerce and the balance of Europe; yet I have many reasons to think that not one of them, not even Spain nor France, wishes to see America rise very fast to power. We ought, therefore, to be cautious how we magnify our ideas and exaggerate our expressions of the generosity and magnanimity of any of those powers. Let us treat them with gratitude, but with dignity. Let us remember what is due to ourselves and to our posterity, as well as to them. Let us, above all things, avoid, as much as possible, entangling ourselves with their wars or politics. Our business with them, and theirs with us, is commerce, not politics, much less war; America has been the sport of European wars and politics long enough.

I think, however, that this letter-writer was very much mistaken in his judgment when he threw out this language. It could be meant only to excite a jealousy and a quarrel between France and America, or rather feed the Yorkshire people and the people of England with a hope of exciting such a quarrel. This is not the way to come at peace. They will never succeed in such a plan, and every attempt towards it is a false policy.

The next mistake is the idea of a reconciliation and federal union with America. This must be intended to separate us from our allies, which this gentleman ought before now to have known is totally impracticable.

I have very little more relish for the notion of a truce. We are in a safer way at war. We can not make a truce without France. She will never consent that we should make a truce unless she makes a peace; and such alterations may be made in the constitutions of the courts of France and Spain, and in the other courts and political connections in Europe, before the expiration of the term of a truce, that it would be attended with too much hazard to us. Neither France, nor Spain, nor the other powers of Europe might, after a truce, be ready to go to war again; and unforeseen divisions may be excited among ourselves by artful emissaries from England. We are going on now in a sure and certain road. If we go out of it we may be lost.

Upon the whole, I think that this letter-writer should have stated the true situation of Europe, of Great Britain, Ireland, and America.

From this statement his immediate conclusion should have been open conferences for peace; make a peace with all the world upon the best

terms you can. This is the only chance you have for salvation. It must come to this very soon; otherwise there will be a total dissolution of the British empire.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *April* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me yesterday gives me the first information of the resolution mentioned as taken by the State of Maryland relating to their money in England. If there is no mistake in the intelligence, which I apprehend there may be, and such a power as is supposed should come to my hands, I shall then take your excellency's recommendation, which has great weight with me, into consideration. At present I can only say that I shall not name my nephew, Mr. Williams; for, though I have a great opinion of his ability and integrity, and think that, by his early declaration and attachment to our cause and activity in its service, he has a good deal of merit with the States in general, I know of none that he has with Maryland in particular, and as the other four are natives of that State I think the choice ought to be from among them. Mr. Williams will, however, be very sensible of the honor done him by being put into the nomination.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. F.

[*Upon a separate paper:*] Mr. Franklin presents his compliments to Mr. Adams, and requests he would send him by the bearer the book of treaties, which he has just now occasion to consult, and will return it in a day or two.

Carmichael to J. Adams.†

MADRID, *April* 22, 1780.

SIR: I received with much pleasure your obliging letter of the 8th instant, and take the earliest opportunity of thanking you for the information it contained. I should have certainly commenced my correspondence with you earlier had I thought Mr. Jay would have been constrained by various circumstances to reside so long at Cadiz. Your observations with respect to the conduct which France and Spain ought to follow correspond with the opinions of the Swedish and Dutch ministers here, both of whom I have an opportunity of frequently see-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† 7 J. Adams' Works, 152.

ing. The crisis seems near when others beside Britain may play the part of the bully.

If the patriots in Ireland are content with that which they have forced Great Britain to grant them I shall be much mistaken, and their conduct in that case will not correspond with the history of mankind. I resided three months in that kingdom in the year 1768, and am well acquainted with some of the men who now appear to take a lead in their affairs.

Some of these will be for pushing things to the greatest extremity, and perhaps would succeed, if they had liberality enough to tolerate a religion against which they have the most violent animosity.

A fleet of twelve sail of the line, besides frigates and other armed vessels, with eleven thousand five hundred men and a fine train of artillery, will sail this month from Cadiz, if it hath not already sailed. The troops embarked the 14th. I suppose that from Brest sails about the same time. From these armaments you may judge whether your ideas for carrying the war into the American seas are not conformable to the intentions of the allies.

We have the same news from America which you announce to me, and our papers are as late as the 10th of March. By several captures taken from the enemy it appears that Arbuthnot's fleet must have suffered severely and their dispersion must have been complete, for no news of their arrival in any port was received at Newbury, in Massachusetts Bay, the 14th of March, although they sailed the 26th of December from New York.

It appears that Congress meant to leave Philadelphia the 1st of April, but to what place is not mentioned.

I have advice from Bordeaux that several letters for me arrived in the *Buckskin*, and were sent on to Madrid. Unhappily I have not received them, which chagrins me not a little.

Mr. Jay and family present their respects to you; most of them have been unwell since their arrival here. I beg you to make the proper compliments for me to Mr. Dana, and to believe me your obliged and humble servant,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *April* 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I am much pleased with the account you give me of the disposition with which the proposals from the Empress of Russia have been received, and desire to be informed from time to time of the progress of that interesting business.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 302; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 451; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 52.

I shall be glad to hear of your reconciliation with ———, because a continuance of your difference will be extremely inconvenient. Permit me to tell you frankly, what I formerly hinted to you, that I apprehend you suffer yourself too easily to be led into personal prejudices by interested people, who would engross all our confidence to themselves. From this source have arisen, I imagine, the charges and suspicions you have insinuated to me against several who have always declared a friendship for us in Holland. It is right that you should have an opportunity of giving the *carte du pays* to Mr. Laurens when he arrives in Holland. But if, in order to serve your particular friends, you fill his head with these prejudices, you will hurt him and them, and perhaps yourself. There does not appear to me the least probability in your supposition that the ——— is an enemy to America.

Here has been with me a gentleman from Holland, who was charged, as he said, with a verbal commission from divers cities to inquire whether it was true that Amsterdam had, as they heard, made a treaty of commerce with the United States, and to express in that case their willingness to enter into a similar treaty. Do you know anything of this? What is become, or likely to become, of the plan of treaty formerly under consideration?

By a letter from Middlebourg, to which the enclosed is an answer, a cargo seized and sent to America as English property is reclaimed, partly on the supposition that free ships make free goods. They ought to do so between England and Holland, because there is a treaty which stipulates it; but there being yet no treaty between Holland and America to that purpose, I apprehend that, the goods being declared by the captain to be English, a neutral ship will not protect them; the law of nations governing in this case, as it did before the treaty above mentioned. Tell me, if you please, your opinion.

With sincere esteem and affection, I am ever,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 24, 1780.

SIR: There is intelligence from Stockholm of the 4th of this month that "the envoy extraordinary of the Empress of Russia has given notice to that court of the declaration made by his sovereign, as well to the States-General of the United Provinces, as to the powers actually at war, demanding at the same time that Sweden would accede to it, and to this end join herself to Russia, by augmenting the Swedish marine, to the end to concur by this means in the maintenance of a neutrality. Although this court appears very well inclined to enter into the views of Russia, nevertheless it is thought that before anything will be decided upon this subject she will previously give notice

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 10, with verbal changes.

of it to the court of France. In the meantime the minister of Russia at this court has received orders to treat directly of this affair as well as with the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary of her Imperial majesty to their high mightinesses, as with the other ministers of that court residing at the neutral courts."

There is also intelligence from Ratisbon of the 13th of April, that "M. Struxe, counselor of the legation from Russia, has communicated there by order of his court the declaration made by his sovereign to the belligerent powers, to the end to make her flag be respected and to protect the commerce and navigation of her subjects; and that, in consequence, orders had already been despatched both to Cronstadt and Archangel to equip there a sufficient number of ships of the line."

There is a paragraph in the gazette of Amsterdam of the 21st from Paris of the 14th of April:

It is only by conjecture that we talk of the plan of the next campaign in Europe; and it is also with the same uncertainty that we lend our ear to the report, which runs that the Count d'Estaing will command the combined fleet, and even that the Count du Chaffault, as well as the Spanish admirals, have offered to serve under him. It is pretended, besides, that there may very well be also some alterations in the progress of our ministry, if it is true, as they continue to affirm, that the Count de Parades has been arrested as a spy of the English Government, to whom he was in fact in a capacity to discover important particulars upon this subject. But there is another piece of news to which we give more credit, because really there is no good citizen nor genuine friend of humanity who does not wish to hear it confirmed. It is that there should be, as it is said, upon the carpet a plan concerted between all the maritime powers of Europe to the end to form and digest a universal code for the sea, the laws of which no nation should attempt to infringe without devoting herself to the indignation or exposing herself to the vengeance of all the others; an important project if it could be executed, which would insure the happiness and tranquillity of nations, and would set bounds which could not be passed to the audacity as well as the avarice of any one which, without any other right than that of force, should pretend to arrogate to itself the exclusive empire of the sea.

There is also intelligence from The Hague of the 19th of April, that there was sent on the 14th of the month to the assembly of the States-General of the United Provinces a memorial of the following tenor:

Their noble and grand mightinesses, the commissioners of the affairs of commerce and navigation, conjointly with some counselors of Holland and ministers of the college of admiralty residing in this province, having, in consequence of a resolution of the 4th of this month, examined the memorial presented the day before to the generality by the Prince Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary of her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, by which the minister has communicated a declaration made by his sovereign to the courts of France, Spain, and England that the neutral powers may protect by common agreement the commerce and navigation of her subjects respectively, as is more fully explained in the note of the 4th of April.

Whereupon, having deliberated, their noble and grand mightinesses have thought fit and resolved that the affairs be proposed to the generality, and that they answer in turn to the before-mentioned memorial of the Prince de Gallitzin that their high mightinesss have received with much satisfaction the communication which it has pleased her majesty the Empress of Russia to give them of her designs, as well as of the declaration which she has caused to be made to the said courts; that their high mightinesses regard this communication as the most convincing proof of the benevolence of her majesty for this republic, and holding themselves honored by it, they

think themselves consequently obliged, in all respects, to give her a cordial and positive answer. That their high mightinesses put the highest value on the new proof which her Imperial majesty gives on this occasion of her generosity and acknowledged equity, as well as on the project she has conceived, and the means which she has resolved to employ to obtain the most exact neutrality in the present war with the belligerent powers, and protect not only the honor of the Russian flag, as well as the commerce and navigation of her subjects, in not permitting them to be disturbed by any of the powers at war, but also to assure the liberty and repose of Europe upon the solid foundations of the justice of the law of nations and the treaties subsisting, and thus to consolidate the equitable system of navigation and commerce of the neutral powers; that their high mightinesses, having nothing more at heart than to observe a strict neutrality, with her majesty the Empress of Russia, in the present war, but instructed by experience in the losses with the commerce and navigation of the neutral powers have suffered by the fluctuations and uncertainty of the belligerent powers in the state of the law of nations, from whence have resulted to them many inconveniences and great damages, occasioned by the operations of the present war, their high mightinesses have judged it necessary, in concert with her majesty the Empress of Russia, to fix this law upon a solid basis, and to request, for this end, the concurrence of the neutral maritime powers; that, moreover, as to what concerns the extent and limits of this law, their high mightinesses conform themselves wholly to the five points contained in the declaration of her Imperial majesty, made to the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and London, communicated to their high mightinesses by the Prince de Gallitzin the 3d of April of this year, and are, consequently, ready to make similar declarations to the belligerent powers, their high mightinesses being sincerely disposed to enter into conferences with her mperial Imajesty of all the Russias, and other neutral maritime powers, upon the measures which may be unanimously taken, to the end to maintain effectually, both for the present era and for the time to come, the liberty of navigation and commerce, by observing an exact neutrality between the belligerent powers.

That the extract of the resolution to be taken be sent by the agent, Van den Burch Spuonings, back to the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, to the end to inform his sovereign and to employ his good offices to lay before her this answer in the manner the most favorable; that they ought also to send a similar extract to M. de Swart, resident of their high mightinesses at the court of Petersburgh, for his information, with an injunction to co-operate, as far as shall depend upon him, to the success of the salutary intentions of their high mightinesses; that the same measures be taken with regard to the ministers of the republic at the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, with orders to act in concert, and to support the measures of the Russian ministers at the courts where they reside.

Their high mightinesses having deliberated upon this object, the deputies of provinces which have not as yet declared themselves have been desired to pronounce as soon as possible the resolutions of the states their principals. The states of the province of Groningen have declared themselves authorized, during the suspension of the deliberations, to confer on this subject with the Prince de Gallitzin for a further explanation, saving the free deliberations of their principals.

Amsterdam, April 20.—The college of admiralty of West Friesland and of the northern quarter have put in commission, with the participation of his most serene highness the prince stadtholder, the frigates of war the *Medemblick* of thirty-six guns, the *Horn*, and *Enkhuisen* of twenty guns, which will be commanded by the captains Van Regneveld Heckers and Trykenius.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *April* 25, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that a small schooner has arrived at Nantes from Baltimore, by which came the enclosed newspapers, which I send to your excellency without a moment's loss of time. I hope, however, your excellency has received these and many more and much fuller intelligence by the same vessel; but as it is possible it may be otherwise, I think it my duty to send them. I have no other news by this vessel as yet, excepting that General Gates was appointed to command the army in Charleston, an event which I esteem of great importance, because there is in the mind of the American soldier an affection for that officer, and a confidence in him that will show its effects.

A vessel from Martiniqne had just arrived, with an account that the *Deane* frigate, Captain Nicholson, had sent in there an English frigate, sheathed with copper, mounting twenty-eight guns, which struck after a severe action.

If I should be so happy as to receive any more news from this vessel, I shall have the honor to transmit it to your excellency.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *April* 25, 1780.

SIR: A letter from Dublin, of the 18th of this month, gives us the following account:

We wait with impatience for the meeting of Parliament; the day approaches when the political destiny of this kingdom will be decided. There is yet some softness in one party of the Parliament, but there is none at all in the body of the people, and especially in that of our brave volunteers, who are at once the admiration and the firm hope of the nation, which seems now to spring up and out of chaos. One thing very extraordinary is, that among this body of volunteers, exceeding in fact the number of forty-six thousand men (although in so immense an army, composed of so many parties which one would suppose discordant, commanded by so many chiefs, some more powerful than the others might be suspected of entertaining views a little opposite to patriotism), no ambitious ones, supported by popularity, have undertaken anything, not only against the liberties, but even against the tranquillity of the people; not the least disorder, not even the appearance of disunion or partial cabals. We contemplate with astonishment, mixed with a joy most intimately felt, an armed multitude proceeding to give, so to express myself, the island to the civil power, and aiding it to protect and facilitate the execution of its laws. Such are the advantages which we ought always to provide ourselves from an army, the humblest soldier of which finds his interest in good order and good government. Mercenaries fight for money; volunteers, proprietors of one part of the lands which are proposed to

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 13; 7 J. Adams' Works, 154.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 14, with verbal changes.

be defended and of the rights which are to be recovered or protected, have a direct interest in preserving in all their vigor the laws which assure to them the property of those lands and the enjoyment of these rights.

While the nation busies itself about its political emancipation, and already enjoys it by anticipation, she does not neglect the advantages already obtained by the firmness and the wisdom of her conduct; all the objects of commerce fix the attendance of various committees; the establishments are multiplied insensibly in proportion to the rising occasions; where there were manufactories, they are busied about the means of improving them; where there were none, and it appears convenient to establish them, societies of adventurers are formed. We have a considerable number of woolen stuffs and cloths; we have none of cotton. At this day Limerick proposes to become the rival of Manchester; they are about making the beautiful velvets and stuffs of cotton. One company have appropriated to this undertaking a capital of £16,000 sterling, and they have brought over from England a sufficient number of excellent workmen in this business.

In reading over my letter, I remark I have stated at forty-six thousand the number of volunteers actually armed among us; we have not yet an exact return; it is possible there may be four or five thousand more, because at the end of last year we generally reckoned upon forty-five thousand, and there have been since formed five new corps, commanded by officers as respectable for their personal courage as for their patriotism. If this martial ardor which animates all the orders of the community has any inconvenience, it is that it takes away from the manufacturers a prodigious number of hands. Independently of the time given to military exercise you would not be able to conceive how many people are employed in these melancholy, but necessary, manufactures, which have no other use, end, or object than the destruction of men. The casting of cannon, the manufacture of arms of every description, of tents, and other articles which are required for the preparation for a campaign, employ moreover several thousands of hands; it is true that the two levies divide the labor between them.

They say that the Duke of Leinster, on whom they had so unjustly ventured to publish some offensive reflections, has declared publicly, and in the most solemn manner, that he will support the people in the vindication of their rights to a free constitution absolutely independent. If the serenity of our present situation is sometimes interrupted, it is by those unlucky White Boys who from time to time renew their atrocities. The 1st instant fifty of these banditti, well mounted, met upon an eminence at Clorisue, near to Feathard, where they conducted themselves in an inhuman manner toward two individuals.

In the French Gazette is an article from London with regard to Ireland:

They accuse the ministry of holding relative to that kingdom the same conduct which they held in the beginning of the troubles of America; that is to say, to leave the sovereign and the nation in error concerning all the facts, and endeavor to inspire into the British Parliament the most sinister carelessness and inattention for the most important of affairs. People hired to support among us the blindest confidence write that the Irish are very well pleased with Lord Hillsborough, that the concessions made to Ireland satisfy all its wishes, that even the associations enjoy in peace the good that has been done to their country. We learn, however, that the city of Dublin declares, in her common council, that she can not any longer suspend her judgment upon the conduct of government; that to destroy the false interpretations which they have endeavored to give to the joy which the people of Ireland have testified upon the subject of the act which gives liberty to their commerce, several counties, and the greatest part of the associations, have thought themselves obliged to explain to the public that the motive of this momentary joy proceeded principally

from this, that they regarded the liberty of commerce as a commencement of the independence of the constitution.

The principal creatures of the English ministry in the parliament of Ireland arrived the beginning of this month to receive instructions relative to the approaching assembly, but they say that during their absence the chiefs of the national party have been employed in promoting the meetings of the counties in cementing the military associations and encouraging the people to insist upon a declaration of rights, so that nothing is yet finished in that respect. Mr. Yelverton proposes to make a motion in the House of Commons that a sum shall be voted sufficient to build four strong frigates, which shall constantly cruise upon the coasts of this kingdom to protect merchant fleets and convoys. This project announces but too plainly the design of Ireland to separate herself from us as much as she can and to owe her safety only to herself. With what view should England insist still with the Irish upon the pretension of supremacy? In renouncing the advantages which the monopoly of commerce procured she has destroyed the only obstacle which could oppose itself to the independence of Ireland.

There is in the Leyden Gazette of the 21st another article from London:

The Earl of Bellamont, who arrived here the 5th of this month from Ireland, has had an audience of his majesty and several conferences with his ministers; as this nobleman is one of the principal supporters of the party of the administration in that country, it is supposed that his journey here was occasioned by the crisis in which affairs are there at this time. Mr. Henry Flood, who has come to court on the same subject, as well as Mr. Seaton Perry, the speaker of the Irish commons, and Sir Richard Heron, secretary of the lord lieutenant, have, on the contrary, returned to Dublin. As the parliament was to sit the 10th of this month, we expect immediately interesting advices concerning the turn which affairs may have taken there, and so much the more, as we know that soon after the meeting, Mr. Yelverton intended to propose a bill declaratory of the rights of Ireland, as far as they respect Poyning's law and the manner of passing Irish bills in England. In the mean time the leaders of the two parties endeavored to increase their forces in the two Houses, although the preponderance in favor of the court would scarcely have any effect in case the party the most considerable of the people remain in the sentiments they appear to be in at this day. This consideration, they say, supported by the advice of Sir Richard Heron, Mr. Seaton Perry, and Mr. Flood, has determined our government to give way to the wishes of the Irish nation, by consenting to the revocation of Poyning's law, if there are no other means of assuaging the fermentation of spirits. It is true that some cities, counties, and boroughs have lately assured the government of their attachment and of their gratitude for the favors granted to Ireland, but there is a great deal wanting before all the people will be equally satisfied. The most enlightened part of the nation regard these same favors as granted to necessity, and purely precarious as long as the British legislature shall have the right to make laws for Ireland. Some magistrates have even already refused to execute the laws passed by the Parliament of Great Britain; those of the county of Mayo having been, among others, required to put in force the act against desertions, and to show that they acknowledge no others than those which have been made by their own legislative body. In general, according to the last accounts received from that country, it appears that of the four parts of Ireland, the provinces of Leinster and Connaught are the most tranquil, reposing themselves upon the assurances which have been given them by the respective colonels of their volunteer associations, the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Clanricarde, and that the court is disposed to grant to the nation all its demands. In the province of Munster they are less quiet, and they persuade themselves that there is little dependence upon a momentary benevolence, which is due only to necessity. But the inhabitants of Ulster are, of all Ireland,

those who appear the most firmly determined to procure to themselves, at any price, an entire independence of the British legislation and the formal renunciation of all acts which are contrary to it. As this province, where they reckon at least thirty thousand families of Protestants, more than all the rest of the kingdom, distinguishes itself by the courage of its inhabitants, they will risk a great deal if they stir up discontents there.'

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 26, 1780.

SIR: At last even the Morning Post of the 18th of April confesses that the memorial from the Empress of Russia to the States-General has dissipated all their golden dreams of an alliance with the czarina. It was announced to us last week that a Russian squadron had left Cronstadt to sail to our assistance—nay, some of the public papers went so far as to announce their arrival at Plymouth. How sadly are we now disappointed. Instead of an alliance, we find her *czarish* majesty talks of neutrality, so that at present it is pretty clear that the various powers in Europe seem determined to stand off and leave us to our fate.

In some confused minutes of a debate in the House of Lords on the 14th of April it is said that Lord Camden expressed his astonishment and regret at the memorial from Russia, in which, contrary to the established law of nations, the empress insisted upon free ships and free goods. He pointed out how injurious to the country it must be if neutral vessels were permitted to supply our enemies, whom we might blockade, with everything they might want, and remarked that the queen of the seas was now deposed, and the empress had taken possession of her throne. In another paper Lord Shelburne is represented remarking the very dangerous and alarming situation they stand in with regard to their wars and foreign alliances:

> Of the former [said his lordship] we have three; of the latter, none; even the Empress of Russia, that great potenate, who was constantly held out by the noble lord with the green riband (Lord Stormont) to be our principal ally, now shows to all Europe, by her late maritime manifesto, what sort of an ally she means to be to England. The thought of that manifesto made him shudder when he first read it, particularly as he knew how his country stood in respect to other powers—when Denmark must follow wherever Russia led, when Sweden was ready at the nod of France. Think of having the whole force of the northern powers against us, already engaged in three wars, and striving all we can to make a fourth with our old friends and neutral allies the States-General.

There have appeared few other reflections as yet upon this great event, the Russian declaration. Even the opposition seems afraid to lay it open in all its terrors to the people. They repeat the word neutrality, neutrality, but it is as decisive a determination against them as

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 18.

a declaration of war would have been; perhaps more so, because now there is a probability that the maritime powers will be unanimous, whereas, in the other case, they might have been divided. It is very surprising that the peace between Russia and the Turk, and that between the Emperor and the King of Prussia (in which the Empress of Russia took a part as spirited and decided as she has upon this occasion, in both of which negotiations the British ministry ought to have known that Russia and France acted in perfect concert), should not have earlier dissipated their golden visions, but so it is, and so it has been. England, as Governor Pownal says, can not or will not see. The improvement in the law of nations which the empress aims at, and will undoubtedly establish, is hurtful to England, it is true, to a very great degree, but it is beneficial to all other nations, and to none more than the United States of America who will be carriers, and I hope forever neutrals.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to Franklin.*

MADRID, *April* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 7th instant, together with a duplicate of that of the 22d February last, which I have never seen, are come to hand, and give me all that satisfaction which attends the removal of apprehensions of neglect from those we regard and esteem.

I am much obliged by the readiness with which my bills were accepted, and am happy to find that the reports respecting the fate of others are as false as they have been injurious. At Martinico the loan-office bills sold at a considerable discount, and, indeed, it was no easy matter to sell them at all. I shall take the earliest opportunity of setting them and others right about that matter.

On my return from Aranjuez, where I propose to go to-morrow, I shall transmit the papers you mention, with some others equally interesting. I can easily believe that your difficulties have been great and various. They were often the subject of conversation in America, and I am sure your friends as well as country will rejoice in the late important success of your negotiations. The French court, by continuing steady and true to the object of their treaty with us, will obtain those (*sic*) which induced them to make it their conduct towards us hitherto, has, I confess, attached me to the whole nation in a degree that I could not have thought myself capable of ten years ago. In my opinion Britain is to be conquered in America, and that it would be more for the interest of her enemies to confine their offensive operations to that point than enfeeble their efforts by attention to many lesser objects. Let America be supplied with money, clothes, and ammunition, and she will,

* MSS. Dep. of State.

by expelling her enemies and establishing her independence, do more essential injury to those imperious islanders than they have sustained for centuries.

I have sent the letters and packets I brought for you from America to Mr. Joshua Johnson, at Nantes, by M. Boutillier, a young gentleman of that place, and have desired Mr. Johnson to send them to you by the first safe conveyance.

What aids this court may be pleased to afford us is not yet ascertained. I hope they will be such as may be proportionate to the common interest, their dignity, and our wants. The minister I am told is able, and we know the king is honest; on this ground I place much dependence, for I can hardly suppose that either of them will omit embracing this golden opportunity of acquiring glory to themselves and honor and advantage to their nation by completing the division and ruin of the British empire, and that by measures which will in so great degree conciliate the affections as well as esteem of America.

Mrs. Jay has enjoyed more health within this fortnight than she has been blessed with for three months past. She presents her respects to you, and begs that your next letters to me may enclose for her one of the best prints of yourself, which we are told have been published in France, but are not yet to be had here. I believe there is no man of your age in Europe so much a favorite with the ladies.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I have not received letters to the Marquis d'Yranda, but have seen him, and given Mr. Carmichael an order on him for the sum you mention.

Jay to De Neufville & Son.*

MADRID, *April* 27, 1780

GENTLEMEN: I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 6th instant, and am much obliged by your kind congratulations on my arrival in Europe.

The letters you mention to have written to Congress had been received before I left Philadelphia and referred to a committee. This mark of attention was justly due to the interest you take in the American cause and the disposition you manifest to serve it. I presume that the committee soon made a report, and that answers to your letters have been written, although perhaps the many hazards to which letters from America are exposed may have prevented their reaching you.

When the rulers of your republic recollect in what manner and on what occasion they became free, I am persuaded they can not but wish

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 159.

duration to our independence, nor forbear considering it as an event no less interesting to every commercial nation in Europe than important to America. These and similar considerations, added to the injustice they daily experience from England, will, I hope, induce them to call to mind that spirit of their forefathers which acquired a glorious participation in the empire of the ocean, and laid the foundation of the commerce, affluence, and consideration they transmitted to their posterity.

Permit me to assure you that I shall consider your correspondence as a favor, and that I am, with great respect, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 28, 1780.

SIR: The news from Hamburg of the 11th of April is, that the Sieur de Geoss, the minister of the Empress of Russia, near the the circle of the Lower Saxony, has communicated to the magistracy of that city a declaration which his sovereign has made to the three courts at war for the maintenance of the free navigation of neutrals; and we learn that the same notification has been made to the regencies of Lubec and Bremen on the part of this sovereign, who, without ceasing to observe a neutrality between the courts actually at war, considers the liberty of the seas as a common good of all nations, which different particulars ought not to interrupt.

The news from London of the 18th of April is:

The term of three weeks, as fixed for receiving an answer to the answer of the memorial which Sir Joseph Yorke has presented to their high mightinesses the States-General, expired last Thursday; they have published yesterday a declaration against the United Provinces, of which here follows the translation:

"The resolution taken at a council held at St. James on the 17th of April, 1780, in presence of his majesty: 'Since Great Britain has been brought involuntarily into a war against France and Spain, the ambassador of the king to the States-General of the United Provinces has presented several memorials for demanding the succors stipulated by the treaties. These representations, although repeated in the most pressing manner by the memorial of the 21st of March, has remained without answer, and their high mightinesses have not manifested an intention to oppose them. By delaying thus to fulfill engagements the most positive she deserts the alliance which has subsisted so long between the crown of Great Britain and the republic, and places herself on a level with neutral powers which are not connected with this kingdom by any treaty. The principles of wisdom and equity prescribe, by consequence, to the king no longer to consider the states but in the distant relation in which they have placed themselves; and his majesty, having taken this subject into consideration, has thought fit, by the advice of his privy council, to put in execution immediately the measures which have been formally annexed by the memorial of the 21st of March last, and which had been previously suggested to the Count de Welderen, the envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the republic, by a verbal declaration of Lord Stormont, one of the secretaries of state, nearly two months before the presentation of said memorial. For these causes the king, with the advice of his council, declares

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 20.

that the subjects of the United Provinces shall henceforward be considered on the footing of neutral powers who are not privileged by treaties. His majesty suspends by these presents conditionally, and until further order, all the particular stipulations designed to favor in time of war the liberty of the navigation and commerce of the subjects of the States-General, such as they are expressed in the different treaties which subsist between his majesty and the republic, and especially in the marine treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United Provinces at London on the 1st day of December, 1674.

"'His majesty, animated by a sentiment of humanity, and willing to spare the interest of individuals, and not seeking their damage by an act of surprise, declares, moreover, with the advice of his council, that the execution of the present ordinances shall not take place but at the following epochs, to wit: In the channel and in the northern seas, twelve days after this date; from the channel and the northern seas as far as the Canary Islands, inclusively, both on the ocean and in the Mediterranean, the term shall be six weeks, reckoning from the date of these presents; it shall be of three months from the Canary Islands to the equinoctial line or the equator; and, finally, of six months to the parts situated beyond the equator, and in general in all the other parts of the world without exception, and without any more particular determination of time or place.'"

Hague, April 24.—The report of the committee of the province of Groningen, confirmed by the approbation of the states of the same province, has been presented to the assembly of their high mightinesses. Here follow the contents:

NOBLE AND MIGHTY LORDS: In compliance with the resolution of your noble mightinesses of the 31st of March last, in consequence of which was presented into the hands of the committee of your noble mightinesses the report presented the 17th of February by the deputies of their high mightinesses to their assembly, who had examined that which passed between Commodore Byland and the English Commodore Fielding, after the relation sent the 5th of January by the Count de Welderen to Secretary Fagle, and after having heard and collected upon this subject the opinions of the committees present of the colleges of the admiralty respectively, purporting, among other things, that for the future all merchandises which the treaties do not positively declare to be contraband ought, without any exception, to be under the convoy and protection of the State, the committees have the honor to report to your noble mightinesses that—

"From the commencement of the present troubles this state has not only done all that which his Britannic majesty, grounding himself upon the law and the treaties, could require of the republic, but at the same time has relinquished some of the prerogatives which incontestably belonged to it; that, instead of experiencing on the part of England the reciprocation of a treatment thus friendly, the republic has seen itself cruelly undeceived; as a great number of ships belonging to its inhabitants have been seized by the privateers, and even by the men-of-war of the King of England; ships with their cargoes, or at least one of them, declared lawful prize; violence having even been employed on many occasions against our crews, without our having been able to obtain the least indemnification or satisfaction for such grievances, notwithstanding all the repeated complaints and representations to that effect; that the expedition of Commodore Fielding appeared to have been made in conformity to positive orders; that thereby the flags of the states had been notoriously insulted, and the ships under the convoy of Commodore Byland had been not only carried into England, but had been also there detained, although it appeared that their loading did not consist in contraband goods; that this condescension to which the republic was by no means obliged, had only had disagreeable and dangerous consequences, both with regard to Great Britain and other powers, as is proved by the considerations drawn up by the colleges of the admiralty respectively. The committees of your noble mightinesses would be, therefore, of opinion that from this time forward and for the future we ought to take under convoy and the protection of the state all

he merchandises which the treaties declare not to be contraband, and that they be so effectually protected that we may have no further room to fear for the future that the least insult will be committed against the flag of the states, and that, in one word, as to what remains we ought, conformably to the treaties subsisting, to observe an exact neutrality."

The state of Groningen has entirely conformed to the foregoing report.

SECOND REPORT PRESENTED BY THE SAME PROVINCE.

NOBLE AND MIGHTY LORDS: The committees of your noble mightinesses, in compliance with the resolution of the 26th of November and the 2d of December of the last year, as well as of the 23d of March last, after an examination of the three memoirs presented by Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador extraordinary of his Britannic majesty, on the 22d of July and the 26th of November, 1779, and on the 20th of March last, to their high mightinesses, demanding by the first the succors stipulated by the treaty of 1674; insisting in the second on a categorical answer; and finally complaining, in the last, of the combat held by Commodore Byland, on occasion of what passed with Commodore Fielding, adding thereto, instances to the end to obtain before the expiration of three weeks a satisfactory answer concerning the succors demanded, since otherwise his majesty would regard this republic on the footing of neutral powers no ways favored by treaties, and would conditionally suspend all the treaties, and particularly that of 1674, and would treat the republic according to the ordinary law of nations; after having also examined several letters and other pieces annexed, successively transmitted by the Count de Welderen, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of their high mightinesses to his Britannic majesty, they have the honor to report to your noble mightinesses that, after having maturely reflected upon what relates to the points in question, their advice will be that, in answer to the said three memorials of Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador extraordinary, it ought to be replied that their high mightinesses during the troubles subsisting, which undoubtedly drew their origin from America, and from thence by an ulterior extension of the war have spread themselves in Europe, have, by observing an exact neutrality, giving to his Britannic majesty the most unfeigned proofs of their attachment and of their affection, even beyond their obligations, by a condescension to which they were by no means obliged towards England, but the consequences of which have been, besides the prejudice thereby occasioned to the commerce and navigation of this country, that there has arisen a marked dissatisfaction, although by no means provoked, of the belligerent powers; and, in particular, the preparations made at the same time by land could not but excite the most serious attention of their high mightinesses, to the end that they might, without interruption, not deprive themselves of the means indispensably necessary both for their own preservation and defense by granting the succors demanded; that they ought rather to think of demanding themselves, in consequence of the aforementioned treaties, the succors which would be so necessary to them upon the least apprehension of the continuance of the same preparations. That their high mightinesses, founded upon good reasons, as well as upon the favorable declarations of his majesty so often reiterated, ought to have expected a reciprocal affection and a friendly treatment towards the republic, at least that he would not have disputed a right stipulated clearly by the most solemn treaties, and of which, so soon after the conclusion of the treaty of 1674, even before the war was entirely finished, the subjects of his majesty, to the detriment of this country, make so free a use.

Their high mightinesses, penetrated with the most lively grief, have nevertheless perceived that, so far from their good intentions and proceedings having operated to any happy effect, it has happened, on the contrary, that several acts, diametrically opposed to justice, have been authorized and executed by connivance, under the illusory pretext of opposition even to the same connivance, and this in spite of mul-

tiplied efforts employed by the republic to obviate such abuses; that, moreover, the rencounter between Commodore Fielding and Commodore Byland is of a nature that, according to the law of nations (the flag of a sovereign power being, in fact, everywhere sacred), the declaration made by the Count de Byland, an officer commanding in chief a squadron in the name of the republic whereof he is subject, ought to have been regarded as authentic, and to have stopped at once all suspicions, and destroyed the intelligence falsely given; from whence it follows that the said Commodore Byland has not undertaken anything but for the maintenance and protection of the honor and respect due to the flag of the state, while the seizure and detention of the ships are equally a part of those objects concerning which their high mightinesses ought also to demand a satisfaction convenient to his majesty, as well as a declaration unequivocal for the time to come; adding, at the same time, that, after a mature consideration upon the situation in which the Republic is at present, their high mightinesses are perfectly acquainted with the succors demanded by his Britannic majesty.

The States of the province of Groningen have conformed themselves to the report before mentioned.

Hague, April 22.—We learn that the province of Gueldres has determined to grant unlimited convoys, and at the same time to refuse the succors demanded by Great Britain, by means of which the seven United Provinces are actually of one unanimous sentiment upon this object.

Hague, April 23.—We learn that the deputies of the province of Holland have already been instructed to carry to the assembly of the States-General the opinion of their high constituents concerning the invitation which the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy of the Empress of Russia, has made, in the name of her majesty, to their high mightinesses, to protect in concert the navigation of the neuters; and that this opinion, announced in a resolution of the state of the province, bearing date the 13th of April, tends to accept the invitation in terms full of attachment and gratitude, declaring "that their high mightinesses regard the communication which has been made to them as a signal token of the benevolence of her majesty towards the republic; that they honor it, and believe it to be their duty to answer it with sincerity and cordiality; that they consider it also as a new proof of the magnanimity and the justice of her majesty, which are universally acknowledged—both the end which she proposes and the measures she has projected to maintain in the present war a neutrality the most rigorous between the belligerent powers, and for protecting not only the honor of the Russian flag and the safety of the commerce and navigation of her subjects, in not permitting that any of the belligerent powers should strike at it, but also by establishing by her cares the liberties and repose of Europe upon foundations the most solid, of equity, the law of nations, and the treaties subsisting, and to give validity to an equitable system of navigation and of commerce in favor of the neutral powers; that their high mightinesses, desiring to observe with her Imperial majesty in the present war a scrupulous neutrality, have but too much experienced the losses to which the navigation and commerce of neutral nations are exposed by the uncertain and fluctuating ideas of the belligerent powers with regard to the rights of neuters, in proportion as they are guided by their private interest and by the operations of the war; that their high mightinesses judge, with her Imperial majesty, that it is of the last necessity that this law should be fixed upon solid principles, and maintained in concert by the neutral maritime powers; that, for what concerns the determination of the said right, their high mightinesses conform themselves entirely to the five points contained in the declaration which her majesty has made to the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and London; that, after her example, they are ready to transmit parallel to the belligerent powers, and that they are very much disposed to enter into conferences with her majesty and the other neutral powers upon the measures by which the liberty of navigation and commerce may be maintained

in concert in a manner the most efficacious, both for the future and for the present, observing at the same time an exact neutrality among the belligerent powers."

The same opinion tends also to cause to be transmitted the copy of such a resolution not only to the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy of her majesty to the republic, but also to M. de Swart, resident of their high mightinesses at Petersburgh, and to their ministers at the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, and with orders to these last to second, as far as possible, the proceedings of the court of Russia, and to act in concert with the ministers of her Imperial majesty, etc.

Congress will be able to draw just inferences from these important papers of state.

The principle which the English contend for has no other foundation but the insular situation of Great Britain and the convenience of that nation. The principle which the neutral powers are contending for is evidently laid in the common good of nations, in the ease, safety, convenience, happiness, and prosperity of mankind in general. But we shall see whether obstinacy and fierce passions will at length give way in one instance. At present there is no appearance of it. On the contrary, I see no way for the English to escape a war with Holland and Russia, Denmark and Sweden, and perhaps Portugal, unless they should be interrupted in their career by a war with one another at home.

When, where, or in what manner we shall see the unraveling of the vast plot which is acting in the world is known only to Providence. Although my mind has been full twenty years preparing to expect great scenes, yet I confess the wonders of this revolution exceed all that I ever foresaw or imagined. That our country, so young as it is, so humble as it is, thinking but lately so meanly of itself, should thus interest the passions, as well as employ the reason, of all mankind in its favor, and effect, in so short a space of time, not only thirteen revolutions of government at home, but so completely accomplish a revolution in the system of Europe and in the sentiments of every nation in it, is what no human wisdom, perhaps, could foresee.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Rush to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 28, 1780.

Our affairs wear their usual checkered aspect. Our governments are daily acquiring new strength. Our army, which I saw a few weeks ago at Morristown, has improved greatly in discipline since our former correspondence, in economy and healthiness. The number of our soldiers is small, occasioned not by a decay of military or whiggish spirit among us, but by the want of money to purchase recruits. The new scheme of Congress for calling in the circulating money at forty for one will, I believe, be adopted, with some alterations by the States.

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 214.

This will, we hope, restore to our counsels and arms the vigor of 1775.

The French alliance is not less dear to the true whigs than independence itself. The Chevalier de la Luzerne has made even the tories forget in some degree, in his liberality and politeness, the *mischianzas** of their British friends. M. Gerard is still dear to the faithful citizens of America. We call him the "republican minister."

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *April* 29, 1780.

SIR: Walsingham sailed from St. Helens the 8th with the *Thunderer*, the *Ramilies*, the *Berwick*, and the *Egmont*, of seventy-four guns; the *Scarborough*, of twenty; and the fire ships, the *Blast* and the *Salamandar;* only four ships of the line. On the 11th Admiral Graves followed him with the *London*, of ninety-eight guns; the *Bedford*, the *Shrewsbury*, the *Royal Oak*, of seventy-four; the *Prudent* and the *America*, of sixty-four; and the *Amphitrite*, of twenty-four; these, with the four of Admiral Rodney, make fourteen ships of the line. Admiral Parker, it is said, has not more than nine fit for service, which will make twenty three, supposing that Graves has the same destination. Many people, however, believe he is going to Canada, in order to be beforehand of the fleet of Brest, which the English suppose has designs upon that province. My intelligence from London is, however, that Graves is intended for the North American station, perhaps New York or Georgia. But the orders to Graves were so suddenly determined on and given, that there has not yet been time to discover with certainty his destination.

The accounts are that Walsingham returned, on account of contrary winds, with his numerous fleet of merchant ships to Plymouth; that he sailed again on the 13th, and after sailing twenty leagues with a good wind he returned a second time, imagining that he saw a French fleet of men-of-war. The winds have been generally contrary since, and we have not yet a certain account of his sailing a third time.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

PARIS, *April* 29, 1780.

SIR: The principal officers named for the command of the English fleet in the English channel are Sir Charles Hardy, admiral of the white, commander-in-chief; Vice-Admiral, Admiral Barrington, of the

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*An allusion to the entertainment under that name given in Philadelphia in honor of General Howe.—*Note to 7 J. Adams' Works.*

†MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 27.

‡*Ibid.*, 28.

blue, second; Vice-Admiral Darby, of the blue, third; and Rear-Admiral Digby, of the blue, fourth.

The next day after the departure of the fleet of Commodore Walsingham, the *London*, of ninety-eight guns, commanded by Admiral Graves; the *Shrewsbury*, the *Royal Oak*, of seventy-four; the *America*, the *Prudent*, of sixty-four; and the *Amphitrite*, of twenty-four, having set sail from St. Helens, and the *Resolution;* as well as the *Invincible*, of seventy-four, intended as part of the squadron—the crews of the two last vessels refused to sail until they should be paid their wages, and have received their shares of the prize of the *Protée*. The 11th of the month the *Resolution*, Commodore Ogle, set sail to join Admiral Graves, the crew having at length consented to serve, when they saw their ship surrounded by other vessels, ready to fire upon her by order of Lord Longford. The crew of the *Invincible* had more obstinacy, and Admiral Pye was forced to send on board the Captains Balfour, Duncan, Holt, and Barkner to persuade them to return to their duty. These officers called up upon deck the mutinous sailors, whom they harangued, and to whom they represented that the act of Parliament to regulate the payment of wages on board the men-of-war did not authorize them to require more than one month's advance. They did not, however, submit, and the captains having observed, that among them there were, above all, four more remarkably obstinate, sent them to the admiral, who put them in irons. The next day the admiral ordered Captain Faulkner to tell his people that if they would submit he would restore the four men whom they had arrested. This proposition was not listened to, and it was not until the 14th that Rear-Admiral Graves set sail from St. Helens without this last vessel.

The admiralty has sent orders to Portsmouth for a court-martial upon the most mutinous of the crew of the *Invincible*, and it is expected that, as examples, some of them must lose their lives.

I have before informed Congress of a resolution of the county of York against the American war. This has been since repeated by the freeholders of the county of Surrey, at a meeting held at Epsom the 14th of April. Mr. Nicholls, in an able speech, proposed the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

> That the American war, originating from the corrupt influence of the crown and the ill-founded assertions of the king's ministers in Parliament, is the cause of the present calamitous situation of this country.

This resolution was unanimously adopted. He then recommended a second resolution, similar to that of the freeholders of Yorkshire, condemning the continuance of offensive operations in America, which was likewise carried unanimously.

Mr. Budgen then moved a third resolution, for thanking those members of Parliament who had uniformly reprobated the American war, which was likewise carried without opposition.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—Since the above was written I have found a resolution of the county of Hertford of the 17th of April:

Resolved unanimously, That the opinion of the present assembly is, that a war against North America is evidently a measure which, by obliging us to carry all our forces to that quarter, puts us out of a condition to resist with vigor, as we might otherwise do, the united efforts of France and Spain, while the said war produces no other effect upon the Americans than to add to the enmity which has but too long subsisted between us; an enmity of which we have felt the fatal effects, and which, by putting an obstacle to our union, threatens England with a ruin as complete as it is inevitable.

J. Adams to Genet.*

PARIS, *April* 29, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Do you think it worth while to work into your next article from London the following observations of Lord Bolingbroke?

The precise point at which the scales of power turn, like that of the solstice in either tropic, is imperceptible to common observation; and, in one case as in the other, some progress must be made in the new direction before the change is perceived. They who are in the sinking scale—for in the political balance of power, unlike to all others, the scale that is empty sinks, and that which is full rises—they who are in the sinking scale do not easily come off from the habitual prejudices of superior wealth, or power, or skill, or courage, nor from the confidence that these prejudices inspire. They who are in the rising scale do not immediately feel their strength, nor assume that confidence in it which successful experience gives them afterwards. They who are the most concerned to watch the variations of this balance misjudge often in the same manner and from the same prejudices. They continue to dread a power no longer able to hurt them, or they continue to have no apprehensions of a power that grows daily more formidable. Spain verified the first observation when, proud and poor and enterprising and feeble, she still thought herself a match for France. France verified the second observation when the triple alliance stopped the progress of her arms, which alliances much more considerable were not able to effect afterwards. The other principal powers of Europe in their turns have verified the third observation in both its parts. †

These observations were never more remarkably verified than in these times. The English, proud and poor and enterprising and feeble, still think themselves a match for France and Spain and America, if not for all the world; but this delirium can not last long.

France and Spain and Holland continue to dread a power no longer able to hurt them, but this will be over as soon.

England continues to have small apprehensions of powers that grow daily more formidable; but these apprehensions will increase every day. Your correspondent from London or Antwerp, among his lamentations over the blindness and obstinacy and madness of the ministry may introduce these observations with propriety enough. The balance of power was never, perhaps, shifted in so remarkable a manner and in so short a space of time. If the minds of the French and Spaniards had grown in confidence in proportion to the growth of their power, and

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 155. † Sketch of the History and State of Europe.

if the confidence of the English had decreased in proportion to the diminution of theirs, it would have been all over with England before now. You know very well that Lord Bolingbroke was the most eloquent writer that England ever produced. His political writings particularly are more admired than any in that language. His name and authority, added to the obvious truth of these observations and their apposite application to the present times, will make an impression upon many minds in all the nations at war. If you think so, and that it will increase the spirit of our friends and diminish the insolence of our enemies, as it ought, you will make use of it in your own excellent manner; if not, burn it.

Your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have received, with all the gratitude possible, the news which your excellency has been pleased to give me of Don Juan.† I begin to flatter myself that the cares he has received from you and from all those who surround him will re-establish him.

I can not sufficiently express to you, sir, my sentiments in this respect, and for the kindnesses, without number, which you have heaped upon me during the time passed with you. I shall render an account to my court of all that I saw at the army; of the good order and discipline of the troops; of the zeal and talents of the officers; of the good disposition reigning among them; as well as of the respect and public confidence in the commander-in-chief. These circumstances united form an augury the most favorable for the enterprises which your army may be in condition to undertake, when it shall be completed, in consequence of the measures that have been just taken. I am certain, beforehand, that his majesty will take a true satisfaction in learning details so interesting to a power so dear to him.

I dare supplicate your excellency to receive anew the assurances of the sentiments of veneration and respect with which you have inspired me, and with which I have the honor to be, your most humble and most obedient servant,

LUZERNE,

P. S.—Permit me to seize this occasion to pray you to present the homage of my respect to Mrs. Washington.

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*2 Sparks' Letters to Washington, 442.

† Don Juan de Miralles, an unofficial agent of the court of Spain, who had resided for some time at Philadelphia. He died the day before the date of the above letter at Washington's headquarters. See Washington's Writings, vol. 6, pp. 186, 476; vol. 7, p. 27.—SPARKS.

Digges to J. Adams.*

[Extract.]

WANDSWORTH, *May* 2, 1780.

General Conway's motion relative to America was put off to-day for some future period. Hartley's stands for Friday, the substance of which you will have in the General Advertiser of the 1st of May. Some deviltry has got into Conway's head, for he seems to think there is yet a door open for peace with America short of independence, than which nothing can be so fallacious and absurd. How he can imbibe such notions I can not think; but I am told he is much in the circle of a Scotch acquaintance, and sometimes talks to refugees, such as Mr. Galloway, Allen, etc. I can not account for it otherwise than that he is looking up to the command of the army.

I should be glad, when you see and read the debates upon those motions, to know what you think thereof.

I am, on all occasions, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM RUSSELL.†

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

PARIS, *May* 2, 1780.

SIR: On the 10th of April the Duc de Vauguyon, ambassador of his most Christian majesty to the States-General, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, announcing the abolition of the duty of 15 per cent., to which the greatest part of Dutch merchandises had been subject on their entering into France, as well as the resolution of the council of state taken upon this subject. The following are the contents of the memoir and the resolution:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The political system of the king is essentially founded upon the invariable principles of justice and moderation. His majesty has given the most unequivocal proofs of it from the beginning of the troubles which have arisen between him and the King of England, in pre-engaging all the neutral powers by the display of a disposition the most favorable to their prosperity, and by proposing to them no other conditions than those of the most absolute impartiality. His majesty saw himself, with the most sincere regret, obliged not to acknowledge this character in the resolution of the States-General of the 19th of November, 1778, by which your high mightinesses suspended the effects of your protection relative to one branch of commerce, the liberty of which was assured to you by the public laws of equity and the most precise stipulations of treaties. The king then instructed me to announce to your high mightinesses that, if you determined thus to make the sacrifice of one part of your rights to his enemies, his majesty could not preserve to your subjects the advantages conditionally promised by his last regulation, nor the ancient favors which their commerce enjoyed in his states, and which are not the result of any treaty, but of a hereditary benevolence and affection. Your high mightinesses as-

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 158.

† One of the names assumed by Digges.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 30.

sured his majesty with earnestness that you were decided to observe the most exact neutrality during the continuance of the troubles between France and England. But if you announced that the act which suspended the effects of the efficacious protection of the republic in favor of ships loaded with ship timber ought to be regarded as in force until it should be afterwards confirmed, you declared at the same time that all discussion upon this matter ought to be suspended until after the deliberations which were to ascertain the convoys.

His majesty, not perceiving in this new disposition any real alteration of intention, thought that he could not avoid setting bounds to the advantages granted in the different parts of his kingdom to the Dutch commerce, whilst your high mightinesses continued to suspend, in favor of the enemies of his crown, the exercise of the rights the most solidly established; but he was pleased to preserve them to the different members of the republic in proportion as they adopted a system which, at the same time that it is conformable to his views, is essentially just. He has applauded the remonstrances of your high mightinesses to the court of London and the efforts which you have made to recover the means of restoring to the flag of the United Provinces its ancient consideration, as well as the positive order which you have given to a squadron to hold itself ready to convoy and protect all vessels loaded with objects not comprehended among merchandises of contraband from the time that unlimited convoys should be resolved on, and he has constantly desired that your high mightinesses would cease to lay obstacles in the way of the testimonies of his affection, by attaching yourselves entirely to the fundamental principles of your interest, informed of your definitive intentions in this regard, and assured of the explanation which your high mightinesses are determined to make of their neutrality by granting an efficacious and indefinite protection to the commerce and navigation of your subjects. His majesty has heard with pleasure the several representations which several members of the union, and especially the prince who is at the head of the republic, have made to him relative to the restraints which the commerce of different provinces experiences in the ports of his kingdom; and his majesty has ordered me to declare to your high mightinesses that he has revoked, by a decree of his council of the 22d of April, 1780, an authentic copy of which I have the honor to present, those of the 14th of January, the 27th of April, the 5th of June, and the 18th of September, 1779; but he would not confine himself to re-establish thus the subjects of your high mightinesses in the enjoyment of favors which they experienced before the publication of those new laws, in all the advantages conditionally promised by his regulations concerning the commerce and navigation of neuters; he would give them a signal proof of his benevolence; and he orders me to declare to your high mightinesses that he has ordered the return of all the sums received by the overseers of his farms in virtue of the said decrees. He flatters himself that testimonies so important of his affection will convince your high mightinesses not only that he takes an interest the most sincere in the prosperity of the United Provinces, but also that justice, moderation, and beneficence form the essential and invariable basis of his conduct and of his proceedings.

Decree of the king's council of state of the 22d of April, mentioned in the foregoing memorial:

The king, being informed of the dispositions made by the States-General of the United Provinces for complying with the reciprocity required by his regulation of the 26th of July, 1778, concerning the navigation of neutral vessels, and his majesty, willing in consequence of these same dispositions to give a new proof of his affection to the said United Provinces, is determined to put an end to the restraints which the commerce of their subjects have experienced in his States, to which end, the report being heard, the king being in his council, hath ordained and ordains as follows:

ARTICLE I. His majesty has revoked and revokes the decree of his council of the 14th of January, 1779, which subjected to a duty of freight the vessels of the said

subjects of the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries; those of the 27th of April and 5th of June, 1779, which establish a new tariff for the objects proceeding from their growth, fishery, manufacture, and commerce, and that of the 18th of September, 1779, which prohibits the entry of the cheeses of North Holland in the kingdom.

ART. II. His majesty confirms, in favor of the said subjects of the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, the advantages conditionally promised by the dispositions of his regulation of the 26th of July, 1778, concerning the navigation of neutral vessels in time of war.

ART. III. His majesty, willing to give to the said subjects of the States-General a signal proof of his beneficence, has ordained and ordains a restitution of the sums of money received by the overseers of his farms in virtue of the decrees before mentioned.

Done in the king's council of state the 22d of April, 1780.

The news from The Hague of the 26th of April is, that the deliberations of the different provinces which compose the republic have been continued these last weeks without interruption, and all the opinions are unanimously agreed upon three important objects, which make the matter of them, viz: First, the succor demanded by Great Britain; secondly, the convoys to be granted to merchant ships; thirdly, the invitation of the Empress of Russia to accede to an armed neutrality. The respective states of the seven provinces have all been of opinion, first, to excuse themselves from giving the succors demanded; secondly, to grant convoys to all merchant ships bearing the flag of the republic whatever may be their cargoes, without any other exception than that of contraband regulated by treaties; thirdly, to accept with gratitude the invitation, and to enter upon this subject into negotiation with the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary of her Imperial majesty.

We learn even that the States General have already taken resolutions conformable to this opinion. The affair of the attack of the convoy commanded by the Count de Byland does not less engage the attention of the government of the republic. The states of the province of Holland and of West Friesland have already formed upon this subject the instruction which they have directed their deputies to carry to the assembly of their high mightinesses. It tends, in substance, to represent to the court of London that their high mightinesses are by no means satisfied with the answer of Lord Stormont, given the 16th of March, to the just representations of their high mightinesses concerning the violence done to their convoy, inasmuch as this answer only serves to cast upon them, by strained arguments, the blame of that which happened, and to represent, against all truth, their officer as having been the aggressor. That their high mightinesses, as well to justify themselves in the eyes of all Europe as to convince, if it is possible, Great Britain, have thought it their duty to represent, further that naval stores, not being merchandises of contraband according to the express letter of the treaties, their visitation and detention, made by order, especially under the flag of their high mightinesses, is a direct attack of their flag, as well as of their independence and sovereignty

That, as to the allegation of the treaty of 1674, made by Lord Stormont, concerning the visit of merchandises suspected, the contrary of what he advances appears in a manner the most evident by the simple reading of the treaty. That, the nature of a convoy rendering all visits unnecessary, the articles fifth and sixth of this treaty confine themselves manifestly to single ships, from which, nevertheless, they can not in this require more than the exhibition of their sea letters; and with regard to vessels detained for an enemy's port, that of their passports. That thus the conduct of Commodore Fielding, approved by his majesty, implies an open violation of this treaty; by consequence, neither the orders of their high mightinesses nor the act of their officer charged with their execution having done any injury to the treaties nor any hostilities having been committed on their part, but Commodore Fielding having employed, for the execution of his orders, the force of arms against the convoy of the republic, there does not exist the least cause ot complaint on the part of his majesty; but, on the part of their high mightinesses, they have had the most just reason of complaint, and that they ought to insist still (as their high mightinesses do insist in the manner the most serious) upon a satisfaction and a suitable reparation, as well as upon the release, without further form of process, of the merchant ships and their cargoes sailing under the convoy of the republic, detained by force and violence contrary to the tenor of treaties, and condemned by the judge of the court of admiralty with the same injustice with which they were attacked by Commodore Fielding, taken, and carried into England. That conformably to these principles the Count de Welderen shall be charged to give a reply to Lord Stormont, and to support it the most effectually as often as he shall judge it to be further useful, etc.

If on one side the desire of the republic to preserve an exact impartiality in the present troubles of Europe draws upon her the displeasure of Great Britain, on the other side she sees an end put to those restraints which France had laid on her commerce.

The royal college of the admiralty of Stockholm has sent to all the agents and consuls who reside in foreign countries an ordinance, by which it is announced to all masters of Swedish ships that necessary convoys would be given for the protection of the commerce of the subjects of this kingdom.

It is quite unnecessary for me to observe to Congress that all these political and maritime commotions tend either to peace or to the full employment of all the forces of our enemy, and consequently to our liberty and tranquillity.

The general run of speculations and of conversation throughout Europe is upon peace. It seems the general opinion that Great Britain will not venture upon so many dangers as lie all around her. I wish I could bring myself to think so; but I confess I can not as yet. Signal success on the part of the allies might compel them to it; but signal

success in favor of the English would urge them giddily on, no one can say to what lengths.

There is a speculative article from Brussels, the 25th of April, that is worth transmitting to Congress:

The news from Holland speaks of nothing but the sensation which the declaration of Russia has produced. The greatest part of the provinces which have already given their opinions upon the memorials of Sir Joseph Yorke to excuse themselves from furnishing England with the succors demanded have been eager to declare that the proposition of the court of Russia could not be more advantageous than in the present circumstances, and that it ought to be accepted. The English party is very much disconcerted by this event, which brings forward a new order of things. This party strives to excite a fear that the difference of the principles established by particular treaties among the neutral powers respectively and the belligerent powers will form an obstacle to the execution of a plan so salutary, which may serve forever as a rule in this matter. We know that among the belligerent powers France has always thought that it was just to leave a freedom of navigation to neutral powers; it is well known that she has a long time respected this liberty, and that if she has afterwards made regulations which will restrain that of Holland, it was because she has been forced to it, because it was very natural that she should seek to stop the vessels bound to the ports of England when this nation made no scruple to stop those which were bound to hers. And it is well known, too, that she never took this part until after she had employed the method of representation to determine the Hollanders to protect their own commerce.

Spain appeared equally determined to use no more methods of rigor and severity towards the vessels of the republic. There is only England who appears to oppose the general wish, and she ought to perceive that it is her own conduct which has brought forth the events of which she complains. If she had had more moderation and justice, the project of an armed neutrality would not have taken place.

They write from Holland:

We flatter ourselves that the armed neutrality may contribute to accelerate peace. It appears hitherto that it is England alone which puts an obstacle to it, and it is difficult for her to take her part in it. We doubt not that the independence of America, which perhaps is already tacitly acknowledged by all the courts of Europe, will be the fundamental basis of an accommodation. England at the same time will be forced to announce a pretended pre-eminence of flag, equally contrary to the laws of nations and to the first notions of common sense. The general liberty of the seas, the re-establishment of the respective possessions in the state in which there were before hostilities, perhaps the restitution of Gibraltar to its natural masters, and the adoption of the maritime code proposed by Russia, will be most probably the necessary consequences of the peace.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 3, 1780.

SIR: The substance of a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners, made upon the sea between France and England, has been published. It was signed at Versailles the 12th of March last, by M. le Hoc, one of

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 36.

the principal clerks of the office of the marine, authorized to this purpose by the king, and at London the 28th of the same month by Messrs. John Bell, Walter Farquharson, P. Corbett, and Robert Lulman, commissioners of the King of England. This treaty, equally useful to the two nations, dictated by sentiments which do honor to the powers at war and to humanity, will, it is said, be distinguished by the true philosophers, who prefer a useful operation to folio volumes which talk of morals and humanity. The most perfect equality and reciprocity is established.

The prisoners shall be exchanged man for man, according to their rank and qualities, or for a certain number of men as equivalent, or for certain sums of money in form of ransoms. A French vice-admiral shall be exchanged against an English admiral having command; a lieutenant-general against an admiral carrying his flag at ; a vice-admiral commanding a squadron against a rear-admiral; the captains of ships commanding divisions, or having the rank of brigadiers, against commodores; the captains of ships having the rank of colonels against post captains of three-years' standing, whose rank answers to that of colonels; the lieutenants of vessels commanding frigates from twenty to fifty guns, and having the rank of lieutenant-colonels, against all other post captains who have the same rank; the lieutenants of vessels of the rank of majors against the masters and commanders or captains who are not post captains; all the other lieutenants of vessels against lieutenants without distinction; the captains of fire ships of the rank of captains of infantry, ensigns of vessels of the rank of captains of infantry, lieutenants of frigates, or captains of pinks, on establishment or for a campaign, and having the same rank, against lieutenants, and in want of these, against midshipmen; the guards du pavillon against midshipmen; the marine officers and subalterns against those of the same denomination or of equal rank. The respective equivalent for all the ranks in men and in money is from sixty men, or £60 sterling, descending to pence, to two men, or £2 sterling. The sailors are to be exchanged man for man, and the equivalent is £1 sterling. The same gradation is to be observed for the officers of the marine and officers of land forces serving as marines, and land officers not serving on board the vessels but taken at sea, as well as the common soldiers. Every three months there shall be stated accounts of exchanges conformable to the foregoing regulations.

They have also ascertained the price per head of the transportation of prisoners, as well as of their subsistence; they have also regulated the conditions of the exchange of officers and other prisoners made in merchant vessels, privateers, or others, which are not the king's ships. Passengers, not being in the service of land or sea, when they shall have been taken, no matter in what vessel, shall not be regarded as prisoners, but shall be set at liberty without being put into the accounts of exchanges, when they shall have proved that they are in the case of the exception. All persons, no matter of what denomination, who shall be shipwrecked in any vessel whatsoever, at least if it is not in attempting to land, or in protecting some depredation upon the coast or in the islands of one or the other of the two kingdoms, shall be immediately set at liberty, and shall be furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, as well as with clothing, if they have need of it, as soon as their situation shall be known and the measures necessary for the purpose can be taken.

I have the honor to be, with respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Genet.*

PARIS, *May* 3, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I had two days ago the honor to enclose to the minister a Boston Gazette of 21st February, in which is a relation of a glorious combat and cruise of my countryman Captain Waters, of the *Thorn*. Let me beg of you, sir, to insert this account in the *Gazette* and the *Mercure*. There has not been a more memorable action this war; and the feats of our American frigates and privateers have not been sufficiently published in Europe. It would answer valuable purposes, both by encouraging their honest and brave hearts and by exciting emulations elsewhere, to give them a little more than they have had of the fame they have deserved. Some of the most skillful, determined, persevering, and successful engagements that have ever happened upon the seas have been performed by American privateers against the privateers from New York. They have happened upon the coasts and seas of America, which are now very well swept of New York privateers, and have seldom been properly described and published even there, and much more seldom ever inserted in any of the gazettes of Europe, whether it is because the actions of single and small vessels and these privateers are not thought worth publishing, or whether it has been for want of some person to procure it to be done.

Yours, most sincerely,

JOHN ADAMS.

Gerry to J. Adams.†

[Extract.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 5, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The resolutions of Congress for calling in and canceling the two millions of dollars, emitted by them have in general been well received. The depreciation is stopped, and specie, which before the passing of the resolves was sold for upwards of seventy for one, is now current at sixty, and has been lately at fifty-five. The advantage of this plan will be the greatest to the landholder, inasmuch as the national debt, including certificates and foreign demands, does not now much exceed five millions sterling, which is but a trifling sum compared with the £200,000,000 sterling due from Great Britain.

Another benefit resulting from it is a supply of five millions of dollars of the new emission, every dollar of which is equal to forty dollars of the old emission. Indeed this must be called in before that can be realized; nevertheless, there is a greater demand among all ranks for Continental money than there has been since the commencement of the war, and specie is no longer hoarded by the disaffected or timid.

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 159.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 38, with verbal changes; J. Adams' Works, 188.

With respect to our resources, Congress are at present much in want of money, and it is a happy circumstance, for their economy is in proportion to their wants. The demands on the treasury are generally answered by warrants on the several States, which are careful, by some means or other, to discharge the drafts. The taxes are indeed very heavy, but the collection goes on, and I doubt not the army will be well fed and paid. Military stores and clothing must, however, be procured on credit in Europe, as well as a considerable loan to serve as a fund for drawing in case of necessity. Trade and privateering are brisk, and there is a plenty of goods of every kind excepting military, but no money to purchase them. This is easily accounted for, since the whole sum in circulation, as Congress have fixed it, is only five millions of dollars. Our privateers and commerce have, nevertheless, suffered much by the cruisers of the enemy, who have the command of the sea-coast.

It is much to be wished that the court of France would order a squadron, superior to the enemy, to be stationed in some part of the United States, as the best and only means of putting a speedy end to the war. It is almost impossible to conceive the havoc that our privateers made of the enemy's cruisers and transports during the time that the Count d'Estaing was at Rhode Island and Charleston. But our losses at present nearly equal our captures. Indeed that worthy officer, aware of those and other advantages, ordered the Count de Grasse to be stationed at the Chesapeake, but his plan was defeated by the tempestuousness of the weather. Had the latter arrived with his squadron Charleston would not have been beseiged, and three or four of our frigates, which are now in Ashley River, and will probably be destroyed, would have been employed in intercepting the enemy's transports.

I forgot to mention a resolution of Congress to pay off the Continental certificates according to the value of money at the time of their being respectively issued. This is but justice, and will undoubtedly be satisfactory to foreigners. Bills of exchange are now at forty-five for one, and will be higher in consequence of the great risk of sending vessels from the eastern States to the southern for produce.

I am, etc.,

ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Washington to Luzerne.*

MORRISTOWN, *May* 5, 1780.

SIR: Two days since I had the honor of receiving your excellency's letter of the 29th of April.

The polite terms in which you mention the attention which my respectful attachment for you dictated during your stay in camp add to

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* 5 Sparks Dip. Rev. Corr., 682.

the obligation I felt for the honor of your visit. I was happy in that opportunity of giving you a new proof of my sentiments, and I entreat you to afford me others as frequently as possible. As the minister of a prince to whom America owes so much you have every title to my respect; and, permit me to add, your personal qualities give you a claim, which my heart cheerfully acknowledges, to all my esteem and all my regard.

I beg you to accept my thanks for your intention to represent the army in so favorable a light as will recommend it to the approbation of his most Christian majesty—an honor as flattering as it will be precious.

It would be a want of gratitude not to be convinced of the intimate concern he takes in our affairs after the repeated and decided proofs he has given.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

9 O'CLOCK, A. M.

P. S.—I have this instant received a letter from my much esteemed and amiable friend the Marquis de la Fayette, dated in Boston harbor the 29th of last month. In the course of a day or two I shall expect to see him.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 8, 1780.

SIR: The proceedings of the United Provinces of the Low Countries are at this period so much attended to by mankind, and are likely to have such extensive and lasting consequences to us as well as to Europe, that Congress will excuse my troubling them with them in detail, however dry and unentertaining they may be.

Hague, April 30, 1780.—We learn that their noble and grand mightinesses the states of Holland and West Friesland have taken a resolution which had been universally adopted, and that it had been written to the Count de Welderen, minister of their high mightinesses at the court of London, to there represent—

"That their high mightinesses had been by no means satisfied with the answer given the 16th of March by Lord Stormont to the just representations made in the name of their high mightinesses by M. de Welderen, their envoy, relative to the violences committed upon the convoy of the republic, inasmuch as this answer, by arguments destitute of all foundation, endeavors to cast the blame of what happened upon their high mightinesses, and to make the commandant of their squadron be considered as the aggressor, which is absolutely false; that their high mightinesses, as well as for their own justification in the eyes of all Europe, as to convince, as far as in their power, his Britannic majesty of the insolidity of the answer of Lord Stormont, and with what *incredible contempt of treaties* their convoy has been attacked, without having, on their part, provoked so hostile an action, have resolved in sub-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 39.

stance to represent: That their high mightinesses, having always held in high estimation the declaration made by his Britannic majesty of the sentiments of affection for the republic, flatter themselves that they have given his majesty, during the continuance of the present troubles, convincing proofs of their esteem, and of their sincere desire to maintain and strengthen the ties of this friendship, which for so many years had not failed to secure the reciprocal prosperity of the two nations; and that, still animated with the same sentiments, persisting also in the same principles, and having nothing so much at heart as the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of the rights assured by the ancient treaties, their high mightinesses are intimately affected that his majesty will consider as a provocation the necessity of that defense to which they found themselves reduced in consequence of positive orders given by his majesty himself, and not having been able to make their representations upon this subject attended to, see themselves obliged to declare that they can and ought to order to be convoyed by vessels of war all the materials for shipbuilding which shall not be transported to the succor of the enemies of his Britannic majesty, the said materials forming one of the principal articles of the free navigation and of the commerce stipulated by the treaties; but all the merchandises of contraband being nevertheless to be excepted. That the cargoes of materials for shipbuilding, not being considered as contraband by the letter of the treaties, ought not to be subjected to any visit or detention, above all when they are found under the flag of their high mightinesses, which, nevertheless, has been done in consequence of orders given upon this subject, and can not but be regarded as a direct and unprovoked attack of their flag, as well as of their independence and sovereignty. That as to what Lord Stormont advances in saying that in virtue of the treaty of 1674 all merchant vessels loaded with suspected merchandises ought to be visited, to the end to excuse by this assertion the conduct of Mr. Fielding, it is but a vain allegation, contradicted by the very words of the said treaty, in which, in truth, there is no mention made of suspected merchandises, but only in the third article of commodities of contraband, which are particularly enumerated. That the convoy, by its nature, rendering useless all visits, the fifth and sixth articles of the said treaty of 1674, relative to rencounters at sea, explain themselves upon the following case. We there find literally:

'That when any private vessel, subject to one of the contracting powers, shall meet in open sea a vessel of war, or other vessel, provided with a commission from the other power, and that the said vessel shall not be under convoy, she shall not be held only barely to the exhibition of her sea letters to justify the property of her cargo, and this in consequence of the eighth article of said treaty, except, nevertheless, when a merchant vessel shall be destined for an enemy's port she shall be obliged also to show her passport, containing the list of effects which shall be on board, and to show that she is not loaded with any of the articles prohibited by the third article of said treaty.'

"That, consequently, their high mightinesses ought to conclude that the assertion of Lord Stormont concerning the pretended exception of the said treaty is but an extension of a regulation which he alleges for his justification, and that thus the conduct of Mr. Fielding, approved by his majesty, is a blow direct and manifest struck at the same treaty. That with regard to the property, as well as the nature of the cargo, of the vessels which were under the convoy of the republic, Mr. Fielding would have been able to have abundantly informed himself by the Count de Byland, to whom their high mightinesses, although by no means obliged to this act of complaisance on their part, had given permission to consent to this demand, provided always that the maintenance of the rights of the subjects of the republic should not have suffered by it, and that, moreover, all possible moderation should be previously used. Their high mightinesses could not do any other than approve in all its points the conduct of Count de Byland. That thus, in contempt of all law and reason, the vessels under convoy having been taken, and the judgment of the legality of their detention sent to the decision of judges, who, as they ought not to pronounce upon this fact but according to the regulations made by his majesty, are

ready to declare lawful the confiscation of materials of shipbuilding. That notwithstanding this, no breach of treaties having been made, either by the orders of their high mightinesses or by the conduct of their officer charged to execute them, nor any hostility committed, but on the contrary, Mr. Fielding, in consequence of orders which he had received, having employed the violence of arms against the convoy of the republic, it is not certainly on the side of his majesty that there ought to exist the least right of complaint, but rather on that of their high mightinesses, who have subjects the most lawful on which to make them, and to insist in the strongest manner on obtaining a suitable satisfaction and reparation as well as the restitution of the merchant vessels and their cargoes, which, being under the convoy of the State, have been, against the faith of treaties, attacked and stopped by Mr. Fielding, taken and carried into England, and against all form of justice and equity so unjustly condemned by the judges of the admiralty; and that, finally, M.de Welderen shall be charged to conform himself to the aforesaid instructions, to demand a positive answer upon this subject from Lord Stormont, and to do upon this object all that he shall judge suitable to the circumstances, in employing to this effect his good offices and all the efforts of the strictest duty."

Their high mightinesses have also taken the following resolution:

Having received a letter from the representative of his most serene highness, and from the directors of the general and granted company of the West Indies, committees of the respective chambers to the assembly of ten, sitting at Amsterdam, written from that city the 18th of this month, and whereof the contents are, that in consequence of, and to the end to satisfy the resolution of their high mightinesses of the 12th precedent, containing their report upon the petition of divers merchants and proprietors of ships residing in this country and trading with the West Indies, showing thereby to their high mightinesses how it was prejudicial to the commerce and navigation of this country:

"(1) That when the vessels of other European nations transport to the colonies of this state situated in the West Indies, and principally at St. Eustatia, merchandises without paying the duties of lest and of recognition, that the petitioners and other inhabitants of the republic, going from the ports of this country, were, nevertheless, obliged to pay to the West India Company;

"(2) That if the said foreign vessels should enjoy an advantage so notable as to transport from America even the merchandises and productions of the country in the ports of their habitation or others situated in Europe and without the limits of this republic, without paying any duty of lest or of recognition, while, nevertheless, the petitioners see themselves not only obliged in going there and returning to pay these duties to the West India Company, but also to engage themselves under caution not to return into any port of Europe except those of this state, they pray that a remedy may be provided for this inconvenience."

Upon which having deliberated, it has been thought proper conditionally, and until a final decision of their high mightinesses, that it should be determined by these presents that foreign European vessels, importing merchandise of any sort to the islands of this State in the West Indies without having acquitted the sums due in this country for the duties of lest and of recognition, shall be subjected and obliged, after their arrival, to there pay exactly all the duties, without exception, which the vessels of the republic are held to discharge before their departure from Europe; finally, that conditionally, and until after an ulterior disposition of their high mightinesses, it should be seriously forbidden to these foreign European vessels to load in the colonies of the state merchandises, except under the same obligations and restrictions imposed upon ships of the republic, to wit, to sail only from and to return to the ports of this country, and paying the same duties of lest and sale and recognition which the ships of the inhabitants of the state are obliged to pay on returning to the said ports of the republic,

Hague, May 3.—There has been sent to the assembly of their high mightinesses a resolution of the province of Gueldres, conforming wholly to that taken by the province of Holland touching the memorial of the Prince Gallitzin, and which authorizes at the same time their committees to assist at the conferences and negotiations, to continue them, and to transmit the result of them to the deliberations of their noble mightinesses, to the end that they in course take a resolution according to the exigence of the case and the importance of this object.

There have also been presented three resolutions of the province of Zealand; the first, concerning the requisition made by the admiralty of the quarter of the north, soliciting a subsidy of three hundred and seventy-five thousand florins, and to be put in a state to be able afterwards to pay the annual interest of it; in consequence of which the states of Zealand consent to the borrowing of the said sum upon an interest of two and a half per cent., opposing themselves, nevertheless, to the granting to the said college an annual subsidy, to be divided in quotas on the respective provinces.

The second of these resolutions contains an answer to a letter of the admiralty on the Meuse concerning the indemnification of the losses suffered for the transportation of the Ambassador Van Haefton, at Constantinople. Finally, the third resolution is relative to the memoir of the Prince Gallitzin, and has for its object to concur in the opening of conferences, provided that these do not in anything alter the system of an exact neutrality adopted by the republic, nor the treaties subsisting; with a further insinuation to the gentlemen their ordinary deputies to abstain from concurring in any final conclusion upon this object without the consent of their noble mightinesses, and without having previously informed them of what may be projected in this respect.

The states of Guilderland, in their resolution relative to the granting of an unlimited convoy, have also declared that they had believed they had foundation to flatter themselves that the condescension of this state, upon the representations of the King of Great Britain, to the effect to suspend conditionally the protection due to their subjects, and which was assured to them by the treaty of 1674, would have sufficiently proved the desire with which the republic was animated to testify to his majesty, as well as to Great Britain, a deference the most marked, preserving always the observation of an exact neutrality; but that convinced of the contrary, as well by the declarations as by even the hostilities committed against the subjects of the republic, they have now thought themselves founded in putting an end to the limitation of convoys, in granting a free course to the protection of commerce, according to the treaties and the law of nations; for which reason the aforesaid states would no more make any difficulty to concur to maintain with the forces of the country the right of the republic, lawfully acquired by solemn treaties; but that not being, nevertheless, intimately convinced that, in case of a further opposition, the republic is in a state of defense sufficient upon the sea, it would consequently be to be feared that such a part would not serve but to throw the state into still greater embarrassments, and operate an effect contrary to the end proposed. Thus, then, supposing that the high confederates should judge it indispensably necessary to grant an unlimited convoy, the intention of their noble mightinesses would not be in any degree to retard or suspend such a resolution; but, on the contrary, to show their condescension and their desire to contribute to the unanimity of this state, they would take away all reflections, of what importance soever they may appear to them, submitting themselves to the penetration of those of the confederates who, being more interested in navigation and maritime commerce, have already authorized and instructed their committees, in the generality, to consent, with the concurrence of other provinces, to an unlimited convoy.

We read also in another resolution of the states of Friesland these remarkable words:

That the Empress of Russia has never given a more shining proof than in the present conjuncture of her attachment to this republic, which ought to engage the state

to correspond by sentiments proportioned to those which her majesty has discovered, both for the well-being and the safety of her own state and subjects, and to procure to all Europe a perfect tranquillity, founded upon motives the most equitable and upon treaties, and to the end to prevent and hinder for the future the damages which commerce and navigation have suffered until this time, and to maintain and cause to be observed a perfect neutrality between the belligerent powers.

I may conclude this letter by observing that I am informed they talk in Holland of laying an embargo, to prevent the English from making many prizes, and that there is another rumor of opening the harbor of Antwerp. If there is any serious thought of this, it must be the fruit of English intrigue with Austria.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 8, 1780.

SIR: At the same time that the conduct of Great Britain towards the neutral powers is marked by a severity that is without example, that of France and Spain is distinguished by a moderation and liberality that deserves to be imitated. I have before transmitted to Congress the declaration of the King of France and the decree of his council abolishing the restrictions on the Holland trade. In this letter I shall give an account of the conduct of Spain.

On the 13th of March the Count de Florida Blanca wrote a letter to the Marquis Gonzalez de Castigon, the minister of the marine, to serve as a regulation for the navigation of neuters, as follows:

MOST EXCELLENT LORD: From the commencement of the present war with Great Britain the king declared sincerely, and even in a manner that is unexampled, his intentions of blockading Gibraltar, and his majesty gave by me a formal notification of it to all the foreign ministers and ambassadors, to the end that they might be in a capacity to inform their respective nations of it, and that these might avoid in their navigation and in their conduct the consequences and procedures authorized by the right of nations and the general laws of war. The king declared at the same time, by his ordinances concerning privateering, published in the sight of all the world, "that with regard to the merchandises, productions, and effects of the English, loaded on board of vessels bearing the flag of a friend or a neuter, his majesty would conduct himself according to the procedure which the English should adopt towards cargoes of the same kind, to the end to avoid, by this reciprocity of conduct, the enormous inequality, the prejudice, and even the ruin to which the commerce and the subjects of his majesty would be otherwise exposed." In spite of these dispositions, so full of equity, of frankness, and good faith, the captains and masters of neutral vessels have not ceased to abuse without shame the impunity of their flags, whether by sliding clandestinely into Gibraltar, with cargoes of provisions (even with those which were destined for the fleets and armies of the king), whether by concealing a great part of their loading, consisting in powder and other merchandises of contraband, or by disguising (by double and fictitious papers, which they cast into the sea when they saw themselves pursued) the property of their vessels

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 46.

and effects, as well as their destination, for persons and places different from those to whom they really belonged and to which they were bound, or whether, finally, by making a formal resistance against the king's ships or his privateers when they endeavored to take a view of some vessels which they supposed neuter.

Although these facts are notorious, and have been proved by formal processes, these men, greedy of gain and perverse, have filled all Europe with the noise of their clamors, propagating falsely that orders had been given to detain and to seize all neutral vessels that would pass the straits, whilst in fact the orders were confined to the detention of vessels suspected by their course or their papers, and which were loaded with provisions or effects of the enemy; a moderation very different from the conduct which has been held by the navy and the privateers of England, in detaining and declaring good prize neutral vessels, not only when they carried Spanish productions, but of whatever kind the merchandises were which they had taken on board in the ports of Spain, or although they were only bound to this peninsula, taking also and carrying to Gibraltar the neutral vessels which passed in their sight with cargoes of provisions, although the whole was but a feint and a disguised agreement made beforehand with persons interested in these frauds. These clamors have been accompanied with several complaints, which have been made to the king, filled with the exaggerations and falsehoods before mentioned and the complainants have addressed themselves in the same manner to their respective courts, without considering that conformably to all the treaties of peace and of commerce the royal tribunals of the marine of the admiralty, as well inferior as superior, were open to them to hear their allegations and proofs, pronounce sentence upon the processes which they should institute, and repair the wrongs which the detained vessels should have suffered, in one case or the other, without sufficient reason, although to this moment this point has never been legally verified; but the captains and masters have always obstinately insisted that, without other proofs than their relations and their applications to the ministry, they should be released and the delays and damages of their detention made good to them, and this solely because the clemency, the equity, and even the indulgence of the king recommended to the judges of the marine, had set several vessels at liberty which had been detained with justice, and which might have been declared good prizes conformably to law and to the practice of our enemies.

To dissipate even the very shadow of such like pretexts, the Count de Rechteren, envoy of the United Provinces, and the other ministers of foreign courts, were notified beforehand that if they proposed any means of preventing frauds and causes of suspicion the king, to give a fresh proof of the good correspondence and friendship, which he desired to maintain with these courts, would adopt such of those means as should be proper to produce such an effect; and as to this day they have not proposed nor regulated any means of this sort, his majesty has judged proper to take by himself the measures which are consistent with his sovereignty, uniting to that end the substance of those which have been communicated hitherto, and manifesting in a manner, if possible, still more positive his intentions, so full of justice, of equity, and of moderation, as being founded upon the resolution of making them to be observed with punctuality.

ARTICLE I. That the vessels with a neutral flag, making sail through the straits, whether on the side of the ocean or on that of the Mediterranean, may not be molested nor hindered in their navigation so long as they shall arrange themselves, as much as shall be possible for them, along the coasts of Africa, and keeping as far as they can from those of Europe, during the course of their passage, from their coming into it to their going out, provided always that their papers and cargoes be regular, and they furnish no just cause to excite suspicions, whether by flying away, or by resistance, or by an irregular course, or other signs of correspondence with the place blocked up, or with the ships of the enemy.

ART. II. When the aforesaid vessels of a neutral flag shall be destined with her

cargoes for any ports situated upon the Spanish coast in the straits, such as those of Algeziras or Tarifa, they must lie to and wait the arrival of a Spanish vessel, which making sail towards them, shall give them the signal, by firing a gun, and after having received their declaration, shall escort them or will point out to them, according to the circumstances, the way which they ought strictly to pursue for coming more readily, without any danger and without giving cause of any suspicion, to the place of their destination.

ART. III. In case the Spanish vessels cruising in the straits, at the entrance or the outlet, according to the exigence of the case or the place, and conformably to the orders with which they may be charged, should judge it necessary to convoy neutral vessels which are traversing the straits, or even those which are coasting along Africa, these neutral vessels shall not make opposition to submit to the convoy, without going away from it or furnishing reasons of suspicion; nevertheless, as they may arrive in great numbers, and at different times, in such manner that it may become prejudicial to wait for the time to be convoyed, and that, moreover, it would be extremely embarrassing to escort each ship in particular, they shall direct their course, conformably to the first article, towards the coast of Africa, and shall follow it until some Spanish vessel, stationed or cruising in the straits, presents itself to escort them out of sight of the place of the enemy and its avenues; and to this end the vessels to which the signal shall be given shall stop, as it was said above, and shall conform themselves to the dispositions made in respect to them by producing, without the smallest difficulty or resistance, their papers, and submitting to all that which is prescribed by the treaties and the common law of nations, to the end to prove the property of ships, the legality of their documents, as well as of their cargoes and destination.

ART. IV. When such vessels, under the appearance of neutrals, shall come out of ports situated on the coast of Africa in the straits they shall be visited, and treated according to the nature of their cargo or the suspicions which they shall have excited of intentions to sail to carry succors to Gibraltar, supposing always that the vessels coming out of the said ports with the design of going into Gibraltar have in fact hoisted a neutral flag and abused it.

ART. V. When neutral vessels shall not conform themselves to the said dispositions, in whole or in part, in particular cases, they shall be seized and carried into port, where they shall be declared good prize, with all their effects and cargoes, only for being loaded with provisions, or with those sorts of effects specified by the article fifteen of the regulation for armed vessels, without there being occasion for any other judicial proof; and in case that the articles beforementioned should not be found on board of these vessels, the motives of their contravention of these articles shall be juridically examined, and an account of them rendered to his majesty by the secretary of state and the department of the marine, who shall afterwards make known the resolution of his majesty.

ART. VI. In case, independently of the contravention of these articles, it should be proved that a vessel under a neutral flag should be entered into the place, or discovered going in (which would manifest a visible and formal design of going there) without having lain to or waited for the Spanish vessel, which should have pursued her and made her the signal, or should have gone far from the coast of Africa, or, finally, shall have separated herself from the convoy, she shall be in all respects, both in going in and in coming out, treated as an enemy's ship, declared according to the tenor of the laws of war to be a good prize, as well as all her cargo, and all the crew shall be made prisoners of war; because that in such a case the flag and documents ought to be supposed false, the ship and cargo to belong to the enemy, or that one or the other is destined for his service.

ART. VII. The neutral vessels which shall be visited by the king's ships or privateers upon other seas or coasts of the ocean and the Mediterranean, which have no communication with the Straits of Gibraltar, shall neither be stopped nor brought into port except in the cases specified by the royal regulation made the 10th of July,

1779, for privateers; no vexation or violence shall be exercised against the masters of these ships, nor shall anything be taken away from them, how small soever may be the value of it, under the penalty established by the said regulation, extended even by article nineteenth to that of death, according to the exigency of the case.

ART. VIII. In case the vessels stopped by the king's ships or privateers shall throw their papers into the sea, and this fact shall be juridically proved, they shall, for this reason only, be declared good prize; which has been sufficiently made known by the sixteenth article of the regulation for privateers, which treats of this object.

ART. IX. If it shall be proved that in the cargoes of vessels stopped there should be found some effects the property of the enemy, in such case, if the captain shall have declared it freely, the said effects shall be unloaded alone, the freight of them shall be paid, without retaining long the masters or hindering in any manner their navigation, always provided, that as far as possible the said vessels shall not be put in a situation to run any risk by the taking out the effects beforementioned; a receipt shall be given to the captain for the effects discharged, of the condition they were in, as well as the amount of their freight as far as the place of their destination; which shall be proved by their charter-parties or documents, to the end to be able to be satisfied, what shall be their due from the commissary of the marine of the first port they shall make, that of which they shall give notice by the way of the ministry, to the end that if the receipt of which they are the bearers has been given them by a privateer, the amount of it may be paid by the owners, and if it has been furnished them by a king's ship, measures the most convenient in this respect shall be taken, that in case it should be judged absolutely necessary to conduct the said vessel into some port there to discharge them, they may be indemnified for that which shall be due to them, by reason of their freight, for so many days as it shall be judged indispensably necessary for them to take up, both in going to the said ports and in returning; but, nevertheless, in case the captains should conceal the effects the property of the enemy, or deny that they belong to the enemy, they ought to be pursued juridically, and the judges of the marine shall examine the case and decide it, with liberty of appeal to a council of war, who, conformably to the usage of the English tribunals, shall declare lawful prize all these effects which shall appear legally to belong to an enemy, by means of which, considering the concealment and the denial of the said effects, no account shall be made, neither of the freight nor of the days lost to masters of vessels, since they will have been themselves the causes of the delay occasioned to their navigation.

ART. X. When in the said case, or in others similar, the ships of friends or of neutrals shall be stopped and brought into the ports, other than those of their destination, contrary to the forms prescribed or without having given cause for it by well-founded reasons, either by the direction of their course, or by the state of their papers, by some resistance on their part, the nature of their cargo, or by other legal causes, founded either on treaties or the usages of nations universally adopted, the armed vessels which shall have seized such vessels shall be condemned to make good the lost days as well as the damages and prejudices caused to a seized ship; this condemnation or justification shall be mentioned in the same sentence which shall contain the declarations of good or bad prize, and to this end they shall proceed with the utmost dispatch, without injuring, however, the privileges or principal points, whereof the nature of the thing requires observance; and the decisions, whether of condemnation or acquittal, ought to be executed under sureties, as it is regulated for the advantage of privateers; and if it happens that the vessels which should have caused the damage belong to the king, in that case the tribunals or judges of the marine shall give notice of it to the secretary of your excellency, sending to him at the same time justifying pieces and their opinion, to the end that his majesty may ordain convenient damages, and what shall be judged necessary to prevent or remedy like cases; and it is in this sense that the fortieth and other articles of the regulation for privateering ought to be understood.

ART. XI. The sale of prizes and their cargoes, mentioned by the thirty-seventh, forty-fourth, and other articles of the royal ordinance for privateering, shall be made not only after having prepared an inventory of them, and in presence of the masters of the interested, or of those who are legally authorized, but also skillful persons shall have previously made a formal estimate, in which the causes of avarice, or others influencing more or less upon the price of effects, shall be examined and juridically proved in such sort, that at all times one may notoriously prove both the price of merchandises taxed before the sale, and consequently the frauds which might be committed during the said sale, as well as the prejudices that might result from them.

ART. XII. The intention of his majesty being that this royal declaration be observed as making part of his ordinances imprinted and published in all his ports and maritime places, the king commands me to transmit it to your excellency to have it published to this end, and that you see to its punctual execution, while, on my part, I shall communicate it to all the ambassadors and foreign ministers residing in this court, to the end that each one may give notice of it to his respective nation.

ART. XIII. In the mean time his majesty requires your excellency to give also the necessary orders to the tribunals and counselors of the marine, that they may expedite with the utmost diligence the processes begun relative to stopped vessels conformably to the spirit of this royal declaration, which as to the essentials agrees with the precedent ones successively published.

Thus I have gone through these lengthy state papers, but am under fearful apprehensions that Congress will find the translation imperfect in some parts, for I have not time to revise it. I may take this opportunity to observe that I have sent many state papers to Congress which were originally in English, but which I have first found in the foreign gazettes and translated from them; which will account to Congress for the difference which they will see between some papers I have sent and the originals.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 8, 1780.

SIR: There is an article of news from The Hague of the 3d of May, that they write from Dort that the recruits of Anspach and of Hanover, in the pay of England, are embarked there, and sailed from that city the day before yesterday, in order to go to their destination.

There is news also from Stockholm of the 18th of April, that the ordinance which the college of the admiralty has expedited to all the agents and consuls who reside in foreign countries, relating to the convoys necessary to the protection of the commerce of the subjects of this kingdom, is as follows, dated Stockholm, April 1:

His majesty having found it necessary to equip a certain number of vessels of war and frigates during this year, to the end to protect the navigation of Swedish merchants, the college of the admiralty, in consequence, makes known that, besides the vessels of war which are to protect the vessels of other nations destined for the ports

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 53.

of this kingdom, to the end that no hostilities may be committed upon the coasts of Sweden, the said college has further judged it necessary that some frigates ought to serve as convoys to the Swedish ships which go to navigate without the Baltic Sea. To this purpose the royal college of the admiralty has judged proper to give notice that the road of Elsinore will be the rendezvous of all the vessels which would take advantage of the convoys, and which will sail at four different times, to wit:

The first convoy will sail the 29th of May with the merchant vessels which may be ready, under the escort of the frigate the *Zwarte Orn*, commanded by the Major Harald Christiernin, who has orders to conduct them by the canal [?] as far as Cape Finisterre, and take all possible care that the vessels arrive in safety in the ports of their destinations, and afterward to conduct under his convoys destined for the Mediterranean with the same vigilance through the Strait of Gibraltar as far as the latitude of Malaga. The second convoy will sail the 14th of July, with the frigate *Höken*, under the command of the Major and Chevalier Samuel Crrskiold, who is to convoy with the same care the merchant ships as far as Cape Finisterre.

The third will put to sea the 31st of August, under the protection of the frigate *Upland*, commanded by the Major and Baron Solomon Christian von Kokler. Finally, the fourth convoy will sail the 30th of September, escorted by the frigates *Sodermanland* and the *Jaramas*, commanded by the Majors and Chevaliers C. M. Wagenfelt and Herns Frederic Watchmeister, who are to convoy with the same care the merchant ships as far as Cape Finisterre, and afterwards those which are destined for Portugal, Spain, and the Mediterranean, as well as along the coast of Europe, as far as Leghorn; the commandant being to consult with the consuls of their nation where they cruise during the winter months, to the end to protect the ships of Swedish subjects which trade in the Mediterranean; after which the said frigates are to repair, toward the middle of February, to Malaga, and make in the latitude of that port their cruises until the end of that month; to return after that, taking under their convoy the vessels from thence and those coming from the Mediterranean to reconduct them through the channel into their country.

It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that no merchant ships will be taken under convoy but those only which shall conform themselves to the ordinance royal of the 18th of February, 1779, as well as to the neutrality which his majesty would maintain with the strictest exactness. Thus the masters of Swedish ships are advertised by these presents, and it is even enjoined upon them, not to carry any succors into the places or ports which may be blocked by one or another of the powers now at war.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding this arrangement, his majesty will permit, to the end that commerce may have its course and not be retarded, that liberty be given to merchant ships to sail without the said convoys according to the circumstances in which they may find themselves, as well as the facility to separate themselves at sea from the king's ships, if their advantage requires it; in which case the masters of ships shall be obliged to give notice of it beforehand to the commanders of frigates. In one word, the masters of ships shall be held to conform themselves to the orders which the chiefs of the convoy shall give them, and consequently to the instructions which shall be delivered them.

Copies are circulated in London of the answer which the court has made to the declaration of the Empress of Russia, presented the 1st of April to the ministry by M. de Simolin, minister plenipotentiary. This piece, which was despatched the 13th of April to the Chevalier Harris, envoy extraordinary of his Britannic majesty to the court of Petersburgh, is of the following tenor:

During the whole course of the war in which the King of Great Britain finds himself engaged by the aggression of France and Spain, he has manifested those sentiments of justice, of equity, and moderation which govern all his proceedings. His majesty

has regulated his conduct towards friendly and neutral powers according to theirs towards him, conforming it to principles the most clear and the most generally acknowledged of the law of nations, which is the only law between nations who have no treaties, and to the tenor of his different engagements with other powers; which engagements have varied this primitive law by mutual stipulations, and have varied it in a great variety of different manners according to the will and convenience of the contracting parties. Strongly attached to her majesty the Empress of all the Russias by the ties of a reciprocal friendship and a common interest, the king, from the commencement of the troubles, gave the most determinate orders to respect the flag of her Imperial majesty and the commerce of her subjects according to the law of nations and the tenor which he has contracted in this treaty of commerce with her, and which he will fulfill with the most scrupulous exactness. The orders on this subject have been renewed, and the execution of them shall be strictly attended to. It is to be presumed that they prevent all irregularity; but if it should happen that there should be the smallest violation of these repeated orders, the tribunals of the admiralty, which in this country, as in all others, are established to take cognizance of such matters, and which in all cases judge solely by the general law of nations and by the particular stipulations of different treaties, would redress the injury in a manner so equitable, that her Imperial majesty would be satisfied entirely with their decisions, and would acknowledge in them the same spirit of justice which animates herself.

This is said to be the answer to the empress, and, to be sure, it is complaisant enough; but still there is a great question between the king and the empress to be decided. The king says that all the ports of France and Spain are blocked by his fleet. The empress says that none of them are or will be, but such before which the king may send a number of ships to guard the entrance into them and make it manifestly dangerous. She adds that she has armed and will arm to maintain this construction of the word, and invites all the other maritime powers to make a league with her in support of this interpretation; and Holland has already answered that she agrees to it with gratitude, and all the other powers will answer the same. If the king gives up his interpretation of the word, there is an end forever to the naval superiority of Great Britain. If he maintains it, it must be by a war against all the nations that use the seas.

But the government and nation are not yet forsaken by their infatuation. They do not see in the declaration of the empress that she has taken a decided part against them. But all the rest of the world see that a declaration of war against them would not have been a more decisive indication of the empress' judgment or affections.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—There is an article in the Amsterdam Gazette of the 2d of May, taken from The Hague [Gazette] of the 30th of April, that "Mr. Faucet, general in the service of the King of England, has set off from his residence, and we learn from Dort that the English vessels are at last arrived there, and that the recruits of Anspach and Hanau will be embarked in a little time to go to America."

This Mr. Faucet is the officer (they call him general in the papers, but

I believe he is not more than a major or lieutenant-colonel) whose whole time and service are devoted to picking up the recruits for the German regiments in the British service. He constantly fills all the newspapers of Europe with his motions from place to place, and gives his accounts an air of mystery, which leaves the world both in Europe and America to magnify the numbers he raises at discretion, or rather according to their imaginations. But Congress may rely upon this, that the service is very unpopular and odious in Germany; that they are put to great trouble and expense annually to raise the recruits whom they have sent, who have never been enough to repair the breaches, and that this year they have not been able to get more than last, and these will arrive as late as those last year, and in all probability as sickly.

J. A.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 8, 1780.

SIR: The English have a faculty of deceiving themselves which has lost them thirteen colonies, has brought them into a war, first with France and then with Spain, has nearly lost them Ireland, and has at last put them in a fair way of uniting all the other maritime powers of Europe against them. Yet they are still able to deceive themselves.

There is an example of this in The Hague Gazette of the 1st of May in the article "Great Britain":

They make here a thousand conjectures concerning the declaration of this court of the 17th of this month and the consequences which may result from it. The declaration of Russia does not afford less matter of speculation. It is agreed that it will render the three belligerent powers very circumspect in their conduct relative to the commerce of neutral powers, but the more moderate politicians can not persuade themselves that this declaration is more hostile towards England than towards the other powers at war, although our patriots, as they call themselves, exert themselves to give it a turn as if Russia had it in view to break with England.

Since the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and her Colonies of America the balance of commerce between Russia and England has been, one year with another, more than five hundred thousand pounds sterling in favor of Russia, and there is also a very considerable balance in favor of the other northern powers. But these moderate English politicians ought to consider whether this balance of commerce is enough to prevent a great and able princess from seizing an opportunity of distinguishing her character with the world and in history, for wisdom, equity, and magnanimity, by rendering to mankind a most essential service, by introducing into the law and practice of nations a reformation of those errors which the English chiefly had attempted to establish; a reformation which the interest and rights of humanity so loudly and manifestly call for, and by assisting in the separation of the New World from the domination and monopoly of England, which is also so obviously for the honor, the prosperity, and the happiness of mankind in general. The English should further consider, whether this balance of trade is likely to be less in favor of Russia for the independence of America and for the security which is aimed at for neutral powers. All the world out of England sees that it will not.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 57.

I will conclude this letter by adding the letter of Lord Stormont, of the 17th of April, to the Count de Welderen, envoy extraordinary of their high mightinesses:

The king has always hoped that the faith of treaties and the ties of an alliance which has subsisted for more than a century, as well as those of a reciprocal friendship and a common interest, joined to the evidence of the danger which threatens the republic herself if France and Spain accomplish their ambitious designs, would have induced their high mightinesses to assist his majesty to frustrate these design by furnishing him the succors stipulated by treaties the most solemn.

But since their high mightinesses have adopted another system, as contrary to the interests of the republic as to those of Great Britain; since they have not made any answer to the repeated demand of these succors, and have not even shown the least intention to fulfill engagements so clear and so formal, his majesty has found himself necessitated to execute his intentions, which have been so clearly announced in the memorial which his ambassador presented the 21st of March last and in the verbal declaration which I had the honor to make to you by express order of the king. As you are perfectly informed, sir, of the sentiments of his majesty, it only remains for me to communicate to you, ministerially, the order which the king has given in his council, and to pray you to inform their high mightinesses of it. In reading this order you will there see, sir, a particular attention to the interests of the commercial subjects of their high mightinesses. The publication of the memorial presented by the ambassador of the king, as well as that of the verbal declaration, will, without doubt, render all further advertisements unnecessary. But the king desires that individuals should suffer as little as possible from the consequences of a system which their high mightinesses have adopted, and which appears as opposite to the sentiments of the Dutch nation as it is to the interests of the republic.

(Signed) STORMONT.

How confident these people are that no other nation of Europe understands its own interest. According to them France, Spain, Holland, Russia, and the other maritime powers and the United States of America are all acting, shedding their blood, and spending their money for objects directly opposite to their proper interests. But it is much to be wished that the English, for the sake of their own preservation, as well as the report of mankind, could be brought to think that other nations understand their own interests very well.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *May* 9, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 10th of this month.

Although the writer of the letter, an extract of which I had the honor to enclose to you, may be right in his conjectures that the British administration wish to know more than they do at present of my senti-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 65; 7 J. Adams' Works, 164, under date of May 12, 1780.

ments upon the great subject of a pacification, yet I have had too long experience of their principles, views, and tempers, and I know that they are too well acquainted with mine, for me to expect that they will directly convey any proposition to me. When we hear them affirm in Parliament that America is upon the point of returning to an allegiance to the King of England and that they seriously believe that America will return to such an allegiance; when the members of the opposition, even those who are the most inclined to peace, such as Mr. Hartley, General Conway, etc., discover plainly, by their motions and arguments, that their object is a separate peace with America, in order to be the better able to gratify their revenge against France and Spain, I can have no expectations that they think of applying to me, because I think they must be convinced of this, at least, that I shall make no separate peace. I thank your excellency, however, for your sentiments, that I ought to hear them, in case any overtures should be made to me. I should, in such a case, endeavor to hear them with decency and respect; but it would require much philosophy to hear with patience such absurd and extravagant propositions as are published in pamphlets and newspapers and made in Parliament, even by the members of the opposition, who profess to be most zealous for peace.

Our alliance with France is an honor and a security which have ever been near to my heart. After reflecting long upon the geographical situation of the Old World and the New, the agriculture, commerce, and political relations of both, upon the connections and oppositions among the nations of the former, and the mutual wants and interests of both, according to such imperfect lights as I was able to obtain, the result has long since been this, that my country, in case she should be compelled to break off from Great Britain, would have more just reasons to depend upon a reciprocity of the good offices of friendship from France, Spain, and the other sovereigns, who are usually in their system, than upon those in the opposite scale of the balance of power. I have ever thought it, therefore, a natural alliance, and contended for it as a rock of defense.

This object I pursued in Congress with persevering assiduity for more than a year in opposition to other gentlemen of much greater name and abilities than mine, and I had at length the satisfaction to find my countrymen very generally fall in with the same sentiment, and the honor to be appointed to draw the first treaty which was sent to this court. These facts have been well known in America even to the tories, and the utility and importance of this alliance being known to be deeply imprinted in my mind and heart, I suppose was a principal cause why the present trust was confided to me by my countrymen. These facts, although they may have been unknown in France, yet having been known to the tories in America, I can not suppose they are ignorant of them at the court of St. James; I therefore think that neither the administration nor opposition in England will ever think of

applying to me until they are brought into such a situation as shall compel them to sue for peace with all the powers at war, which, to be sure, does not appear to be the case at present, nor likely to be at least before the end of this campaign; nor then either, without some notable good fortune on the part of the allies in the progress of the war.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Genet.*

PARIS, *May* 9, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your note of yesterday and the papers enclosed.

The proposals for a general pacification by the Dean of Gloucester, whether they were written by him or by another, were probably intended to feel the pulse of France, or Spain, or America. Nay, it is not impossible that they might be intended to sound even so inconsiderable a portion of existence as Mr. John Adams. But it must be something rather more plausibly written, something a little more consonant to reason and to common sense, which will draw out of Mr. Adams his sentiments on the great work of pacification, if ever he should enter into any detail upon this subject before general conferences take place, which he at present believes he shall not do.

Concealing, however, my name, you may take these few observations upon these proposals:

(1) England may be heartily sick of the imprudent part she has taken. This point I shall not dispute with the Dean of Gloucester. Yet I wish she would give some better proof of it than she has done hitherto. But of Americans I can speak with confidence and certainty, and so far from being sick of the part they have taken, they look upon the past madness of Great Britain, which has compelled them to overcome all the prejudices and weak passions which heretofore bound them to her and to become independent, as the greatest blessing which Providence ever bestowed upon them from the first plantation in the New World. They look upon it that a council of the wisest statesmen and legislators, consulting together on the best means of rendering America happy, free, and great, could not have discovered and digested a system so perfectly adapted to that end as the one which the folly and wickedness of Great Britain has contrived for them. They not only see and feel and rejoice in the amelioration of their forms of government, but in the improvement of their agriculture and their manufactures, and in the discovery that all the omnipotence of British fleets has not been able to prevent their commerce, which is opening and ex

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 59; 7 J. Adams' Works, 160. The name of the person to whom this letter was sent is not mentioned in the original.

tending every year, as their population is increasing in the midst of the war.

(2) To suppose that France is sick of the part she has taken is to suppose her to be sick of that conduct which has procured her more respect and consideration in Europe than any step she ever took. It is to suppose her sick of that system which enabled her to negotiate the peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, as well as the peace of Teschen; that system which has enabled her to unite in sentiment and affection all the maritime powers—even the United Provinces—in her favor and against England. It is to suppose her sick of that system which has broken off from her rival and natural enemy the most solid part of his strength; a strength that had become so terrible to France and would have been so fatal to her. I do not mean to enlarge.

As to the propositions themselves, it would be wasting time to consider them. Of all the malicious plans of the English against America none has ever been more so than this. It is calculated only to make America the sport of Britain in future—to put it in her power to be forever fomenting quarrels and wars; and I am well persuaded that America would sooner vote for a hundred years' war.

I may be thought again too sanguine. I have been too sanguine these twenty years, constantly too sanguine, yet eternally right.

Adieu.

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—I do not see Captain Waters' engagement get in any of the papers. I would have sent it to England and Holland for publication if I had known it could not be printed here.

J. A.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 9, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to Congress proposals for a general pacification by the Dean of Gloucester:

PROPOSALS TO THE ENGLISH, AMERICANS, FRENCH, AND SPANIARDS, NOW AT WAR.

First. That Great Britain shall retain Newfoundland, with the desert coasts of Labrador; also Canada, Nova Scotia, and the country bordering on the Bay of Fundy as far as the bay and river of Penobscot.

Secondly. That all the country from the Penobscot River to the river Connecticut, containing almost all the four populous provinces of New England, shall be ceded to the Americans.

Thirdly. That all the country from the Connecticut to the river Delaware, containing the whole of New York, Long Island, and the Jerseys, with some parts of two other provinces indenting with them, shall return to Great Britain.

Fourthly. That all the country from the Delaware to the northern boundary of

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 61

South Carolina, containing the greatest part of Pennsylvania, all Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, shall be ceded to the Americans.

Fifthly. That all the country from the northern boundary of South Carolina to the extreme point of the eastern Florida, containing three whole provinces, shall be retained by Great Britain.

Sixthly. The west Florida, chiefly barren sand, and the fortress of Gibraltar (totally useless) shall be ceded to Spain, in order to satisfy the punctilio of that nation, and that the Spaniards shall give Porto Rico in exchange, an island on which they seem to set no value and which indeed is of no use to them, though large in itself, stored with good ports, well situated, and capable (in the hands of the English) of great improvements.

Seventhly. Lastly, that the English shall give up the conquests they have made on the French in the East Indies, who shall do the like to the English in the West Indies.

I shall make no remarks upon this plan; but there is no Englishman who thinks of a wiser, or at least who dares propose one. All who talk of propositions throw out something as absurd and idle as this, which will convince Congress that we shall have no peace for some time.

The French armament which sailed from Brest the 2d of May, under the command of M. de Rochambeau, of the troops, and M. de Ternay, of the fleet, and the armament from Cadiz of twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and other armed vessels, with eleven thousand five hundred land forces, with a fine train of artillery, which were to sail about the same time or earlier, both destined for America, as it is supposed, will, I hope, bring the English to think of some plan a little more rational.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 10, 1780.

SIR: On the 19th of April Mr. Grattan, in the house of commons of Ireland, moved a resolution "that the king's most excellent majesty, lords, and commons of Ireland are the only powers competent to make laws to bind this kingdom." Mr. Stewart seconded the motion.

The attorney-general moved an amendment, to adjourn the question until the 1st day of September next.

Mr. Burgh moved another amendment, "that there being an equal resolution on the books (in the journals in the month of July, 1641) with the one now moved, that the same may be, for that reason, adjourned to the 1st day of September next."

The house divided at a late hour on the original amendment, when there appeared—ayes, 97; noes, 136; majority, 39.

Thus the house of commons have refused to pursue the sense of the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 62.

people; but these are so unanimous and so determined, that no magistrate will venture to execute any act of the English Parliament.

Philip and Mary 4, chapter 4, thus explains Poyning's law:

And this act of the 10th of Henry the Seventh shall be expounded and taken as followeth, that is to say: That no parliament be holden or summoned within this realm of Ireland until the lieutenant, chief governor, or governors, and the council of Ireland shall have certified the king and queen's majesties, her heirs and successors, under the great seal of the realm, the considerations, causes, and articles of such acts as by them shall be thought meet to be enacted and passed here by parliament, and shall also have received again their majesties' answer, under the great seal of England, declaring their pleasure, either for the passing of the said acts in such form as they should be sent into England, or else the alteration of them or any part of the same.

Sec. 2. After such return made, and after license and authority to summon a parliament within the said realm of Ireland, granted under the great seal of England unto the said lieutenant or chief governors of the same realm, the same lieutenant, chief governor, or governors may summon and hold a parliament for passing and agreeing upon such acts, and no other, as shall be so returned under the great seal of England.

Six of George I, chapter 5, section 1.

The kingdom of Ireland has been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and the king, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, hath power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

Sec. 2. The house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree made in any court within the said kingdom; and all proceedings before the said house of lords upon any such judgment or decree are void.

These are the political shackles which the people of Ireland are endeavoring to shake off, and if the war continues long they will succeed, otherwise not entirely, although the authority of the British Parliament will undoubtedly be much weakened.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Williams.*

PASSY, *May* 10, 1780.

DEAR JONATHAN: I received yours of the 18th past and 6th instant, and approve of the steps you have hitherto taken to despatch the goods. It grieves me to understand that the ships from Brest could not take them. At this distance from the ports, and unacquainted as I am with such affairs, I know not what to advise about getting either that clothing or the small arms and powder at L'Orient or the cloth of Mr. Ross transported to America; and yet everybody writes to me for orders, or advice, or opinion, or approbation, which is like calling upon a blind man to judge of colors. I know those things are all wanted in Amer-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

ica; I am distressed much with the thought of a disappointment; and M. de Chaumont, the only person here whom I could rely on for counsel, has been ill these three weeks and incapable of attending to any business. I must therefore desire you to find out some good means of conveying all these goods, and execute it in the best manner you can and with all possible expedition. If you freight a vessel, try to get her away under convoy of the *Alliance;* but if that can not be done, she must wait for some other convoy.

I am ever, your affectionate uncle.

For what concerns Mr. Ross' cloth, I must leave that to his discretion, having really nothing to do with it. But it may be well that you should consult together.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *May* 10, 1780.

SIR: I owe you thanks for the different communications which you have been so good as to make to me. If the views contained in the letter which you have confided to me are exact, you ought not to delay in obtaining a proof; and, in such case, it would be expedient for you to ascertain what overtures it is expected you will make. I think you should not refuse to listen to them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *May* 11, 1780.

SIR: On Monday, the 1st of May, Mr. David Hartley explained what was the substance of his intended motion for Friday respecting the state of the war. In the course of his speech he moved for a copy of the French memorial entitled *Observations on the justifying memorial of Great Britain*, which contains many points of serious information respecting France, Spain, and America. He then read to the House the three following motions; the first of which, originating in the county of York, is to be made jointly by Mr. Hartley and his friend Sir George Saville:

(1) That it is the opinion of this House that the prosecution of an offensive war in America is most evidently a measure which, by employing our great and enormously expensive military operations against the inhabitants of that country, prevents this from exerting its united, vigorous, and firm efforts against the powers of France and

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 64; 7 J. Adams' Works, 162.

† MSS. Dep. of State 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 64.

Spain, and has no other effect upon America than to continue, and thereby increase, the enmity which has so long subsisted between the arms of both, can be productive of no good whatever, but, by preventing conciliation, threatens the accomplishment of the final ruin of the British empire.

(2) That an address be presented to his majesty, stating the matter of the foregoing resolution, and entreating him to concur therewith; representing, at the same time, that they think that they should betray his majesty and their constituents if they did not distinctly state to his majesty that nothing less than a total change of councils, proceeding from the conviction of past errors, can prevent the consummation of public ruin; but at the same time to express their fullest confidence that, with a speedy and fundamental reformation of councils, under a prudent and vigilant administration, they shall be enabled to maintain the honor and dignity of this country against any confederacy of France and Spain, and to effect a reconciliation with America upon beneficial, just, and honorable terms.

(3) That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient power to treat, consult, and finally agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces in North America.

After which General Conway rose to declare that he had a bill to propose on the subject of the American war, which he would lay before the house to-morrow. He gave a general hint of the ideas he entertained on this subject. He thought that Parliament ought to come to some resolutions to agree on certain propositions, which should be held out to the Americans as the foundation of a treaty of peace and reconciliation.

I shall give an account of the debates and decisions on the motions when the papers arrive.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to Franklin.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *May* 11, 1780.

SIR: The Baron de Goltz has warmly entreated me to recommend to you the Baron d'Arendt, a Prussian officer in the service of the United States. I the more readily acquiesce in satisfying his demand, as you will certainly take a pleasure in obliging this minister as far as in your power.

The Baron d'Arendt will himself explain the different matters in which he thinks he wants your aid with Congress.

I have the honor of being, with great sincerity, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

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* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 101.

Washington to Luzerne.*

MORRISTOWN, *May* 11, 1780.

SIR: The attentions and honors paid to M. de Miralles† after his death were a tribute due to his character and merit, and dictated by the sincere esteem which I always felt for him.

I am much obliged to your excellency for your intention of sending me a detail of the land and sea forces arrived at Martinique, which I beg leave to inform you was forgotten to be enclosed in your letter.

You will participate in the joy I feel at the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette. No event could have given me greater pleasure on a personal account, and motives of public utility conspire to make it agreeable. He will shortly have the honor to wait upon your excellency, and impart matters of the greatest moment to these States. He announces a fresh and striking instance of the friendship of your court, and which can not fail to contribute greatly to perpetuate the gratitude of this country.

I am always happy to repeat to you the sentiments of respect and inviolable attachment with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to Carmichael.‡

PARIS, *May* 12, 1780.

SIR: I had two days ago the favor of yours without date, and thank you for the history of Sir John Dalrymple, whose memoirs would be sufficient to put me upon my guard if I knew no more of him. He has seen the imperial ambassador. Pray do you discover any of the sentiments of the Austrian family where you are? The old rivalry between that and Bourbon, the old friendship and alliance with England? The new *éclat* and power of an old enemy and the declining forces of an old friend are circumstances that can not escape the notice of the sensible and aspiring chief of that great house. The family alliance with France is a lucky circumstance at this time.

I have received a few journals by the way of Amsterdam. Young Colonel Laurens has refused to come to Europe; I suppose smitten with the charms of military glory and foreseeing the war was turning to his town. You will see in the public papers before this reaches you all the news from America; we are waiting with no small anxiety the arrival of news from Charleston. De Ternay sailed the 2d, and we hope soon to have the news that the armament from Cadiz is sailed. De Rochambeau is too weak, wherever he is gone; he should have had more force. The Spanish force is very great, but would it not be better policy both for France and Spain to send more ships and fewer troops? The

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 683 † See index, title Miralles. ‡ 7 JAdams' Works, 162.

British possessions in America, both upon the continent and the islands, depend upon the sea for their existence. According to the bull in the English play, "the strongest ground, or the only ground, they stand upon is the ocean." By a decided superiority of naval force upon the American coasts and among the islands, under active, vigilant, and enterprising commanders, who will not think it beneath them to cruise for and watch the motions of transports and merchantmen, the trade of America and the islands would flourish and the supplies of the English be totally cut off. A few French or Spanish men-of-war cruising in the Massachusstts Bay, a few more lying at anchor in the harbor of Rhode Island and cruising occasionally, a few more lying at the mouth of the Delaware, a few more in Chesapeake Bay, say three ships and three frigates in each, this would make twelve ships of the line and twelve frigates. These would, by cruising themselves occasionally and giving full scope to our privateers, more certainly ruin the British power than four times that force in Europe. But suppose there was only one ship of the line and two frigates stationed in each, this would be only four ships and eight frigates; these would either totally destroy the British army in America by starving it, or compel the English to keep more than double their number on the North American station. This would weaken them so much in the West India Islands that the French and Spanish forces there would do whatever they pleased.

I know not the reason of it, but the English do not seem to take Spain into their account at all. They make their calculations to equal or excel the French a little, but reckon the Spaniards for nothing. A very little activity on the part of these would terrify the English beyond measure. I suppose, but it is only conjecture, that the Floridas are the object of the force from Cadiz. Gibraltar occupies another immense force. These forces, however, or the amount of their expenses employed in the American seas and kept constantly in motion, would more certainly ruin the whole British power, and consequently more certainly obtain the Floridas, Gibraltar, or whatever else is aimed at, than direct attacks upon those places. Attacking these places is endeavoring to lop off single limbs; securing the dominion of the American seas is laying the ax to the root of the tree. But enough of my small politics.

Adieu.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Jay.*

PARIS, *May* 13, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I had two days ago the pleasure of yours of the 26th of April, and am very happy to have at last received from your hand an account of your safe arrival in Madrid.

The Count de Florida Blanca is allowed to be a man of ability, but

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 67.

somehow or other there is something in the European understanding different from those we have been used to. Men of the greatest abilities and the most experience are with great difficulty brought to see what appears to us as clear as day. It is habit, it is education, prejudice, what you will, but so it is.

I can state a very short argument that appears to me a demonstration upon French and Spanish principles alone, that it is more for their interest to employ their naval force in America than in Europe; yet it is in vain that you state this to a minister of state. He can not see it or feel it, at least in its full force, until the proper point of time is past and it is too late. So I think it may be demonstrated that it is the interest of France and Spain to furnish America with a handsome loan of money, or even to grant her subsidies; because a sum of money thus expended would advance the common cause and even their particular interests by enabling the Americans to make greater exertions than the same sums employed in any other way. But it is in vain to reason in this manner with a European minister of state. He can not understand you. It is not within the compass of those ideas which he has been accustomed to.

I am happy, however, that at length we have a minister at Madrid; I am persuaded that this will contribute vastly to opening the eyes both of France and Spain. I shall be always obliged to you for intelligence, especially concerning your progress in your affair.

I am, with much esteem, dear sir, your servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 13, 1780.

SIR: The answer of the King of France to the declaration of the Empress of Russia is as follows, dated April 25, 1780.

The war in which the king finds himself engaged having no other object than the attachment of his majesty to the principles of the liberty of the seas, he could not but see with a true satisfaction the Empress of Russia adopt this same principle, and show herself resolved to maintain it. That which her Imperial majesty requires of the belligerent powers is nothing more than the rules already prescribed to the French marine, the execution of which is supported with an exactness that is known and applauded by all Europe.

The liberty of neutral vessels restrained in a small number of cases only is a direct consequence of the law of nature, the safeguard of nations, the solace even of those who are afflicted with the scourge of war; thus the king has desired to procure not only to the subjects of the Empress of Russia, but to those of all the States who have embraced a neutrality, the liberty of navigating upon the same conditions which are announced in the declaration to which his majesty answers this day.

He thinks he has made a great step towards the general good, and prepared an epoch glorious to his reign in fixing by his example the rights which every belligerent power may and ought to acknowledge to be acquired to neutral vessels. His

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 68.

hope has not deceived him, since the empress, in determining on the most exact neutrality, has declared herself for the system which the king supports at the expense of the blood of his people, and since she demands the rights which his majesty would make the basis of the maritime code. If there were occasions for fresh orders whereby the vessels of her Imperial majesty should have no room to fear being disturbed in their negotiation by the subjects of the king, his majesty would make haste to give them; but the empress will, no doubt, repose herself upon the dispositions of his majesty contained in the regulations which he has published. They are not accommodated to present circumstances, they are founded upon the law of nations, and they are consistent with the character of a prince sufficiently happy to find always in the general prosperity the measure of that of his own kingdom. The king wishes that her Imperial majesty would add to the means which she may take to fix the nature of merchandises, the commerce of which is reputed contraband in time of war, precise rules concerning the form of sea papers with which the Russian vessels shall be furnished.

With this precaution his majesty is assured that no incident will arise which will occasion any regret in any of the parties concerned at the measures taken for rendering the condition of Russian vessels as advantageous as possible in time of war. Happy circumstances have already more than once put the two courts in a situation to experience of how much importance it was that they should explain themselves with openness upon their interests respectively.

His majesty felicitates himself upon having an opportunity to express to her Imperial majesty his manner of thinking upon a point interesting to Russia and the commercial powers of Europe. His majesty applauds so much the more sincerely the principles and views which direct the empress, as his majesty enjoys in common with her the same sentiment which has prompted this princess to measures from whence must result equal advantages to their subjects and to all nations.

No state paper that I have seen this war has struck me more forcibly than this. The simplicity, openness, sincerity, and truth of it form a striking contrast to the dissimulation and insincerity which are so grossly remarkable in the answer of the court of St. James to the same declaration. The one is perfectly becoming the character of an august king, the other is what I shall leave others to name.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

[Postscript.]

Copenhagen, April 29.—There have arrived here within a little time several couriers from Petersburgh, some of whom have been sent back, and others have continued their route for Holland, France, etc. Since the arrival of the last, it is thought that our court has acceded to a project of an armed neutrality, and that it has already agreed with that of Russia upon the equipments to be made for this purpose; at least orders have been given to arm as soon as possible two ships of the line—the *Princess Sophia Fredericka,* of seventy-four guns, and the *Danebrog,* of sixty. These ships, commanded by Krieger and Ellebracht, will go out into the road immediately. The government have determined not to keep the fleet stationed at Fredericksham, as it has been for five years past; and the Vice-Admiral Fischer, who commanded there, having been recalled, will be relieved only by a captain.

The following orders have been given by the King of England:

Whereas, after our order in council of the 17th of April, 1780, the several treaties which granted particular privileges to the subjects of the States-General of the United Provinces relative to their commerce and navigation in time of war are suspended,

and the subjects of the States-General ought to be considered upon the same footing with other neutral states not privileged by treaties until it shall please us formally to signify the contrary, the commanders of our vessels of war, and those of all ships and vessels of war which have letters of marque and reprisals, are authorized by these presents and required to seize and detain all ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the States-General when they shall be found to have on board any effects belonging to the enemies of his majesty, or effects which are considered as contraband by the general law of nations.

The declaration made to the States-General of the United Provinces by the court of St. James has been followed by prompt effects. The privateer the *Neptune* has carried into Margate the *Grede Vizwagten*, going from Amsterdam to Nantes with a load of pitch and tar. This is the fifth vessel taken from the Hollanders by the 5th of May in consequence of this declaration, which makes so much noise.

J. A.

J. Adams to Digges.*

MAY 13, 1780.

I have to acknowledge one of 14th of April and one of 2d of May. The parcels have not yet been seen nor heard of; you may stop the London Evening Post and the London Packet for the future; but send on the Courant, if you please. I have not yet received the debate on Conway's motion; I have seen the paper and read the debate. It is the scene of the goddess in the Dunciad, reading Blackmore to her children. The commons are yawning, while the ministry and Clinton are cementing the union of America by the blood of every province, and binding all to their allies by compelling them to shed theirs. All is well that ends well. These wise folk are giving France and Spain a consideration in Europe, too, that they had not, and are throwing away their own as nothing worth. Sweden and Denmark are in the same system with Russia and Holland. Indeed, if the ministry had only common information, they would have known that this combination of maritime powers has been forming these eighteen months, and was nearly as well agreed to a year ago as it is now. But when a nation is once fundamentally wrong, thus it is. Internal policy, external defense, foreign negotiations, all go away together. The bad consequences of a principal essentially wrong are infinite. The minority mean only to try if they can make peace with America separately, in order to revenge themselves, as they think they can, upon France and Spain. But this is as wrong and as absurd and impracticable as the plans of the ministry. All schemes of reconciliation with America short of independence, and all plans for peace with America allowing her independence separate from her allies, are visionary and delusive, disingenuous, corrupt, and wicked. America has taken her equal station, and she will behave with as much honor as any of the nations of the earth. To say that the

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 167.

Americans are upon the poise, are balancing, and will return to their allegiance to the King of England, is as wild as bedlam. If witnesses can not be believed, why do not they believe the nature of things? Ask the newspapers, which are so free that nothing is spared; Congress and everybody is attacked! Yet never a single paragraph was hinting in a most distant manner a wish to return. Ask the town meetings—those assemblies which dared readily enough to think as they pleased and say what they would—dared attack the king, lords, commons, governors, councils, representatives, judges, and whole armies under the old government, and which attack everybody and everything that displeases them at this day. Not one vote, not one instruction to a representative, not one motion, not so much as one single speech in favor of returning to the leeks of Egypt. Ask the grand and petit juries, who dared to tell the judges to their faces they were corrupted, and that they would not serve under them, because they had betrayed and overturned the constitution. Not a single juror has ever whispered a wish to return, after being washed, to their wallowing in the mire. The refugees you mention never did know the character of the American people, but they know it now less than ever. They have been long away. The Americans at this day have higher notions of themselves than ever. They think they have gone through the greatest revolution that ever took place among men; that this revolution is as much for the generality of mankind in Europe as for their own. They think they should act a base and perfidious part toward the world in general if they were to go back; that they should manifestly counteract the designs of Providence, as well as betray themselves, their posterity, and mankind. The English manifestly think mankind and the world made for their use. The Americans do not think so. But why proceed? Time alone can convince.

Adieu.

F. R. S.

This strong letter, apparently designed for publication in England, was directed to W. S. Church, the name most frequently assumed by Mr. Digges in his communications to Mr. Adams. It is signed with the initials F. R. S., suggested by Fernando Raymon San, the name of Mr. A.'s guide in Spain. See Diary, vol. 3, p. 247.—Note to 7 J. Adams' Works, *ut supra*.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, *Morristown, May* 14, 1780.

SIR: Since my last I have had the honor to receive the detail of his most Christian majesty's fleet in the West Indies which your excellency has had the goodness to send me. I congratulate you very sincerely, sir, on this very respectable armament, which I found to surpass

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 683.

my expectation, and I would willingly hope that an occasion will be afforded the Count de Guichen to strike some important blow with it which shall advance the honor and interest of his majesty, and of course the interest of these United States.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to Jay.*

PARIS, *May* 15, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I shall not always stand upon ceremonies, nor wait for answers to letters, because useful hints may be given which would be lost if one were to wait returns of posts.

The British channel fleet is reckoned this year at from thirty-four to thirty-seven ships of the line; but it is well known that they depend upon seamen to be pressed from their first West India fleet in order to make up this computation, without which they can not make thirty. It is therefore of great importance that this first West India fleet should be intercepted. It will come home the latter end of June or the beginning of July; certainly not before the middle of June. A ship or two of the line, with a fifty-gun ship or two and five or six frigates, would have a great probability of intercepting this fleet. Is there any service upon which such a number of vessels could be better employed than in cruising pretty far in the Bay of Biscay and somewhat north of Cape Clear with this view? It is really astonishing that France and Spain should be so inattentive to the English convoys. The safest, easiest, and surest way of reducing the power and the spirits of the English is to intercept their trade. It is every year exposed, yet every year escapes; by which means they get spirits to indulge their passions, money to raise millions, and men to man their ships.

Pray is it not necessary to think a little of Portugal? Should not Spain, France, and America, too, use their influence with Portugal to shut her ports against the armed vessels of all nations at war, or else admit freely the armed vessels of all? Under her present system of neutrality, as they call it, the ports of Portugal are as advantageous to England as any of her own, and more injurious to the trade of Spain and America, if not of France, while they are of no use at all to France, Spain, or America. This little impotent morsel of a state ought not to do so much mischief so unjustly. If she is neutral, let her be neutral; not say she is neutral, and be otherwise.

Would it not be proper for Congress to discover some sensibility to the injuries which the United States receive from these states, such as Denmark and Portugal? I think they should remonstrate coolly and with dignity; not go to war nor be in a passion about it; but show that

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 71; 7 J. Adams' Works, 169.

they understand their behavior. Denmark restored Jones' and Landais' prizes to England without knowing why. Why would it not do to remonstrate, then prohibit any of the productions of Portugal from being consumed in America?

The prospect brightens in the West Indies. De Guichen has arrived. De la Motte Piquet has defended himself very well, secured his convoys, fought the English even with inferior force, and got the better. De Guichen's appearance dissipated all thoughts of their expedition and threw the English islands into great consternation; but you will see in the public prints all the news.

The force from Brest, which sailed on the 2d, and that from Cadiz, which I hope sailed as soon or sooner, will not diminish the terror and confusion of the English in America and the islands.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Genet.*

PARIS, *May* 15, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have engaged a person in London to send me all the political pamphlets as they come out, and some necessary books as I shall order them. He has sent me already one box and one packet at least to a Mr. Francis Bowans, merchant, in Ostend. I shall be once more obliged to you if you would inform me in what way I can soonest get them from thence, and whether there are any regulations which may obstruct this communication. I suppose there are regulations to prevent the introduction of religious or irreligious books, but I shall have none sent me either for or against religion; my bundles will be nothing but politics and a few books that relate to them. If I can get the English pamphlets in this way I may promise to be of some little use to you now and then in your way. The English have an advantage of us in one point. Their newspapers propagate everything favorable to them all over Europe immediately, whereas the limitations upon the press in this country prevent us from much of this advantage. Their generals and admirals calculate their despatches for the eye of Europe, for the people, and they adjust them so as to make an impression upon the hopes of their friends and the fears of their enemies, and in this consists full one-half of their power.

All governments depend upon the good-will of the people. The popular tide of joy and hope and confidence carries away armies and navies to great exertion, for officers and armies and navies are but people. On the contrary, the ebb of sorrow, grief, and despair damps the ardor and activity of officers and men; even the tradesmen, artificers, and laborers, even the mortals adjudged to the galleys are benumbed by it. The English excite the ardor of their people and of their fleets

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 170.

and armies by falsehood and fiction, their enemies have no occasion for anything but the truth; this would be enough if it were known, but the English find means to hide it even from their own eyes.

There is not a more delusive thing in the world than their last despatches from New York, fabricated entirely to impose upon the credulity of friends and enemies. I see thousands of these things every day that might easily be counteracted. I do not wish you to publish anything against your rules, and if ever I propose anything of that sort it will be from ignorance or inattention, and I rely upon your knowledge and prudence to check it. But as I am likely to have a little more leisure than I have had for a long time, if you will give me leave I will assist you a little in your labors for the public good.

I forget whether the first audience of the Chevalier de la Luzerne has been published in Europe. I enclose it to you. You may print it if you judge proper; but, whether you do or not, I should be glad if you would return it as soon as convenient, because I have no other copy of the journal of those days. The publication of such things confirms the minds of people in their notions of the alliance, and gradually reconciles all to it. The people of England even are gradually familiarized to it in this way, and brought to consider it as unalterable and a thing to be submitted to.

My compliments to your amiable family.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have delivered to the Chevalier de la Colombe, formerly aid-de-camp to the Marquis de la Fayette and afterwards to the Baron de Kalb, and one of my fellow-passengers in the leaky *Sensible* to Ferrol, a number of letters and three packets of newspapers. He goes in the *Alliance*.

In a private letter which I have received from Brussels I am informed there is a talk of opening the navigation of Antwerp. This is a hint. And in the Gazette of France of this day is a paragraph from Vienna of the 14th of April, which is another. This court (Vienna) not having yet made any maritime treaty with the states of Barbary, and as its commerce in the Mediterranean may be exposed to their corsairs, their imperial and royal majesties have resolved in their council that there shall be this year equipped at Trieste and at Fiume one ship and two frigates of war for the protection of the commerce of their subjects.

Time will discover whether there is any English politics in either of them. Two and twenty millions a year is enough, without sending additional millions in subsidies.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 72.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

MAY 16, 1780.

When the *Alliance* frigate arrived in France, Mr. Franklin was desirous of employing her in annoying the English trade and obtaining prisoners to exchange for the Americans who had long languished in the prisons of England.

A cruise with a small squadron under Commodore Jones round the coast of Britain being about that time intended, Mr. Franklin was requested by his excellency the minister of the marine to join the *Alliance* to that squadron. He cheerfully complied with that request, and in his instructions to Captain Jones he encouraged him by the hopes of his being useful to his country in delivering so many poor prisoners from their captivity.

As the squadron acted under American commission and colors, was commanded by an American chief, and was thence understood to be American, our countrymen in the British prisons rejoiced to hear of its success, and that five hundred English were made prisoners in the cruise, by an exchange with whom they hoped soon to obtain their liberty, and to return to their families and country.

The *Alliance* alone took vessels containing near two hundred of those English prisoners. The *Bon Homme Richard*, which was manned chiefly by Americans, took in the *Serapis* a great portion of the remainder.

The ambassador of France at The Hague applied to Commodore Jones for the prisoners, in order to execute a cartel entered into with the ambassador of England. Commodore Jones declined delivering them without orders from Mr. Franklin. The ambassador did Mr. Franklin the honor of writing to him on the subject, acquainting him that Mr. Jones had urged the exchanging them for Americans, and promising to use his endeavors for that purpose.

Mr. Franklin thereupon immediately sent the orders desired, expressing at the same time his confidence in the ambassador's promise. The prisoners were accordingly delivered, but they were actually exchanged for French.

His excellency M. de Sartine afterwards acquainting Mr. Franklin that he had not English prisoners enough at L'Orient to fill an English cartel then there, Mr. F. gave orders that forty-eight he had in that port should be delivered up for that purpose; thirty-eight others at Brest to be employed in the same manner.

Mr. Franklin was afterwards informed by M. de Chaumont that M. de Sartine had assured him that other English prisoners should be furnished to exchange for those so given up in Holland and in France.

Mr. Franklin wrote accordingly to England, and a cartel vessel was thereupon ordered from Plymouth to Morlaix with one hundred Americans. As soon as Mr. F. was acquainted with this, he applied through M. de Chaumont to M. de Sartine for an equal number of English, who

* MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 55.

readily agreed to furnish them, and promised to send orders immediately to march one hundred from Saumur to Morlaix.

The cartel arrived, landed the one hundred Americans, but was sent back empty, with only a receipt from the commissary of the port, no English being arrived for the exchange.

Mr. F. has since received letters from England acquainting him that he is charged with breach of faith, and with deceiving the board which had the charge of managing the exchange of prisoners, and a stop is put to that exchange in consequence.

The poor American prisoners there, many of whom have been confined two or three years, and have bravely resisted all the temptations, accompanied with threats and followed by ill usage, to induce them to enter the English service, are now in despair, seeing their hopes of speedy liberty ruined by this failure.

His excellency M. de Sartine has kindly and repeatedly promised, by M. de Chaumont, to furnish the number wanted, about four hundred, for exchanging the said Americans. But it is now said that the king's order is necessary to be first obtained.

Mr. Franklin therefore earnestly requests his excellency M. le Comte de Vergennes to support the proposition in council, and thereby obtain liberty for those unfortunate people.

Franklin to the Judges of the Admiralty of Cherbourg.*

PASSY, *May* 16, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the *procés verbaux* and other papers you did me the honor to send me, agreeable to the eleventh article of the regulation of the 27th of September, 1778. These pieces relate to the taking of the ship *Flora*, whereof was captain Henry Roodenberg, bound from Rotterdam to Dublin, and arrived at Cherbourg, in France, being taken the 7th day of April, by Captain Dowlin, commander of the American privateer the *Black Prince*.

It appears to me from the above-mentioned papers, that the said ship *Flora* is not a good prize, the same belonging to the subjects of a neutral nation, but that the cargo is really the property of the subjects of the King of England, though attempted to be masked as neutral. I do therefore request that after the cargo shall be landed you would cause the said ship *Flora* to be immediately restored to her captain, and that you would oblige the captors to pay him his full freight according to his bills of lading, and also to make good all the damages he may have sustained by plunder or otherwise; and I further request that, as the cargo is perishable, you would cause it to be sold immediately, and retain the produce deposited in your hands, to the end that if any of the freighters, being subjects of their high mightinesses the

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 101; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 453; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 54.

States-General, will declare upon oath that certain parts of the said cargo were *bona fide* shipped on their own account and risk, and not on the account and risk of any British or Irish subjects, the value of such parts may be restored; or that, if the freighters or any of them should think fit to appeal from this judgment to the Congress, the produce so deposited may be disposed of according to their final determination.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 16, 1780.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that the king, in consequence of his affection and friendship for the United States and of his desire to put an end by effectual measures to the calamities of the present war, has resolved to send to this continent a re-enforcement of troops, intended to act against the common enemy, and of vessels, which will be employed in assisting the operations of the land troops. As soon as Congress has decided on the plan of the campaign the Marquis de la Fayette will receive all communications on this subject, and will on his part make the overtures which shall be necessary to the success of the operations. But as despatch and secrecy ought to be the very soul of these operations, and as, moreover Congress will undoubtedly find it indispensable to arrange them in concert with the commander-in-chief, the Chevalier de la Luzerne requests this assembly to consider whether the course most proper to be adopted under these circumstances be not to appoint, without the least delay, a small committee, who shall repair to the army, furnished with instructions, and there fix upon measures, which shall be carried into execution immediately upon the arrival of the land forces, under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king, and the Chevalier de Ternay, commander of the squadron, at whatever part of the continent they may have had orders to land.

As the measures to be taken in relation to the supply of necessaries and provisions to the auxiliary troops will require the concurrence of the legislatures and governors of the several States, and particularly of those of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, the undersigned minister requests Congress to authorize the same committee to render their assistance to the measures which the French general, or the Chevalier de la Luzerne, or the commissioners author-

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 684.

ized by them shall be able to take with the different legislatures; an with this view, to give to the delegates who shall compose it powers a extensive as Congress shall deem expedient.

An object which, next to that just mentioned, requires all the atter tion of Congress, is the information which it is important to obtain a to the forces, the situation, and the resources of the enemy in all th posts in their possession on this continent. The Chevalier de l Luzerne is consequently desirous that Congress would be pleased t appoint a committee to collect immediately all the intelligence, details and information which may exist in their deposits and archives relativ to the ports of North America now held by the English from Halifa to St. Augustine, including Canada to the depth of the bays, creeks and anchorages; to the forces which are stationed there, and the fort and fortresses which have been erected there; the dispositions an number of the inhabitants, the resources with regard to provisions, an in general all that information which may promote the success of th operations. It is equally desirable that this committee should hav authority to carry on a correspondence as long as may be necessary i the different parts of the continent whence this information can b obtained, in order that the intelligence, being always fresh, the com manders of the expeditions may be able to establish their plans upo sure bases. The minister of France requests that the committee ma be authorized to communicate to him this various information, so far a such communication shall not be inconvenient to Congress. Whatev promptness these measures require, the Chevalier de la Luzerne pray Congress not to take them into consideration till after the subject men tioned at the beginning of this memorial has been definitely settled.

Dr. Franklin has undoubtedly rendered an account to Congress o the measures which he has taken for sending to this continent arm stores, and clothing, as well as of the means of facilitating the loan o three millions of livres which that minister has procured, as well t meet this expense as to give effect to the treaties of Congress in rel tion to it; and the Chevalier de la Luzerne will not go into any deta on this subject.

He will not close this memorial without congratulating the America Senate on the zeal and ardor which are shown on every side to rend the ensuing campaign decisive, and to inflict upon the common enem blows which shall be most sensibly felt, to expel him from this countr without the possibility of return, and to secure forever the liberty o the thirteen States.

Circumstances have never been more favorable; the enemy, har pressed on every side, is not in a state to oppose an effectual resistance the American forces are about to become more respectable than the have ever been; those of the king bring with them to this country th most sincere desire to second the brave efforts of their allies, and th

two nations, closely united for the purpose of bringing their combined enterprises to a successful issue, will seek only to distinguish themselves by their zeal and their attachment to the common cause.*

LUZERNE.

Genet to J. Adams.†

VERSAILLES, *May* 17, 1780.

MONSIEUR: C'est avec le plus grand plaisir que je faciliterai votre correspondance et que j'accepte les offres que vous voulez bien me faire, qui entrent complètement dans les vues de notre ministre. Je vous réponds du plaisir avec lequel il donnera son approbation, pour l'impression dans le Mercure, à tout ce qui nous viendra d'une aussi bonne main, et vous ne devez pas douter du secret qui sera gardé sur votre nom pour tout autre que pour Monseigneur le comte de Vergennes.

Pour avoir par mon canal les pamphlets qui vous seront adressés, il faut que M. Francis Bowens, après les avoir reçus de Londres, mette une nouvelle enveloppe avec mon adresse, et remette les paquets à M. de Bowens, directeur des postes à Ostende. Aussitôt que je les aurai reçus je ne manquerai pas de vous les faire passer. *Each bundle of the bigness of an ordinary octavo book, and but one at a time.*

Les détails sur la première audience du chevalier de la Luzerne ont paru dans la Gazette de France et dans le Mercure. Je vous renvoye le cahier du Journal du Congrès. Permettez-moi de vous observer que le Mercure ne paroît qu'une fois la semaine et que la place que la politique doit y occuper n'est pas fort considérable. Ainsi il conviendra que vos *Essays* soient de peu de longueur. Il faut qu'ils ne soient pas de longue haleine et qu'ils paroissent plus souvent. Cette nation-ci lit tout ce qui est court, et elle aime la variété. Il faut saisir son goût pour parvenir à la persuader.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc., etc.

GENET.

J. Adams to Genet.‡

PARIS, *May* 17, 1780.

SIR: General Conway, in his speech in the House of Commons on the 8th of May, [affirms that the alliance between France and the United States is not natural. Whether it is or not is no doubt a great question. In order to determine it, one should consider what is meant by a natural alliance; and I know of no better rule than this: When two

* For the proceedings of Congress on the subject of the letter, see the public journals under the date of May 19, 1780.

† J. Adams' Works, 172.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 73, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 172.

nations have the same interests in general they are natural allies when they have opposite interests they are natural enemies. The general observes, first, that nature has raised a barrier between France and America, but nature has raised no other barrier than the ocean and the distance and this barrier is equally great between England and America. The general will not pretend that nature, in the constitution of American minds or bodies, has laid any foundation for friendship or enmity towards one nation more than another. The general observes further, that habit has raised another barrier between France and America. But he should have considered that the habits of affection or enmity between nations are easily changed, as circumstances vary and as essential interests alter. Besides, the fact is that the horrible perfidy and cruelty of the English towards the Americans, which they have taken care to make universally felt in that country for a long course of years past, have alienated the American mind and heart from the English; and it is now much to be doubted whether any nation in Europe is so universally and heartily detested by them. On the contrary, most of the other nations of Europe have treated them with civility, and France and Spain with esteem, confidence, and affection which has greatly changed the habits of the Americans in this respect.

The third material of which the general barrier is created is language. This, no doubt, occasions many difficulties in the communication between the allies; but it is lessening every day. Perhaps no language was ever studied at once by so many persons at a time, in proportion, as the French is now studied in America; and it is certain that English was never so much studied in France as since the Revolution; so that the difficulties of understanding one another are lessening every day.

Religion is the fourth part of the barrier. But let it be considered first, that there is not enough of religion of any kind among the people in power in England to make the Americans very fond of them. Secondly, that what religion there is in England is as far from being the religion of America as that of France. The hierarchy of England is quite as disagreeable to America as that of any other country. Besides, the Americans know very well that the spirit of propagating a religion by conquest and of making proselytes by force or by intrigue is fled from all other countries of the world in a great measure, and that there is more of this spirit remaining in England than anywhere else. And the Americans had, and have still, more reason to fear the introduction of a religion that is disagreeable to them, at least as far as bishops and hierarchy go, from a connection with England than with any other nation of Europe.

The alliance with France has no article respecting religion. France neither claims nor desires any authority or influence over America in this respect; whereas England claimed and intended to exercise authority and force over the Americans, at least so far as to introduce bis

ops; and the English society for propogating religion in foreign parts has, in fact, for a century sent large sums of money to America to support their religion there, which really operated as a bribe upon many minds and was the principal source of toryism. So that upon the whole the alliance with France is in fact more natural, as far as religion is concerned, than the former connection with Great Britain, or any other connection that can be found.

Indeed, whoever considers attentively this subject will see that these three circumstances of habit, language, and religion will for the future operate as natural causes of animosity between England and America, because they will facilitate migration. The loss of liberty, the decay of religion, the horrible national debt, the decline of commerce and of political importance in Europe and of maritime power, which can not but take place in England, will tempt numbers of their best people to emigrate to America; and to this fashion, language, and religion will contribute. The British Government will, therefore, see themselves obliged to restrain this by many ways; and among others by cultivating an animosity and hatred in the minds of their people against the Americans. Nature has already sufficiently discovered itself, and all the world sees that the British Government have for many years not only indulged in themselves the most unsocial and bitter passions against Americans, but have systematically encouraged them in the people.

After all, the circumstances of modes, language, and religion have much less influence in determining the friendship and enmity of nations than other more essential interests. Commerce is more than all these and many more such circumstances. Now, it is easy to see that the commercial interests of England and America will forever hereafter be incompatible. America will take away, or at least diminish, the trade of the English in shipbuilding, in freight, in the whale fisheries, in the cod fisheries, in furs and skins, and in other particulars too many to enumerate. In this respect America will not interfere with France, but, on the contrary, will facilitate and benefit the French commerce and marine to a very great degree. Here, then, will be a perpetual rivalry and competition between England and America and a continual source of animosity and war. America will have occasion for the alliance of France to defend her against this ill-will of England, as France will stand in need of that of America to aid her against the natural and continual jealousies and hostility of England.

The boundaries of territory will also be another constant source of disputes. If a peace should unhappily be made leaving England in possession of Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, or any one spot of ground in America, they will be perpetually encroaching upon the States of America; whereas France, having renounced all territorial jurisdiction in America, will have no room for controversy.

The people of America, therefore, whose very farmers appear to have

considered the interests of nations more profoundly than General Conway, are universally of the opinion that from the time they declared themselves independent England became their natural enemy, and as she has been for centuries and will be the natural enemy of France and the natural ally of other natural enemies of France, America became the natural friend of France and she the natural friend of the United States—powers naturally united against a common enemy, whose interests will long continue to be reciprocally secured and promoted by mutual friendship.

It is very strange that the English should thus dogmatically judge of the interests of all other nations. According to them, the Americans are, and have been for many years, acting directly against their own interest; France and Spain have been acting against their own interests; Holland is acting against her own interest; Russia and the northern powers are all acting against their own interests; Ireland is acting against hers, etc.; so that there is only that little island of the whole world that understands their own interest; and of the inhabittants of that, the committees and associations and assemblies are all in the same error with the rest of the world; so that there remains only the ministry and their equivocal and undulating majority among all the people upon the face of the earth who act naturally and according to their own interests. The rest of the world, however, think that they understand themselves very well, and that it is the English or Scottish majority who are mistaken.]

Your friend, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 19, 1780.

SIR: The answer of the King of Spain to the declaration of the Empress of Russia is said to be in substance—

That the king has received with pleasure the overtures which have been made to him on the part of her majesty the Empress of Russia relative to the measures which this princess proposes to follow both with regard to the courts actually at war and the neutral powers; that these principles are precisely the same which have governed the king heretofore, and which he has endeavored to recommend to Great Britain; that from the beginning of the troubles his Catholic majesty has not departed from the system of equity and of moderation of which he has given proofs to all the powers of Europe, and that it is solely upon the arbitrary proceedings of England that he determined upon more vigorous measures; that since the English, far from respecting the neutral flags, have even allowed themselves to attack vessels the cargoes of which are authorized by treaties, it became necessary that Spain on her part should take care of her interests; that the king, not content to confine himself to the frequent marks which he has given of his equity, declares, moreover, that he is ready to show all possible deference for those of the neutral powers who shall deter-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 77.

mine to protect their flags, and that he will continue faithful to his engagement until England shall put an end to those exactions which her ships do not cease to commit; that, in fine, his Catholic majesty accedes to the other articles of the declaration presented the 15th of April by the Sieur de Sinovief, but flatters himself at the same time that for what concerns the blockade of Gibraltar, her Imperial majesty will prescribe to her subjects to conform themselves to the restrictions proposed by the ordinance issued at Madrid the 13th of March last.

It is said that, in conformity to the resolutions taken by their high mightinesses the 25th of last month, the Count de Welderen has presented a memorial to Lord Stormont, who, after having run it over, answered, "that he would lay it before his majesty and request his orders upon the subject, although beforehand he could assure him that the king highly approved the conduct held by Mr. Fielding, as well as the manner in which he had executed his orders," adding, "that at London we think that Mr. Fielding conducted himself according to the tenor of treaties, and that it was the Count de Byland that violated them."

This answer having given rise to an animated conversation between the Count de Welderen and Lord Stormont, the latter employed all possible arguments to prove that it was the Count de Byland who had been the aggressor, while, on the contrary, the minister of their high mightinesses had asserted, and incontestably proved, "that their high mightinesses had never consented that any ship found under the convoy of one of their vessels of war should be visited; and that, consequently, Commodore Fielding, who ought not to have been ignorant of the treaties, and who, nevertheless, had so manifestly infringed them, had been truly the aggressor in sending out his armed boat."

That as to the last point of the said memorial relative to the liberation, without any form of process, of the vessels seized sailing under convoy of the Count de Byland, Lord Stormont answered, "the way of appeal lay open to the parties interested, but that it was not in the power of his majesty to transgress the ordinary forms by making any alteration in the decrees pronounced upon this occasion."

Ireland, although her parliament has discovered symptoms of timidity or diffidence in postponing the great question to September, has not yet finished her rôle upon the stage. It should be remembered, first, that she has postponed, not determined, the controversy. Secondly, that all parties in the house united in declaring their sentiments that Ireland was not subject to any foreign legislation. In this even Mr. Foster, who is reputed the ministerial agent in the house of commons, and the attorney-general himself, concurred. Thirdly, that it is still in contemplation to pass a mutiny act through the Irish parliament, which must be grounded upon the supposition that the English mutiny act is not binding; and whether such a bill shall pass or not, many magistrates will not execute the English act. Fourthly, the volunteers of the liberty of Dublin have resolved unanimously, on the 26th of April, that it is inexpedient to remain any longer under the command of his grace the Duke of Leinster. Fifthly, the body of lawyers, on the 30th

of April, admitted Mr. Grattan as an honorary member of their society, and unanimously voted an address to him, which, with his answer, Congress will see.

I am very sorry it is not in my power to enclose to Congress the English papers later than the 5th, because they contain intelligence of importance which is favorable to us from the West Indies. But the packet from London to Ostend was taken by a French privateer and carried into Dunkirk after the mail had been cast into the sea.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *May* 19, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a few newspapers, received by the last post from Boston by the way of Bilboa. There is very little news. I have letters as late as the 27th of March.

The most remarkable thing in the Pennsylvania Gazette is that the great seal of the province of Pennsylvania was brought into the house of the assembly of that State and by order of the house defaced and cut to pieces, which, to be sure, is no proof of a desire to go back to their old government. I do not see how they could have expressed a stronger contempt of it.

In the Independent Chronicle of the 9th of March is a list of prizes made by the privateers of the middle district of the Massachusetts Bay only since the last session of the court of admiralty. They amount to nineteen vessels; which shows that privateering flourishes in those seas, and also shows what havoc may, and probably will, be made among the English transports, provision vessels, and merchantmen when the superiority of the French and Spanish fleets comes to be as clear as it soon will be; perhaps as it is now, and has been since the arrival of M. de Guichen.

In a private letter of the 27th of March I am told that two prizes had just then arrived, one with four hundred hogsheads of rum, and another with four thousand barrels of flour, pork, and beef—articles much wanted by the enemy and not at all amiss in Boston.

The convention had gone through the constitution of government, and had accepted the report of the committee with some few unessential amendments.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 76; 7 J. Adams' Works, 176.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 20, 1780.

SIR: As my English papers containing the debates on the 6th of this month on General Conway's motion are lost in the sea, I shall give Congress the several accounts of them from the foreign gazettes. That of The Hague gives the following account of the General's discourse:

Two powerful motives have induced me to undertake the formation of this bill; the indispensable necessity in which we find ourselves to make peace with America and the favorable disposition in which I suppose America to be.

To show the nature of the horrible war which I propose to put an end to it is necessary to go back to its origin. I find it in that committee of darkness which met in this House fifteen years ago at midnight. This company of black conspirators, who plotted in their conventicle the destruction of the British Empire and sowed the seed of all the evils, of all the disgraces, and of all the insults under which England and America have groaned from the fatal moment in which this senseless committee conceived the extravagant idea of drawing a revenue from the colonies by taxing subjects in a House where they had no representatives. Thank Heaven I have no reproach to make to myself! I opposed, in the time of it, this horrible measure and predicted the fatal effects, and I have the chagrin to see all my predictions accomplished. From error to error, from one false measure to another, we arrived to the brink of a precipice, down to the bottom of which we feel ourselves irresistibly hurried by the weight of our debts.

From the time that the word independence, coming from America, resounded in this House we have endeavored to evince that the Americans had originally this independence in view. Nevertheless the events have demonstrated that nothing was further from their idea. When I express myself thus I speak of Americans in general. I pretend not to insinuate that there were not among them some men of inferior rank who have thought that they saw their present interest in the independence of their country. In so vast a country it is impossible that there should not be found some such senseless men, and I should be more senseless, more absurd than the absurdest of them all if I could doubt of it a moment. But again, once more, the mass of the nation did not aim at independence. When we had forced this peaceable people to a just resistance, what happened here? Our lawyers opened the road of error; we never inquired how we could appease these rising troubles. Grave men, distinguished by the most eminent talents and by the most influential offices, talked of conquest and submission. "The Rubicon is passed," said they; "the sword is drawn; if you do not kill them they will kill you." The lawyers were powerfully seconded by the reverend ministers of a religion which teaches peace and recommends brotherly love. The robe and the mitre animating us in concert to massacre, we plunged ourselves into rivers of blood, spreading terror, devastation, and death over the whole continent of America; exhausting ourselves at home both of men and money, dishonoring forever our annals, we became the objects of horror in the eyes of indignant Europe! It was our reverend prelates who led on this dance, which may be justly styled the dance of death! These reverend prelates have a terrible account to give to their country and to their consciences; they have opened upon them the eyes of the nation, who have justly styled them the rotten part of the constitution.

Such is the horrid war which we have maintained for five years. What have been its horrible fruits! A ruinous war to sustain against the two branches of the house of Bourbon; we are crushed under the burden of an immense debt; at war with

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 83, with verbal changes.

America; at war with France; at war with Spain, without having a single ally or a single power for our friend. On the contrary, seeing distinctly and without doubt that all foreign powers act directly or indirectly in a manner absolutely contrary to our interests, not to say in a hostile manner, there are none, even down to the little inhabitants of Lubeck, of Dantzic, and of Hamburg, who are not against us! This is not all. What is much worse still, we see Holland, our natural ally, opposed to our interests and refusing us the slightest succor. We are precisely at this moment the deer marked out for the chase, detached by the bloodhounds from the rest of the flock, which abandons us! If our situation is terrible, we need not believe that the Americans repose themselves upon beds of roses; far from it, and it is from the bosom of their distress from which issues the ray of hope which in my opinion shines upon us at this day. We have forced them to contract an alliance with France. This alliance was not natural; nature, habit, language, and religion all conspire to raise a barrier between France and America; all tend to bind again, between England and America, the natural ties heretofore fortunate and happy. The Americans have not found in their great and good ally the friend that they sought in him; they have a natural aversion even for the title of a king. They prefer the republican institutions to absolute monarchy; they are overloaded with an immense debt, the burden of which France has not appeared forward to lighten for them. Their paper money is fallen to such a degree of depreciation that they have given forty dollars in paper for one dollar in silver worth four shillings and six pence. The greatest part among them groan under the tyranny of those who have made themselves masters of power, desiring ardently the restoration of the ancient form of government; their troops ill paid, and still worse clothed, have been reduced to such dreadful extremities, that the last summer, in the course of a fatiguing march, they saw themselves reduced to the ration of a handful of pease a day; as for the rest, their allies know as much upon this point as we. A Frenchman, distinguished by his talents, sent some years ago by his court to America to observe the disposition of the people and the state of things, etc., in a letter, which he wrote from the place of his destination, serves [*sic*] himself of these remarkable expressions: "One shall find in a coffee house of Paris a great deal more enthusiasm for the cause of liberty than in any part of America."

Let us take advantage of these circumstances. Let us put an end to the war of America, to the end that we may unite more efficaciously all our efforts against the house of Bourbon. I believe we shall not find much hostility. France has not gained, Spain has considerably lost; let us strike both the one and the other more decisive blows. We can not do this without making peace with America. We can not obtain this peace but by offering reasonable terms of reconciliation. I have maturely examined all which has been proposed before me. I have come as near as possible to the plan of conciliation drawn by the Earl of Chatham. I may say, indeed, that I have taken it for my model. But I have departed from it in the most essential point. The Earl of Chatham's bill had for its foundation this express condition, that America should acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain, and that each assembly should furnish to the mass of the public revenue a certain quota. Certainly, if we were to make at this day to America a similar proposition they would laugh in our faces, and would treat those who should dare to make it as smartly as they treated the commissioners who visited her in 1778. The great object of my bill is that something certain should be done, which may be proper to convince America of the sincerity of those views with which we invite her to enter into some conciliatory convention with his majesty. In one word, the title of my bill is an analysis of it, *A bill to appease the troubles which have some time subsisted between Great Britain and America, and to authorize his majesty to send commissioners, clothed with full powers, to treat with America.*

Here ends General Conway's speech, upon which I beg leave to submit the following observations upon one part only. [The remainder of this

despatch is the same with the bracketed portion of letter to M. Genet May 17, 1780, *supra.*]

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 20 1780.

SIR: In the House of Commons, on the 6th of May, General Conway read the title and explained the clauses of his proposed bill for reconciliation or peace with America. It consisted in the repeal of all the acts which have revolted America. He desired that the House would receive it, add to it, subtract from it, modify and alter it, as they pleased.

Lord Nugent agreed to the necessity of doing something which should give Great Britain a hope of reconciliation with America. He did not approve the tenor of the bill, although he seconded the motion, but invited the house to prepare one.

It is certain [said Lord Nugent] that in the alarming situation we are in it is of decisive importance to make peace with America, for in fact we have nothing but her; there does not remain to us one power in Europe, and what is worse, an armed neutrality against the spirit of treaties, speaking the language of neutral powers, seconds efficaciously the powers who are our enemies. It is about twenty years that the state of affairs is considerably changed in Europe; it is the King of Prussia who has effected this revolution. Considering the turn which affairs have taken under his reign, Prussia gives actually as much umbrage to the house of Austria as the house of Bourbon gave it heretofore; so that on the one hand the difference of interests, on the other the influence of certain courts, and in several other cabinets a profound indifference, have totally turned what is called the balance of power; nevertheless, if those of the princes of Europe who ought to sustain us contemplate coldly our fall, they have not only renounced the principles of honor, but they have even lost out of sight their proper interests; for if they suffer the house of Bourbon to become the first maritime power of Europe, their states must in their turn partake of our fall; but they occupy themselves with momentary interests, and sacrifice to transient considerations those solid and permanent interests which wise men never lose sight of.

By comparing this speech with the declaration of Lord Nugent's repentance for having called us rebels and the ode to mankind, and altogether with the true state of facts and political interests of the world at present, we shall see that his lordship is more of a poet and an honest man than he is of a great statesman; for, in the first place, the armed neutrality is not against the spirit of treaties. In the next place, it is not in fact the King of Prussia, but the United States of America, who have effected the revolution in the political system and the variation in the balance of power. Thirdly, it is not because certain powers contemplate coldly the fall of England, but because they see England is unable to stand in the rank she once held, and that there is a new

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 79.

power arising in the west, in which they are all interested, who will not only maintain her ground, but advance with a rapidity that has no example, and that it is the interest of all the powers that no one of them should have an exclusive monopoly of the commerce or political weight of this rising state that stimulate them to favor it.

But it is really surprising to observe how few persons there are in England who have reflected upon the present state of the world, and have had sagacity enough to penetrate the true principles of its policy.

Mr. Eden followed Lord Nugent in the debate, and indulged himself in sporting with the flowers of rhetoric and pleasantries of wit, without many solid observations that deserve notice. It may not be improper to remark two or three things, however:

In general [he says] the object of the honorable member (General Conway) is extremely praiseworthy, but the present moment is not proper for the pursuit of it; it is not at present that Parliament can say we will grant this or will refuse that, because they ask nothing of us. Every unsolicited offer will be regarded as a tacit confession of our weakness; a useless instrument in the hands of the well-intentioned inhabitants, it will become an offensive and dangerous arm in the hands of Congress. It is important for the present to leave the scales in the equilibrium where they are. The return of the Americans to the suggestions of duty and loyalty now divides the continent by diminishing the number of the supporters of rebellion, now shaken to its centre. In such circumstances a manly confidence, wisdom, and moderation may make the balance incline to our side. Precipitation in our councils, superfluous discussions, domestic divisions, premature and imprudent overtures, may draw it over to the other forever. I say superfluous discussions; this is the most dangerous of all those that I comprehend in the number, and consequently, to put an end to it I demand the order of the day.

Lord George Gordon seconded the motion of Mr. Eden, not because he was of his opinion, for he ridiculed it with all the wit imaginable, but because the General's bill appeared to him to announce a commission as ridiculous as that of 1780*, since probably they would not begin by acknowledging the independence of America. Mr. Cruger said that if peace with America could not be obtained without acknowledging her independence they ought not to hesitate a moment. Mr. W. Pitt said that neither conciliatory bills nor peace-making commissioners would make peace with America. The ministry must retire. The Americans will never listen to any propositions until the present ministers resign their places to men who have not lost the confidence of America by deceiving them and the confidence of the nation by imposing upon Parliament.

Here is another proof, among many that are given every day by the opposition themselves, of their hunger for the loaves and fishes, and that they do not mean with good faith to make peace. America would as readily make peace upon proper terms with the present ministry as any other, and she would not make peace upon improper terms with any other ministry sooner than with the present.

*It is thus in the manuscript, but it should probably be 1778.

Lord George Germain said:

If our reconciliation with America depended upon the resignation of the present ministers, and they were convinced of the efficacy of this measure, I am persuaded they would take it unanimously forthwith. Most certainly all good men in the kingdom ought to wish that peace be made upon honorable and advantageous terms. This is the wish of my heart, and I flatter myself that its accomplishment is not far off. This is not speculation; my opinion is founded upon fresh advices. I firmly believe that the moment of reconciliation is not far distant. The state of profound distress to which the Americans find themselves reduced has brought them back, if not to duty in general, at least to reflection and to a knowledge of their true interests; and I can assure the House that the greatest number not only desire to return to their allegiance, but express the desire of it, and testify that they are ready to seize a favorable opportunity, and would not wait for any opportunity if they were not held in by the tyranny of those who have made themselves masters of power. I do not think that the Congress will ever appear disposed to enter into treaty; but the misery of the people—but the depreciation of the paper money—but the burden of debt under which the community staggers—but the repugnance which all orders of the people testify for the alliance which they have made them contract with France, the little utility which this alliance has been of to America, all announce, in fine, that the different assemblies of that continent will not be long before they come to terms.

It is really difficult to say what epithets ought to be given to this speech. When a minister of a great nation can rise in its great council, and with so much cold blood, so much solemnity, and such appearance of reflection and deliberation affirm such things, what shall we say?

The absurdity of his distinctions is not less remarkable than the grossness of his misinformation respecting facts, that Congress will not treat, but the several assemblies will. Is not Congress the creature of the assemblies? Do not the assemblies create the members of Congress every year. Can not they annihilate them every moment? Can not the assemblies instruct their members of Congress? Can not the people instruct their members of assembly? But it is endless to remark. The same system of fraud and misrepresentation which first deceived Great Britain into this controversy and war with America still deceives them into the continuance of it, and will deceive them to their ruin. This should be the less afflicting to America, as, since there is every reason to think that Great Britain will be hereafter our natural and habitual enemy, disposed to war with us whenever she can, the more completely she is exhausted, humbled, and abased before the peace the securer we shall be forever after.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—The chargé d'affaires of Denmark has notified to the ministry at Stockholm, the 28th of April, that this court had acceded to the armed neutrality to which the Empress of Russia had invited it, and he has requested, in consequence, in the name of his sovereign, his Swedish majesty, to enter into the same confederation. Although no positive answer has as yet been given him, it is nevertheless not at all

doubted that Sweden will concur with the other neutral maritime powers to restrain the excesses of the armed ships and cruisers of the belligerent powers; an excess of which the rencounter of the frigate *Illerim* with a cruiser from Mahon furnished a new example, as was remarked at the head of the relation which the court has published of it.

J. A.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 21, 1780.

SIR: You will be informed by the Marquis de la Fayette of the measures adopted by the Congress relative to the operations of the next campaign. I will not enter into a detail with respect to them. I confine myself to assure your excellency of the eagerness of my countrymen to share in your success, of the zeal which animates them for the cause which you so gloriously defend, and of the desire I have to receive your advice and orders in everything in which you shall believe that I may contribute to the success of the combined operations.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

Dumas to the President of Congress.†

THE HAGUE, *May* 21, 1780.

SIR: The express sent to Petersburgh with the answer of the States-General has not yet returned. In the mean time it is known here, by a despatch of the resident of the republic at Petersburgh, that the news of the provincial resolution of Holland, which always gives the tone to the others, has caused there a very agreeable sensation not only to the court of Russia, flattered to see the republic enter into its views, but also to the foreign ministers resident there; and that the Prussian minister, above all, expressed himself very strongly on the insolence of the English and on the indignity of their procedure to the republic; in fine, that the system of the armed neutrality to humiliate the English gains force more and more at the court and among the powers, which is very visible in the conversations among the ministers.

I wrote some days ago to Amsterdam to advise them to offer to the state every fifth sailor of their merchant ships, in order to take away the pretext of the scarcity of sailors in the fleet of the republic; and I recommended to them to prevent evil-minded persons presenting a counter address. They answered me that the address demands of the states the prompt protection of commerce, and offers them whatever

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 686. † *Ibid.*, 303.

they may wish to draw from that commerce, whether it be the every fifth or third seaman; and that though all have not signed it, no one will dare to oppose it. This address will be presented next week, and if I can have a copy of it soon enough I will add hereto a copy or translation.

We flatter ourselves soon to see Mr. Laurens arrive here, as we have been assured. It is time for the politics as well as for the credit of America that some person as distinguished as himself should come here. He can not yet display a public character; but his presence will do none the less good among the friends of America in this country. I wish he was already with us.

I was going, sir, to close this packet when I received the visit of M. Van de Perre, partner of M. Meyners, who form together the most eminent commercial house at Middlebourg, in Zealand. He begs me to support the claim that he has made through Messrs. I. de Neufville & Son, and by another way also, to Congress on the ship *Berkenbos*, bound from Liverpool to Leghorn, and loaded with herrings and lead for Dutch and Italian account, taken by John Paul Jones, captain of the Continental frigate *Alliance*. M. Van de Perre is of the most distinguished family in Zealand, director of the East India Company, nephew of M. Van Berckel, first counselor pensionary of Amsterdam, the brave republican of whom all my letters make mention, and who is the great friend of Americans. I have no need to say anything more to recommend the affair of this vessel to Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *May* 22, 1780.

SIR: The Baron d'Arendt, colonel in the armies of the United States, having expressed to me a desire of returning to the service in America, though not entirely cured of his wound which occasioned his voyage to Europe, I endeavored to dissuade him from the undertaking. But he having procured a letter to me from M. de Vergennes, of which I send your excellency a copy herewith, I have been induced to advance him twenty-five louis d'ors towards enabling him to proceed. To justify his long absence, he intends laying before Congress some letters from William Lee, which he thinks will be sufficient for that purpose.

With great respect, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 102; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 455; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 59.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 23, 1780.

SIR: The public papers announce that all the maritime powers have acceded to the proposition of Russia respecting an armed neutrality.

The article from Stockholm is of the 2d of May:

Our court has accepted the plan of an armed neutrality which the Empress of all the Russias has proposed to it; and in consequence has given orders to equip six more ships of the line; so that our naval force will consist, like that of Denmark, of six ships of the line and six frigates, whereof six vessels of war will remain in the port of Carlserona, equipped and ready to be employed on the first order.

The article from Copenhagen is of the 9th of May:

The court has acceded to the proposition of her majesty the Empress of Russia in regard to an armed neutrality, and in consequence they are busy in taking measures for the armament. Besides the four vessels of the line and the two frigates which they equipped, the court have further put in commission two other ships of the line, the *Jylland*, of ten guns, and the *Mars*, of sixty, and they are taking all possible pains, both here and in Norway and in the other provinces of this kingdom, to recruit the number of men necessary for this armament. Two of our ships of the line, the *Wagrien* and the *Infods*, passed into the road last Saturday. The same day Captain Ziervogel, commanding a frigate, set sail with the officers and crews necessary to bring here the two frigates which are at Fredericksham, in Norway. The Russian ships of war, Captain Spendof, who has wintered here, and the frigate of the same nation which was upon its return from Norway, set sail yesterday for Petersburgh.

There is another article from Paris of the 12th of May:

The court of Portugal [they say] has given assurance to ours of arming if necessary to maintain the neutrality, and by means of the accession of this power to the system it appears that there can remain little hope to England of finding an ally who will make a common cause with her, and aid her to preserve the empire of the seas, of which she flattered herself she would never be dispossessed.

Another article from Hamburg of the 12th of May:

At a time when there is an extraordinary dearth of news our politicians occupy themselves about the declaration of the court of Russia to the belligerent powers and the proposition of this same court to the neutral powers. Already, they say, it is no longer doubtful that the courts of Sweden, of Denmark, and the States-General of the United Provinces have acceded to the proposition of the Empress of Russia, and that they arm themselves. It is now the problem to know if the court of Portugal will follow their example. In the mean time our speculators appear in general very curious to know what will be the measures which the neutral powers will take for the execution of their designs, and at what time the plan of this armed neutrality can have its effect.

Another is an article from London of the 12th of May:

The day before yesterday the court received despatches from its ministers in the northern courts, which confirm the news of a plan of confederation formed by the powers of that part of Europe for the protection of their respective subjects against the attacks of the belligerent powers. The despatches of Sir Joseph Yorke announce, they say, an approaching negotiation between the court of London and the States-General, to the end to adjust amicably the difference arisen between the two nations

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 87.

relative to the capture of some Dutch vessels and the insult offered to the flag of the republic by Commodore Fielding. It is believed that this affair will be terminated to the mutual satisfaction of the two parties, and that this negotiation may well serve to pave the way to a reconciliation among the powers at war, to which there is no doubt England would sincerely agree upon honorable conditions.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—A second division is said to be preparing at Brest of several ships of the line and several thousand men.

J. A.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *May* 24, 1780.

SIR: I have received the two letters which you have done me the honor to write to me on the 12th and 19th of the present month. I had no need of your apology to induce me to render justice to the patriotic sentiments with which you are animated. You understand the interests and engagements of your country, and I am persuaded you will never have any other object than to consolidate both the one and the other. You can judge by this, sir, what confidence we place in your principles and what security we feel beforehand as to the conduct you will hold in case the court of London should propose to you overtures of conciliation.

I offer you many thanks for the American gazettes which you have been so kind as to send me. I will take care that they shall all be returned.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Report of a Committee of Congress on a Conference with the French Minister.†

IN CONGRESS, *May* 24, 1780.

The committee appointed to confer with the minister of France on the subject of supplies and other matters mentioned in this appointment report as follows:

In their first conference with the minister he mentioned his solicitude to procure the necessary provisions for the fleet and army of his most Christian majesty; that he wished to render every step he should take on this subject conformable to the designs of Congress and conducive to the support of the combined forces; that he would therefore lay before

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 88; 7 J. Adams' Works, 177.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 686.

the committee the measures that he had already entered into, and was desirous to agree upon any plan for our mutual benefit which we should think it proper to adopt.

That previous to our appointment, the moments being precious, he had despatched an agent to consult the commander-in-chief and General Greene on the subject of supplies, and would inform us of their sentiments at his return; that lest his purchases might interfere with those which the States should make on account of the continent, he had thought it most advisable to let the whole business pass through their hands, and had accordingly written to Governor Trumbull for a limited supply of beef, pork, and mutton, leaving it to his option either to be paid in bills upon France, specie, or Continental bills of credit.

The committee have stated this information, that Congress may, if they should find it necessary, give them their directions before they digest any plan with the minister of France on the return of his agent.

The committee conceive the establishment of posts and expresses, who shall bring the earliest intelligence of the arrival of the fleet of our ally and the motions of the enemy, as so necessary to the right application of our force, that they submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee of intelligence be directed to establish regular posts to and from the different parts of the seacoasts of this continent, from Charleston to Boston, in such manner as will most effectually procure information of the approach of the fleet of our ally and the movements of the enemy in consequence thereof.

The committee are further of opinion, from the representations of the minister of France, that every means should be used to add to the strength of the fleet of our ally on their arrival, particularly by completing the ship *America*, since it is highly probable that the naval force which the enemy may send to this coast, in order to frustrate the friendly endeavors of our ally in our behalf, will be adapted to that of France, without taking into calculation any addition which it may receive here. They therefore submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the board of admiralty be directed to fit for sea, with the utmost expedition, the several ships of war and frigates now in port.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the respective States within whose ports any of the said ships or frigates may be to afford every assistance to the board of admiralty on this application for artificers, laborers, and materials for preparing the same for sea and for completing this complement of men.

Resolved, That Congress will defray every necessary expense which any State shall incur in consequence of the above resolution.

Resolved, That the board of admiralty be empowered, if they shall think it advisable to dispose of the *Saratoga*, to apply the proceeds thereof to complete the *America*, or any of the frigates which may by that means be shortly fitted for sea.

And whereas it is proper to make provision for repairing any damage which the fleets of our ally may sustain by storms or otherwise:

Resolved, That the board of admiralty be directed to cause as many masts, yards, and spars as they shall deem necessary for the above purposes to be procured.

Resolved, That they may be also directed to settle signals with the commanding officers of any ship or ships of our ally which may now or shall hereafter be upon the coasts of the United States.

And for the promoting of harmony and forwarding the common views of France and America, it was further agreed between the minister of France and your committee that they should suggest to Congress the propriety of adopting measures to prevent desertions from the fleet and army of our allies, in which view they submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the legislatures of these United States to pass laws for the punishment of such persons as shall encourage desertions from the fleets or armies of any foreign power, who shall prosecute the war in America in conjunction with these United States, and for the recovering such deserters as shall endeavor to conceal themselves among the inhabitants thereof.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
Chairman.

J. Adams to A. Lee.*

PARIS, *May* 25, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your kind favor of April 12 is yet unanswered. With nothing at all to do, I am as busy as ever I was in my life. Whether any good will result from it time must discover. I have undertaken to inform Congress a little more particularly than they are wont to be informed of some things that have passed in Europe which will ultimately affect them, but I find it is in vain to put my eyes out writing, for when letters are written we can not get them across the water. I have, however, sworn, and I will perform. If it is possible to get letters to them by the way of Spain or Holland, or any other way, let the expense be what it will, they shall go. I have a very good opinion of Count Sarsfield, and have the honor to see him sometimes, though not so often as I wish. Too many unsuitable characters, it is very certain, have been permitted to meddle in our affairs, but when, or how it will be remedied, God only knows. In a country where everything goes and is done by protection, and when the maxims of government are the direct opposites of ours, I see no prospect of having it otherwise, let who will be in or out.

As to jobs, I never had and never will have anything to do in any, let the consequence to me and my family be what it will. The trusts

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 177.

with which you and I have been honored by our country are too sacre to be tarnished by the little selfish intrigues in which the insects abou a court are eternally buzzing. If I had neither a sense of duty, nor th pride of virtue, nor any other pride—if I had no higher principle o quality than vanity, it would mortify this in an extreme degree to sull and debase so pure a cause by any such practices. On the character you mention I shall never condescend to bestow my confidence, nor m resentment, nor contempt. They have ever been treated by me, an ever will be, with justice and civility; but they will never be my friend I have received a letter by the way of Bilboa for you, which I do my self the honor to enclose.

I was in hopes you would have been at Congress before now. You situation must be disagreeable, but I know from experience it can b borne.

Pray, how do you relish Clinton's letter?* I think the policy of Franc and Spain is pointed out by it in sunbeams. I hope they will profit b it. They seemed to be convinced of it before this letter arrived. The have now the testimony of our enemy to the truth and justice of wha you and I had the honor to represent to them in conjunction with ou colleague last January was twelve months.

I am, with much esteem, etc., yours,

JOHN ADAMS.

I have a letter from Mr. S. Adams and Dr. Gordon; both desire t be remembered to you. No news from either, only respecting our con stitution, which it seems the convention have adopted without an essential alterations. They have published their result for the remark and opinions of the people, after which they are to revise it. If two thirds of the people, in 1795, shall desire a convention to revise an alter, as experience shall find necessary, it is to be done. Massachu setts very intent on filling up their quota of the Continental Army.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *May* 26, 1780.

SIR: At a numerous assembly of gentlemen of the law in Dublin held the 30th of April, Captain Henry Hewart in the chair, after havin collected the votes, Henry Grattan was unanimously admitted an hon orary member; and it was agreed with the same unanimity that th following address should be presented to him:

SIR: The body of the gentlemen of the law, ambitious of associating to themselve a man whom they consider as an ornament of his country and as the firm support o her rights, unanimously prays you to accept the title of honorary member of th

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* A forgery. See the letter of W. Lee to J. Adams, July 8, 1780, *infra*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 89.

society, as an unequivocal testimony of their admiration of vast talents when they are displayed in the cause of liberty and virtue. They request you particularly to accept of their most affectionate thanks for the noble effort that, in concurrence with several of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, you made on Wednesday, the 19th current, in defense of the rights of the people, and in endeavoring to unite the British empire. They assure you that although the event has not entirely answered, either to their expectations or to the nobleness of your efforts, they are firmly determined to sustain their rights, such as they are laid down in the resolutions which you have proposed. They esteem it happy to see that, without excepting even the servants of the crown, all the members of the House have acknowledged the truth of the principle upon which those resolutions stood, although the majority has not accepted them, alleging that at this critical time it was not necessary to renew the declarations already standing on the journals of the House and subsisting in full force.

To this address Mr. Grattan made the following reply:

GENTLEMEN: I esteem myself infinitely honored to be a member of an association which has merited fo a long time my attention and my admiration. By declaring that there is no power capable of subjecting this country but the king, the peers, and commons of Ireland, you render a great service to this nation, because you give to all the other corps of volunteers the great example to make the same declaration of their rights under the sanction of your corps, who not only protect the nation in arms, but by your knowledge and authority propagate the great principles of law and liberty.

In a country which possesses laws like ours, and men of your merit agitate the great question of liberty, it is to be free. I rejoice, then, that the rights of Ireland have been discussed. This discussion has opened the eyes of a people who had slept during the course of a century, and forced almost all the representatives of this people who are susceptible of principle to deny that any foreign legislature has rights over Ireland, and makes this declaration circulate through all the great associations of the kingdom, and will finally extirpate all that remains of authority usurped by the British Parliament.

I observe with satisfaction that you think, like me, that liberty is the tie which preserves the union of Great Britain and Ireland. We are attached to Great Britain, but not to its yoke. Common privileges formed originally our connection with Great Britain; these same privileges will render this connection indissoluble. If Ireland acknowledged as a slave the supremacy of the British Parliament, she would be the enemy of British liberty, because in that case she would league herself with the ministers to annihilate the system of government and precipitate all the subjects of his majesty into a state of equality.

I regard the liberty of Ireland as adding to the safety of that of Great Britain, which, instead of protestations of loyalty extorted from a province devoted to pillage, will actually receive a tribute of affection sensibly felt on the part of a free people. As a friend of the constitutions of the two kingdoms, as desirous of an honorable and permanent union, I esteem myself happy to see myself enrolled among men who have your courage and your principles.

On the 13th of April the British frigate the *Hyæna*, Captain Thompson, arrived at Gibraltar at midnight, having escaped the fire of three batteries, three chebecs of twenty-eight guns each, and a frigate of thirty-two. Don Barcelo, in the Spanish *Admiral*, pursued him in a fifty-gun ship. The Don's squadron consists of six ships of the line, one frigate of thirty-two guns, three chebecs of twenty-eight guns each, and a number of fire ships and galleys, which intercept all which pass the gut, and completely blockade Gibraltar, and the squadron of Commo-

dore Elliot, reduced to the *Panther*, the *Enterprise*, and three smaller vessels. The garrison is said to be in good spirits, although a malignant fever, brought in by the Spanish prisoners, has carried off a great many men, particularly in the regiment of Highlanders. The wants of the garrison, however, will soon be very great, particularly of fuel. Captain Thompson carried the news that they are soon to have a powerful succor from Admiral Graves. It is very probable that the ministry may send Graves to attempt to act over again the part of Admiral Rodney, and, after throwing assistance into Gibraltar, pass on to America. It is to be hoped that Graves will not have Rodney's luck. It is pretty certain he has not all his dexterity. Yet I can not but think the Spaniards are imprudently exposed in that part. The English have filled all the newspapers of Europe for three weeks with lists of ships of the line to compose the grand fleet in the channel, which they have made amount to forty. But at last comes out a frank and honest confession in the *Courier de l'Europe* that they can muster but twenty.

On the 16th Admiral Edwards hoisted his flag at Portsmouth on board the *Portland*, of fifty guns, and made the signal of departure for all the merchant ships which he is to convoy to the banks of Newfoundland. Sir Charles Hardy, commander-in-chief of the channel fleet, governor of Greenwich hospital, and a representative of Plymouth, is dead. Rivingston is next in command, but it is said the place of commander-in chief will be offered to Admiral ———, who refused it before Hardy was appointed.

We read from Hamburg, 19th of May:

Conversation here turns wholly upon the plan of an armed neutrality proposed by the Empress of Russia; and the more we examine the more we are convinced of the great advantages which this plan will procure not only for the present, but the future. In the mean time we learn that the neutral powers will not delay to put to sea strong squadrons to protect their commerce; and it is even pretended that if the English continue to molest neutral ships it may well happen in a little time that they may form against them some enterprise of consequence. It is assured that the Hanseatic towns have acceded to the armed neutrality proposed. It is reported that conferences between the maritime powers will be held at The Hague, and that they will be opened as soon as the Baron d'Erensworth, the new minister of the King of Sweden to their high mightinesses, shall arrive there. They say in London that the Baron de Nolker, minister of Sweden, has presented to the court a memorial containing very lively complaints touching the hostilities committed by an English vessel against the Swedish vessel the *Illerim*, commanded by the Chevalier d'Ankerlo, in which this minister demands satisfaction for the violences committed against the said ship. They add that his excellency at the same time declared that the king, his master, was resolved to defend and maintain, with his arms and his hands, the system of neutrality adopted by his majesty.

They say, too, in London, 16th of May, that government have had the satisfaction to learn that the convoy from Cork and from Plymouth, consisting in merchant ships and a considerable re-enforcement of troops, although dispersed after their departure, had arrived in the West India Islands.

Paris, May 16.—Divers advices announce that the English, since the declaration made to the States General of the United Provinces, have already stopped several Dutch ships, loaded only with innocent merchandises, and whereof the transportation has never been prohibited to neutrals by the treaties. This arbitrary proceeding will appear, without doubt, so much the more surprising to the maritime powers of the north, as at the same time his majesty, always guided by the principles of wisdom and the most exact equity, has sent the strictest orders to all the commandants and captains of his vessels of war and privateers of his kingdom to let pass freely and without any hindrance all the neutral vessels, without distinction, even although bound to an enemy's port, provided they are not loaded with any arms or warlike stores, whereof the transportation is forbidden by the treaties. Of this we may be assured more authentically by a letter written by M. de Sartine to M. de Mistral, commissary-general of the ports and arsenals of the marine of the king, and ordonnateur of the port of Havre, which is of the following tenor:

"You know, sir, that the war undertaken by the king has no other end but the desire with which his majesty feels himself animated for the maintenance of the liberty of navigation. In consequence, he has seen with a great deal of pleasure that the greatest part of the powers of the north incline and have taken the resolution to co-operate in it already by regulations relative to it, as his majesty has made known to the commanders of his squadrons his intentions relative to the measures and precautions which the captains of his vessels of war, and other vessels ought to observe towards ships belonging to the subjects of the neutral powers and which the former may meet at sea.

"His majesty, then, has charged me to repeat his orders given in this regard, and to order you to exhort the captains and other officers of vessels armed as privateers to conform themselves with more attention than ever to the tenor of the regulations relative to neutral vessels, and in particular to those belonging to the Russians. To this end his majesty orders the captains of vessels armed for privateering and others to use the greatest circumspection toward all neutral vessels, and, according to the exigence of the case, to afford them all the assistance of which they may stand in need, not to give the least hindrance to their navigation, although their cargoes may be destined for the enemy's ports, nor to stop them, except in cases in which the captains of French armed vessels shall have well-founded reasons to believe that the said vessels navigate for the subjects of the King of England under the shelter of the flag of a neutral power, to the end to avoid by this way the being visited according to the usages established in such cases, or in which they shall attempt to transport to the enemy the effects of contraband, such as arms of all kinds and other warlike stores.

"The intention of the king is, that you give notice of these presents to the commissaries of the department of Havre de Grace, ordering them, at the same time, to send copies to all the captains of vessels armed as privateers and other vessels ready to go out or who come in, to the end that they conform themselves with the greatest circumspection to what is here prescribed in regard to neutral vessels, and in particular to those belonging to Russia."

They write from Brest the 8th of this month that they expected a fleet from Bordeaux, loaded with stores, provisions, and wine, the arrival of which was very necessary for the prompt equipment of a squadron destined to transport a second division of troops of four or five thousand men. They add that they expect also, with no less impatience, in the same port, the convoy which went out from St. Malo the 23d of March, which is still detained at Cherbourg, which consists in a great measure in cast cannon and artillery stores, which are to serve, they say, for a descent which is projected in England, and which it is strongly

asserted the government has by no means renounced. The latter part is probably only what we call a scarecrow.

Hague, May 21.—We see here a copy of a letter written by his excellency the Count de Florida Blanca, secretary of state of his Catholic majesty, to the Count de Rechteren, minister of their high mightinesses at the court of Spain, dated at Aranjuez, the 1st of May, 1780, which is of the following tenor:

"SIR: His majesty has learned that the boat of a chebec, commanded by Don Barthelemi Rose lo, having seized a Dutch vessel named the *Spaar*, Captain John Tierds Wagenaar, coming out of Gibraltar, where he had unloaded a cargo of flour which he was carrying from Ferrol to Cadiz; on account of the purveyors of our marine the said vessel has been set at liberty, upon the declaration which he made that he had been taken under Cape Espartel, by the English privateer the *Maidstone*, who had conducted him to that place. Nevertheless we have proofs that the vessel has been met at the entrance of the port of Cadiz, having at that time her cargo; that by consequence her pretended capture by the English privateer is a pure fiction, and the introduction into Gibraltar of a load of five thousand one hundred and sixty-two and a quarter quintals of Castile of flour, a manifest theft committed upon the provisions of the marine of the king; and to the end that such villainies may be punished and prevented hereafter, his majesty has ordained that a prosecution be commenced against the said Wagenaar, and that I give you notice of it, to the end that you may inform their high mightinesses, to whom his minister at The Hague has orders to complain highly of a theft, which ought not to have been the fruit of the complaisance which the king has used towards the flag of the republic. I shall add that his majesty hopes that their high mightinesses, by the remedy which they shall provide and by the severe punishment of the guilty, will spare him the pain of taking himself the precautions necessary to suppress such crying excesses."

In The Hague Gazette of the 24th of May is the following article from London of the 19th of May:

On the 17th the king returned from Windsor to St. James, and assisted at a great council. The conduct of several courts of Europe, in the present conjuncture, excites all the attention of our ministry. We foresee here what will be the effects of an armed neutrality, and we fear that there will result from it consequences dangerous to the general repose of Europe. There are persons, nevertheless, who pretend to foresee that this decision of the neutral powers will produce events which will facilitate an accommodation between the belligerent powers, but that there will be no question about it until after that France and Spain shall have made all their efforts to take away from England the empire of the seas and procure to Europe an entire liberty of commerce, two points on which they found their present hostilities, and which serve as attractions to excite other powers to enter into their views. England, on her part, will employ all her forces to maintain her superiority at sea, on which depends the prosperity of this country and the safety of its detached dominions; and, although her enemies are numerous and formidable, she is not without hopes that the present campaign will bring back the Colonies of America to their ancient relations of interest, and dispose the powers at war to hearken to conditions of accommodation.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *May* 26, 1780.

SIR: Since my departure from America I have had the honor of writing the following letters to your excellency, viz: 20th, 22d, 24th, 25th, 25th, 26th, and 27th of December, 1779, from Martinique; and 27th of January, 20th 28th, and 29th of February, and 3d of March, 1780, from Cadiz. I am still uncertain whether any, and which, of them have come to your hands, and request the favor of particular information on this subject.

Of such of them as respect immediately the business committed to me I now send duplicates, as well as copies of such other papers as, taken collectively, will give Congress a full and accurate state of their affairs here.

This packet, of which an exact copy goes by another vessel, will appear voluminous. It will nevertheless be found interesting. I have interspersed such observations as to me appeared proper for the purpose of explanation.

On the 22d of January, 1780, I arrived at Cadiz, without letters of credit or recommendation to any person there. The Chevalier Roche (a passenger with us) was so obliging as to procure me credit for about two hundred pounds sterling with a relation of his, to whom I was obliged to give a bill on Dr. Franklin at a more than usual short sight. I afterwards became acquainted with the house of Le Couteulx & Co., who offered me what money I might want, and furnished me accordingly with great cheerfulness. I was very disagreeably circumstanced.

Finding reports ran hard against American credit, and that bills on Dr. Franklin were held very cheap, by reason of his having, as was there said, postponed, delayed, and in some instances refused payment of them on very frivolous pretenses, I did, on the 26th of January, 1780, inform him by letter of my arrival and of these reports.

In answer to this, the doctor, on the 7th of April, 1780, wrote me a very friendly letter, asserting these reports to be false, and enclosing a certificate of his banker, which proved them to be so. Of this I have made the proper use, and as the same reports prevailed in Martinique, and probably in the other islands, I wish the remedy to be as extensive as the mischief, and therefore transmit the following extract from his letter on that subject and a copy of the certificate mentioned in it:

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY DR. FRANKLIN, DATED APRIL 7, 1780.†

The reports you tell me prevail at Cadiz that the loan-office bills payable in France have not been duly honored are wicked falsehoods. Not one of them, duly indorsed by the original proprietor, was ever refused by me or the payment delayed a moment; and the few not so indorsed have been also paid on the guaranty of the presenter, or some person of known credit. No reason whatever has been given for

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 160, with verbal changes.

† See this letter, *supra*.

refusing payment of a bill except this very good one, that either the first, second, third, or fourth of the same set had been already paid. The pretense that it was necessary for the whole set to arrive before the money could be paid is too absurd and ridiculous for any one to make use of who knows anything of the nature of exchange. The unexpected large drafts made upon me by Congress and others, exclusive of these from the loan office, have indeed sometimes embarrassed me not a little and put me to difficulties. But I have overcome those difficulties, so as never to have been obliged to make the smallest excuse, or desire the least delay of payment from any presenter of such bills. Those reports must therefore have been contrived by enemies to our country, or by persons who proposed an advantage to themselves by purchasing them at an under rate. Enclosed I send you a certificate of our banker in refutation of those calumnies.

COPY OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED CERTIFICATE.

[Translation.]

I, the subscriber, banker at Paris, and alone charged with the payment of the bills of the loan office, declare that I have paid, without exception or delay, all such bills to this date, accepted by his excellency Dr. Franklin; that, to my knowledge, no such bill has been refused payment, but that several have been presented after having been once paid.

I declare further, that whatever is contradictory to this present is false.

In testimony of which I have here signed my name at Paris this 15th of March, 1780.

GLAND.

It appearing to me of importance that I should as soon as possible be informed of the measures which Mr. Arthur Lee might have taken leading to a treaty between the United States and Spain, I did, on the 26th of January, 1780, write him a letter, of which the following is a copy.

Mr. Lee, in answer to this, wrote me a polite letter on the 17th of March, 1780. The following is a copy of it.

As, for reasons which will appear in the course of the following papers, and which I hope will meet with the approbation of Congress, it became proper for me to remain in Spain, I apprised the court of France of it by a letter to his excellency the Count de Vergennes on the 27th of January, 1780, of which the following is a copy.

The count's answer to this is in the following words:

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *March* 13, 1780.

SIR: I have received your favor of the 27th of January, and I am fully sensible of the confidence you have reposed in me by communicating to me the object of your mission. You know too well the attachment of his majesty to the United States not to feel assured that he sincerely wishes you success and will be eager to contribute to it. The Count de Montmorin has received instructions accordant with this disposition, and I do not doubt that your confidence in him will enable him to fulfill them to your entire satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

On the 9th of May, 1780, I replied to the count as follows:

ARANJUEZ, *May* 9, 1780.

SIR: The letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me on the 13th of March last was delivered to me by the Count de Montmorin on my arrival at Madrid.

I should not have thus long delayed the pleasure of replying to it if I could have prevailed upon myself to have given your excellency complimentary professions, instead of sincere assurances. Unreserved confidence in an ambassador of our great and good ally was just, as well as natural; and I am exceedingly happy to find that personal considerations, instead of forbidding, prompt it. M. Gerard, whose judgment I greatly respect, had given me a very favorable impression of this gentleman, and I am convinced from my own observation that he was not mistaken. His conduct towards me has been that of a wise minister and a candid gentleman. Your excellency may therefore rely upon his receiving all that confidence from me which these considerations dictate. Permit me to add that I never indulge myself in contemplating the future happiness and independence of my country without feeling the warmest attachment to the prince and people who are making such glorious exertions to establish them.

With the most lively sentiments of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

I requested the favor of M. Gerard to inform me to which of the ministers of Spain it would be proper to address any letters which I might think proper to write to that court. He told me M. Galvez, and enumerated his reasons for thinking so. On the 27th of January, 1780, I wrote a letter to that minister. The following is a copy of it.

Mr. Carmichael was the bearer of this letter, and as his going to Madrid to expedite an answer to it would give him an opportunity of acquiring as well as giving information on several subjects, I gave him the following instructions.

I have desired Mr. Carmichael, for greater certainty, to give me notes in writing of all the information he gained in pursuance of these instructions, but he has postponed it for the sake of enlarging them by some important additions.

My letter to M. Galvez was answered the 24th of February, 1780, by the Count de Florida Blanca.

To this letter I replied as follows, viz:

CADIZ, *March* 6, 1780.

SIR: I have been honored with your excellency's favor of the 24th ultimo, which letter did not come to my hand till some time after its arrival.

The sentiments which his majesty is pleased to entertain of me, together with the polite manner in which your excellency has been so obliging as to express them, demand my warmest acknowledgments and give additional force to the many motives which render me desirous of a permanent union between his majesty and the United States.

The honor and probity which have ever characterized the conduct of Spain, together with the exalted reputation his majesty has acquired by being an eminent example of both, have induced the people of the United States to repose the highest confidence in the proofs they have received of his friendly disposition towards them, and to consider every engagement with this monarchy as guarantied by that faith and secured by that ingenuousness which have so gloriously distinguished his majesty and this kingdom among the other princes and nations of the earth.

Permit me to request the favor of your excellency to assure his majesty that the people of the United States are convinced that virtue alone can animate and support their governments, and that they can in no other way establish and perpetuate a national character, honorable to themselves and their posterity, than by an unshaken adherence to the rules which religion, morality, and treaties may prescribe for their conduct. His royal mind may also be persuaded that gratitude will never cease to add the influence of inclination to the power of dignity in rendering them solicitous for the happiness and prosperity of those generous nations who nobly strengthened their opposition to a torrent of oppression, and kindly aided in freeing them from the bondage of a nation whose arrogance and injustice had become destructive of the rights of mankind and dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of christendom.

Having, therefore, the most perfect conviction that the candor and benignity of his intentions are equal to the uprightness and sincerity of those of Congress, I shall set out in a few days for Madrid with the pleasing expectation that there will be little delay or difficulty in adjusting the terms of a union between a magnanimous monarch and a virtuous people, who wish to obtain by an alliance with each other only reciprocal benefits and mutual advantages.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect and consideration, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN JAY.

On the 4th of April, 1780, I arrived at Madrid, and Mr. Carmichael delivered to me the following questions from the Count de Florida Blanca, to which he had declined giving answers, viz:

QUESTIONS FROM THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA, DATED THE 9TH OF MARCH, 1780.

[Translation.]

Before entering into a discussion with Mr. Jay or Mr. Carmichael, jointly or separately, on the subject of the affairs of the United States of North America and their mutual interest with respect to Spain, it is judged indispensable at Madrid that the Catholic king should be exactly informed of the civil and military state of the American provinces, and of their resources to continue the present war, not only for the defense of their own liberty, but also with respect to the aid and succors they may be able to afford Spain in its operations in case hereafter this crown should become the ally of America. The *civil state* ought to comprehend—

(1) A true account of the population and form of government of each province of the Union, and the resolution of the inhabitants to continue the war with vigor as long as it is necessary.

(2) Whether there is any powerful party in favor of England, and what consequences are to be apprehended from it; whether the heads of this party suffer themselves to be seduced by the great promises of the British Government.

(3) A statement of the revenues of these provinces, and of their ability to contribute to the general expense; to which may be added whether they will be able long to support this burden, and even to increase it should it be judged necessary.

(4) A statement of the public debts, and of the particular debts of each State, taken collectively or separately, of their resources to lessen them, and the possibility of their being able to support their credit in all the operations of government in the commerce of their inhabitants, and above all in the protection of national industry.

(5) By what means, or with what branches of commerce, will the States of America have it in their power to indemnify Spain whenever this power may second the views and operations of the Americans; and particularly the court wishes to know whether it may be convenient for the said States to furnish ships of war of the best construction for the Spanish marine, and likewise timber and other articles for the king's

arsenals, and the whole without loss of time, and fixing the terms on which they would make an agreement of this nature, and who would be commissioned to bring the vessels and these naval stores to Spain.

With respect to the *military state* of America, it is necessary to be informed first, of the number and strength of the different bodies of troops armed by the provinces, and of their present situation, in order to judge whether they are sufficient to oppose the enemy wherever they may go, and particularly in Carolina and Georgia.

Further, it may be expedient to know the means of augmenting the American army in case it is necessary, or to keep it always on the same footing, notwithstanding its daily losses. In what condition their clothing and arms are at present; whether they are partly in want of those articles, and how much it would require to remedy those defects.

The subsistence of an army being an object of the greatest consequence, the court desires to know if proper measures have been taken for that purpose, that it may be ascertained whether it can act everywhere, if necessary, even in the above-mentioned provinces, without danger of being in want of necessaries.

It is highly essential for the provinces of America to keep a marine to act against the common enemy and to secure their own possessions during the present war. The Spanish minister therefore is desirous of knowing its strength, including the armed vessels belonging to individuals, and by what means it may be augmented, and what succors will be necessary for that purpose.

The court of Spain, desirous of information on these subjects with all possible frankness and precision, does not pretend to dive into matters which Mr. Jay or Mr. Carmichael may regard as reserved to themselves. Its only aim is to be acquainted with the present state of the American forces, their resources; and ability to continue the war, so that if it was in consideration for new allies to supply them with succors of any kind, the former might be able to plan on solid grounds their operations convenient for the common cause and for the particular advantage of these States, without running the risk of being misled by false calculations for want of foresight and proper information.

PARDO, *March* 9, 1780.

My answer to these questions is contained in a letter I wrote to the Count de Florida Blanca, on the 25th of April, 1780; the removal of the court to Aranjuez, and his attending the king at that time at an annual chase, rendering it useless, and perhaps improper, to endeavor to call his attention to these matters sooner. The following is a copy of it:

MADRID, *April* 25, 1780.

SIR: Mr. Carmichael has delivered to me a paper he had the honor of receiving from your excellency before my arrival here, containing heads of many important inquiries respecting which it was judged necessary that his Catholic majesty should be exactly informed before entering into a discussion with me and Mr. Carmichael, jointly or separately, on the subject of the affairs of the United States of North America, and their mutual interest with respect to Spain; but that the court, though desirous of information on these several articles, with all possible frankness and precision, did not mean to dive into matters which Mr. Carmichael and myself might regard as reserved to ourselves only.

Being persuaded that direct and accurate information respecting the nature and extent of the commissions given to that gentleman and myself would be very agreeable to your excellency, I take the liberty of transmitting the following copies of each:

"The delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylva-

nia, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in Congress assembled, to all who shall see these presents, greeting:

"Whereas an intercourse between the subjects of his Catholic majesty and the citizens of these United States, founded on the principles of equality, reciprocity, and friendship, may be of mutual advantage to both nations, and it being the sincere desire of the United States to enter into a treaty of alliance and of amity and commerce with his Catholic majesty: Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the honorable John Jay, late President of Congress, and chief-justice of the State of New York, have nominated and constituted, and by these presents do nominate and constitute, him, the said John Jay, our minister plenipotentiary; giving him full power, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude, with the ambassador or plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty vested with equal powers, of and concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and of alliance, and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us and in our names to sign, and thereupon make such treaty or treaties, conventions and agreements, as he shall judge conformable to the ends we have in view in as ample form, and with the same effect, as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfill, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said minister plenipotentiary, and that we will never act, nor suffer any person to act, contrary to the same in the whole or in any part.

"In witness whereof we have caused these presents to be given in Congress, at Philadelphia, the 29th day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and the fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

"Signed by the President and sealed with his seal.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
"*President.*

"Attest:

"CHARLES THOMSON,
"*Secretary.*"

"The United States of America in Congress assembled to the honorable William Carmichael, a delegate in Congress from the State of Maryland, greeting:

"We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, ability, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you, during our pleasure, secretary to our minister plenipotentiary, appointed to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce and of alliance with his Catholic majesty. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of secretary, by doing and performing all things thereunto belonging, and in case of the death of our said minister, you are to signify it to us by the earliest opportunity, and on such event we authorize and direct you to take into your charge all our public affairs which were in the hands of said minister at the time of his death, or which may be addressed to him before notice thereof, and proceed therein according to the instructions to our said minister given until our further orders.

"Witness his excellency Samuel Huntington, President of the Congress of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, the 29th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1779, and in the fourth year of our Independence.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
"*President.*

"Attest:

"CHARLES THOMSON,
"*Secretary.*"

The inquiries in question are numerous and important. They do honor to the sagacity which suggested them, and if fully answered would produce a very inter-

esting history of the present condition of the American States. On some of the subjects proposed I can give your excellency full and positive intelligence; on others only general and by no means precise information. On all, however, I shall write with candor.

Such is the nature of the American governments and Confederacy, that the Congress and all other rulers of the people, are responsible to them for their conduct, and can not withhold from their constituents a knowledge of their true situation without subjecting themselves to all the evils which they experience who substitute cunning in the place of wisdom. Hence it is that a knowledge of their affairs is easily attainable by all who will be at the trouble of collecting it, and as it is neither the policy nor inclination of America to draw a veil over any part of their affairs, your excellency may be persuaded that every consideration forbids their servants, by a suppression or misrepresentation of facts to deceive or mislead those whose amity they so sincerely endeavor to cultivate as they do that of Spain.

Your excellency has with great propriety arranged the subjects of your inquiry under two heads: the *civil* and *military* states of North America. The first of these is again branched into several subdivisions, at the head of which is the

POPULATION OF EACH STATE.

The exact number of inhabitants in the United States has not, I believe, been ascertained by an actual census in more than two or three of them. The only computation made by Congress was on the 29th of July, 1775; the manner and occasion of which exclude every suspicion of its exceeding the true number. Congress had emitted bills of credit to a very considerable amount, and were apprised of the necessity of emitting more. Justice demanded that this debt should be apportioned among the States according to their respective abilities; an equitable rule, whereby to determine that ability became indispensable. After much consideration Congress resolved "that the proportion or quota of each colony should be determined according to the number of the inhabitants of all ages (including negroes and mulattoes) in each colony," but as that could not *then* be ascertained *exactly*, they were obliged to judge of and compute the number from circumstantial evidence. The delegates gave to Congress an account of the population of their respective colonies, made from the best materials then in their power, and so great was their confidence in each other, that from these accounts that computation was principally formed. Your excellency will readily perceive that the delegates were far from being under any temptations to exaggerate the number of their constituents; they were not ignorant that by such exaggerations they would increase their portion of aids, both of men and money, and that whatever errors they might commit could not be rectified by an actual enumeration during the war. The computation then formed was as follows:

New Hampshire	*124,069	Delaware	*37,219
Massachusetts Bay	434,244	Maryland	*310,174
Rhode Island	*71,959	Virginia	496,278
Connecticut	248,139	North Carolina	248,139
New York	248,139	South Carolina	248,139
New Jersey	*161,290		
Pennsylvania	*372,208		3,000,000

Exclusive of the inhabitants of Georgia, who were not at that time represented in Congress, and of whose numbers I have no information that I can confide in.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT OF EACH STATE.

In the pamphlets I have now the honor of transmitting to your excellency, viz, No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5, you will find the constitutions of New York, New

* And a half.

Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South Carolina. The others I have not with me. The great outlines of them all are very similar. By the last accounts from America it appears that Massachusetts Bay had not as yet agreed upon their constitution, but had it then under consideration.

It can not be necessary to observe to your excellency that these new modes of government were formed by persons named and authorized by the people for that express purpose; that they were in general instituted with great temper and deliberation upon such just and liberal principles as, on the one hand, to give effectual security to civil and religious liberty, and on the other make ample provision for the rights of justice and the due exercise of the necessary powers of government.

The Articles of Confederation agreed upon by Congress and approved by every State in the Union except Maryland provide for the general government of the Confederacy and the ordering of all matters essential to the prosperity and preservation of the Union in peace and war. I ought also to inform your excellency that the reasons why Maryland has as yet withheld her assent to those articles do not arise from any disaffection to the common cause, but merely from their not having adopted certain principles respecting the disposition of certain lands.

THE UNION AND RESOLUTION OF THE INHABITANTS TO CONTINUE THE WAR WITH VIGOR AS LONG AS MAY BE NECESSARY.

On this subject I can give your excellency certain and positive information. The storm of tyranny and oppression which had for some years been constantly growing more black and more terrible began to burst with violence on the people of North America in the year 1774. It was seen and felt and deprecated by all except those who expected to gather spoils in the ruins it was designed to occasion. These were those who enjoyed or expected emoluments from Great Britain, together with their immediate dependents and connections, such as the officers of government throughout the Colonies, but with some very distinguished exceptions; those of the clergy of the Church of England almost without exception, who received annual salaries from the society established in England for propagating the gospel in foreign parts; foreign adventurous; buyers, and sellers, who, being no further attached to the country than as it afforded the means of gain, soon prepared to speculate in confiscations, and courted the notice of their sovereign by intemperate zeal for the ruin of his subjects. With these exceptions the great body of the people move together, and united in such firm and considerate measures for the common safety, and conducted their affairs with such regularity, order, and system as to leave no room to suppose them to be the work of only a prevailing party, as our enemies have always represented and affected to consider them.

There was, it is true, another class of persons not much less dangerous, though far more contemptible, than those I first mentioned; persons who in every revolution, like floating weeds in every storm, obey the strongest wind, and pass from side to side as that happens to change. I mean the *neutrals*, a pusillanimous race, who, having balanced in their minds the advantages and disadvantages, the gains and dangers of joining either side, are seduced by their fears to form a thousand pretexts for joining neither; who, to manifest their loyalty to their king, when his armies were successful, gave them every aid in their power, except drawing their swords against their country, and who, when their countrymen prevailed, were ready to render them all possible service, except taking arms against their prince.

The auxiliaries which the British measures and forces found in the country consisted of persons from these classes. And although when these first appeared in and wounded the bosom of America she was obliged to extend her arms to repel the assaults of a foreign enemy, yet such was the union and spirit of her inhabitants, that she was soon enabled not only to put them under her feet, but on the ruins of her former governments to erect new ones in the midst of invasions from without and treacherous combinations from within. Being able to obtain no other terms of peace

than unconditional obedience, she had sufficient courage to declare herself independent in the face of one of the best appointed armies Britain could ever boast, as well as sufficient strength to limit its operations and reduce its numbers.

It may perhaps be observed that the first object of the war was a redress of grievances; that the present object is *independence;* and it may be asked whether the people are as much united with respect to the last as they were with respect to the first.

I am certain that the people of America never were so well united as they are at present in that of their independence. Exclusive of actual observation on the spot I think so, because—

(1) The Declaration of Independence was made by Congress at a time when the great body of their constituents called for it.

(2) Because that declaration was immediately recognized by the general assemblies and legislatures of the several States without exception.

(3) Because the successful army under General Burgoyne was defeated and captured by a great collection of the neighboring militia, to whom he had offered peace and tranquillity on their remaining at home, terms which it was natural to suppose a great many of them would have accepted had the Declaration of Independence been disagreeable to them.

(4) Because the Congress, who consists of members annually elected, have repeatedly, expressly, and unanimously declared their determination to support it at every hazard.

(5) Because their internal enemies have been either expelled or reduced, and their estates, to a very great amount in some of the States, confiscated and actually sold.

(6) Because constitutions and forms of government have since been instituted and completely organized, in which the people participate, from which they have experienced essential advantages, and to which they have of consequence become greatly attached.

(7) Because Congress unanimously refused to enter into treaty with the British commissioners on any terms short of independence, and because every State, though afterwards separately solicited, refused to treat otherwise than collectively by their delegates in Congress.

(8) Because the inhuman and very barbarous manner in which the war has been conducted by the enemy has so alienated the affections of the people from the King and Government of Britain, and filled their hearts with such deep-rooted and just resentments, as render a cordial reconciliation, much less a dependence on them, utterly impossible.

(9) Because the doctrine propagated in America by the servants of the King of Great Britain, that no faith was to be kept with Americans in arms against him, and the uniformity with which they have adhered to it in their practice as well as professions, have destroyed all confidence, and leave the Americans no room to doubt but that, should they again become subjects of the King of Britain on certain terms, that those terms would as little impede the progress of future oppression as the capitulation of Limerick in 1691 did with respect to Ireland.

(10) Because the treaty with France, and consequently virtue, honor, and every obligation due to the reputation of a rising nation, whose fame is unsullied by violated compacts, forbid it.

(11) Because it is the evident and well-known interest of North America to remain independent.

(12) Because the history of mankind, from the earliest ages, with a loud voice calls upon those who draw their swords against a prince deaf to the supplications of [his] people to throw away the scabbard.

(13) Because they do not consider the support of their independence as difficult. The country is very defensible and fertile; the people are all soldiers, who with reason consider their liberty and lives as the most valuable of the possessions left them,

and which they are determined shall neither be wrested or purchased from them but with blood.

(14) Because for the support of their independence they have expressly, by a most solemn act, pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor; so that their bond of union for this very purpose, thus formed of all the ties of common interest, common safety, mutual affection, general resentments, and the great obligations of virtue, honor, patriotism, and religion may with reason be deemed equal to the importance of that great object.

WHETHER THERE IS ANY POWERFUL PARTY IN FAVOR OF ENGLAND, AND WHAT CONSEQUENCES ARE TO BE APPREHENDED FROM IT? WHETHER THE HEADS OF THIS PARTY SUFFER THEMSELVES TO BE SEDUCED BY THE PROMISES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT?

What has been already said on the subject of the union of the people in North America will, I imagine, in a great measure answer these questions.

If by a party in favor of England is meant a party for relinquishing the independence of the United States and returning to the dominion of Britain on any terms whatever, I answer there is no such party in North America; all the open adherents of the crown of Great Britain having either voluntarily quitted or been expelled from the country.

That Britain has emissaries and masked adherents in America, industrious in their little spheres to perplex the public measures and disturb the public tranquillity, is a fact of which I have not the most distant doubt, and it is equally true that some of these wicked men are by a few weak ones thought to be patriots; but they can not with any propriety be called a party, or even a faction. The chief mischief they do is collecting and transmitting intelligence, raising false reports, and spreading calumnies of public men and measures; such characters will be found in every country so circumstanced, and America has not been negligent in providing laws for their punishment.

The obvious policy of the court of London has induced them to boast perpetually of their party in America; but where it is, of whom composed, what it has done or is doing, are questions to which they constantly give evasive answers. Much also have they said of the numbers that have joined their arms in America. The truth is, that at Boston, Rhode Island, New York, and Philadelphia they gleaned some of that refuse of mankind to be found and purchased by anybody in all commercial cities. It is also true that some men of weight and influence in the country, who joined the enemy on their first successes, did draw away with them several of their immediate dependents, whom they persuaded or otherwise influenced to enlist in their service. To these may also be added the prisoners, who at different times they forced into their service by famine and other severities too numerous as well as barbarous to be here particularized. But I have no reason to believe that all of these aids put together ever exceeded three thousand men. This business, however (except with respect to prisoners) has long been over, and before I left America many of those deluded people had returned and implored the pardon of their country.

In America, as in all other popular governments, your excellency knows there must and ever will be parties for and against particular measures and particular men. The enemy, adverting to this circumstance, have had address enough to ascribe differences and temporary heats arising from this source, in which they were not interested, to causes much higher and more flattering to their importance; and this they have done with so much art as to have imposed in some instances on the credulity of men high in reputation for sagacity and discernment.

If your excellency will be pleased to peruse a pamphlet marked No. 6, which you will find enclosed with the other papers I herewith transmit, and entitled "Observations on the American Revolution," you will perceive that nothing is to be apprehended from this supposed party in North America.

A STATEMENT OF THE REVENUES OF THE STATES AND OF THEIR ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE GENERAL EXPENSE; WHETHER THEY WILL BE ABLE LONG TO SUPPORT THIS BURDEN, AND INCREASE IT, IF NECESSARY?

The Confederated States have no fixed revenues, nor are such revenues necessary, because all the private property in the country is at the public service. The only restriction imposed by the people is that it be taken from them with *wisdom* and *justice*, or, to be more explicit, that the sums required be proportionate to the public exigencies, and assessed on the individuals in proportion to their respective abilities.

A nation can seldom be destitute of the means of continuing a war while they remain unsubdued in the field and cheerfully devote their all to that service. They may indeed experience great distress, but no distress being equal to that of subjection to exasperated oppressors, whose most tender mercies are cruel, the Americans had little difficulty in making their election.

A STATE OF THE PUBLIC DEBTS.

This subject your excellency will find fully discussed in an address of Congress to their constituents, in which they compute their debts, and mention the means they had taken to preserve the public credit. It is also herewith enclosed, and marked No. 7.

A STATE OF THE DEBTS OF EACH PARTICULAR STATE.

Although exact accounts of these debts are contained in the public printed acts of each State, yet as I neither have any of those acts or extracts from them with me, and my general knowledge on this head is very imperfect, I am deterred from giving your excellency any information respecting it by the very great risk I should run of misleading you on this point.

THE RESOURCES TO LESSEN THESE DEBTS.

Taxes; foreign and domestic loans; sales of confiscated estates; and ungranted lands.

THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR SUPPORTING THEIR CREDIT IN ALL THE OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT, IN THE COMMERCE OF THEIR INHABITANTS, AND, ABOVE ALL, IN THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

As to the possibility of supporting their credit in the cases mentioned, there is no doubt it is very *possible*. How far it is *probable* is a question less easy to answer. If the taxes called for by Congress last fall be duly paid all will be safe. But whether they have been paid or not I am wholly uninformed, except that I find in a public paper that Virginia had made good her first payment. As I daily expect to receive advices from America on this subject, I shall postpone saying anything further on it at present, but your excellency may rely on my communicating to you a full state of what intelligence I may have respecting it.

As to supporting their credit in *commerce*, it is attended with considerable, though not insurmountable, difficulties. They are of two kinds, the want of sufficient commodities for remittances and the risk of transporting them. In ordinary North America abounds in valuable commodities, such as fish, oil, lumber, provisions of flesh and corn, iron, tobacco, and naval stores, peltry, indigo, potash, and other articles, all of which have greatly diminished since the war; the laborers formerly employed in producing them having been often called to the field and by other effects of the war been prevented from regularly following their usual occupations. Of some of these articles America still produces more than is necessary for her own consumption, but the risk of transporting them to Europe renders her remittances very uncertain. The asylum which all British armed vessels find in the ports of Portugal enables them to cruise very conveniently and with great advantage off the Western Islands, and

other situations proper for annoying vessels going from thence to France, Spain, or the Mediterranean. Hence it is that the trade from America to St. Eustatia has of late so greatly increased, it being carried on principally in small fast-sailing vessels that draw but little water, and that the chief remittances to Europe have been in bills of exchange instead of produce.

With respect to the protection of *national industry*, I take it for granted that it will always flourish where it is lucrative and not discouraged, which was the case in North America when I left it; every man being then at liberty, by the law, to cultivate the earth as he pleased, to raise what he pleased, to manufacture as he pleased, and to sell the produce of his labor to whom he pleased, and for the best prices, without any duties or impositions whatsoever. I have, indeed, no apprehensions whatever on this subject. I believe there are no people more industrious than those of America, and whoever recurs to their population, their former exports, and their present productions amidst the horrors of fire and sword will be convinced of it.

BY WHAT MEANS OR WHAT BRANCHES OF COMMERCE WILL THE STATES OF AMERICA HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER TO INDEMNIFY SPAIN WHENEVER THIS POWER MAY SECOND THE VIEWS AND OPERATIONS OF THE AMERICANS?

America will indemnify Spain in two ways, by fighting the enemy of Spain and by commerce. Your excellency will be pleased to remark that Spain, as well as America, is now at war with Britain, and therefore that it is the interest of both to support and assist each other against the common enemy. It can not be a question whether Britain will be more or less formidable if victorious or defeated in America; and there can be no doubt but that every nation interested in the reduction of her power will be compensated for any aids they may afford America by the immediate application of those aids to that express purpose at the expense of American *blood*.

Your excellency's well-known talents save me the necessity of observing that it is the interest of all Europe to join in breaking down the exorbitant power of a nation who arrogantly claims the ocean as her birthright, and considers every advantage in commerce, however acquired by violence or used with cruelty, as a tribute justly due to her boasted superiority in arts and in arms.

By establishing the independence of America the empire of Britain will be divided and the sinews of her power cut. Americans, situated in another hemisphere, intent only on the cultivation of a country more than sufficient to satisfy their desires, will remain unconnected with European politics, and not being interested in their objects, will not partake in their dissensions. Happy in having for their neighbors a people distinguished for love of justice and of peace they will have nothing to fear, but may flatter themselves that they and their posterity will long enjoy all the blessings of that peace, liberty, and safety for which alone they patiently endure the calamities incident to the cruel contest they sustain.

While the war continues the commerce of America will be inconsiderable; but on the restoration of peace it will soon become very valuable and extensive. So great is the extent of country in North America yet to be cultivated and so inviting to settlers, that labor will very long remain too dear to admit of considerable manufactures. Reason and experience tell us that when the poor have it in their power to gain affluence by tilling the earth they will refuse the scanty earnings which manufacturers may offer them. From this circumstance it is evident that the exports from America will consist of raw materials, which other nations will be able to manufacture for them at a cheaper rate than they can themselves. To those who consider the future and progressive population of that country, the demands it will have for the manufactures and productions of Europe, as well to satisfy their wants as to gratify their luxury, will appear immense, and far more than any one kingdom in it can supply. Instead of paying money for fish and many other articles as heretofore, Spain will then have an opportunity of obtaining them in exchange for her cloths,

silks, wines, and fruits; notwithstanding which, it is proper to observe that the commerce of the American States will forever procure them such *actual wealth* as to enable them punctually to repay whatever sums they may borrow.

HOW FAR IT MAY BE CONVENIENT FOR THESE STATES TO FURNISH SHIPS OF WAR, TIMBER, AND OTHER ARTICLES FOR THE KING'S ARSENALS WITHOUT DELAY, AND, IF IN THEIR POWER, ON WHAT TERMS?

I am much at a loss to determine at present, and therefore will by no means give your excellency my conjectures for intelligence.

It is certain that in ordinary times America can build ships as good and cheaper than any other people, because the materials cost them less. The ships of war now in her service, as to strength and construction, are not exceeded by any on the ocean. On this subject I will write to America for information, and give your excellency the earliest notice of it. Naval stores, and particularly masts and spars, may certainly be had there, and of the best quality, and I doubt not but that the Americans would carry them to the Havana or New Orleans, though I suspect their being in a manner destitute of proper convoys for the European trade would render them backward in bringing them to Spain on terms equal to the risk of capture on the one hand and the expectations of purchasers on the other.

THE NUMBER AND STRENGTH OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS, THEIR PRESENT SITUATION AND ABILITY TO OPPOSE THE ENEMY, ESPECIALLY IN GEORGIA AND CAROLINA.

Six months have elapsed since I left America, and I had not seen a return of the army for some time before that period. It did not, I am certain, amount to its full complement, and in my opinion did not in the whole exceed thirty or thirty-five thousand men; I mean regular troops.

The commander-in-chief, whose abilities, as well as integrity, merit the highest confidence, was authorized to conduct all the military operations in the United States at his discretion, subject, nevertheless, to such orders as the Congress might think proper from time to time to give. It is impossible, therefore, for me (not having received a single letter on these subjects from America since my arrival) to decide in what manner or proportions these troops are employed or stationed, though I am confident it has been done in the best manner.

All the men of proper age in America are liable to do military duty in certain cases, and with a few exceptions in all cases. The militia is for the most part divided into a certain number of classes, and whenever re-enforcements to the main army or any detachment of it are wanting, they are supplied by these classes in rotation. These re-enforcements while in the field are subject to the like regulations with the regular troops, and with them submit to the severest discipline and duty. Hence it is that the people of America have become soldiers, and that the enemy have never been able to make a deep impression in the country, or long hold any considerable lodgments at a distance from their fleets. Georgia and South Carolina, indeed, enjoy these advantages in a less degree than the other States, their own militia not being very numerous, and speedy re enforcements from their neighbors of North Carolina and Virginia rendered difficult by the length of the way. They have, nevertheless, given proofs of their spirit by various and great exertions, and I have reason to believe that all possible care has been taken to provide for their safety, by furnishing them with a proper body of troops under Major-General Lincoln, a very good officer, as well as a very good man.

Arms are still wanting in America, many of those imported proving unfit for use, and the number of inhabitants who were without proper arms at the beginning of the war calling for great supplies. The army and a considerable part of the militia, especially in the northern States, have in general good arms.

The article of clothing has been, and still is, a very interesting one to the American

army. It is impossible to describe, and, indeed, almost impossible to believe, the hardships they have endured for want of it. There have been instances—and I speak from the most undoubted authority—of considerable detachments marching bare-footed over rugged tracts of ice and snow, and marking the route they took by the blood that issued from their feet; but neither these terrible extremities nor the alluring offers of the enemy could prevail on them to quit their standards or relax their ardor. Their condition, however, has of late been much bettered by supplies from France and Spain and American privateers; but adequate provision has not yet been made for the ensuing winter, and I can not conceal from your excellency my anxiety on that head. A supply of clothing for twenty thousand men, added to what is engaged for them in France, would make that army and all America happy.

I foresee no other difficulties in providing subsistence for the American armies in every station in which they may be placed than those which may attend the transportation of it. But when I reflect on the obstacles of this kind which they have already met with and surmounted, I have little uneasiness about future ones. The last crops in America promised to be plentiful when I left it, but whether there would be any and what considerable overplus for exportation was then undetermined; the damages done the wheat in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina by a fly which infested those countries not being to my knowledge at that time ascertained.

How many ships of war belong to Congress is a question I can not answer with certainty. I think there are not more than ten or twelve in the whole. Of privateers there are a great number, but how many exactly has not been computed. In my opinion they exceed one hundred; several of them very fine ships. The governor of Martinique told me that in that island alone the American privateers had brought and sold above five thousand African slaves which they had taken from the enemy. Nine-tenths at least of all the rum and sugar used in North America these three years past have been obtained in the same way, and to their successes have the public been indebted for the most seasonable and valuable supplies of military stores they have received. I left several vessels on the stocks at Philadelphia, and heard of more in other ports.

Upon the whole, his majesty may rest perfectly assured that the Americans are determined, though forsaken by all mankind, to maintain their independence, and to part with it only with their lives; the desolations and distresses of war being too familiar to them to excite any other passions than indignation and resentment.

That the country will supply its inhabitants with provisions, some clothing, and some articles of commerce.

That there is no party in America in favor of returning under the dominion of Britain on any terms whatever.

That the King of France is very popular in America, being in all parts of it styled the protector of the rights of mankind, and that they will hold the treaty made with him inviolate.

That the people in America have very high ideas of the honor and integrity of the Spanish nation, and of his Catholic majesty especially, and that this respect and esteem unites with their interest in rendering them so desirous of his friendship and alliance.

That the greatest difficulty under which America labors arises from the great depreciation of her bills of credit, owing principally to a greater sum having been emitted than was necessary for a medium of commerce, and to the impossibility of remedying it by taxes before regular governments were established.

That great attempts, seconded by the general voice of the people, have been made to retrieve the credit of those bills by taxation, the issue of which was as yet uncertain; but if unsuccessful, a recurrence to taxes in kind was still left and would be practised, though it is an expedient which nothing but necessity can render eligible.

That if France and Spain were to unite their endeavors to conquer Britain in America by furnishing the latter with the necessary aids of ammunition, clothing,

and some money, there is reason to believe that the house of Bourbon would find it the most certain and least expensive method of reducing the power of their irreconcilable enemy, and not only command the gratitude and perpetual attachment of America, but the general approbation of all who wish well to the tranquillity of Europe and the rights of mankind; thus would that illustrious house erect glorious and lasting monuments to their virtues in the hearts of a whole people.

I fear your excellency will consider the intelligence here given less full and precise than you expected. I regret that it is not in my power to render it more so, but it is not. I hope, however, it will be thought sufficient to open a way to those further discussions which must precede the measures necessary to bind America to Spain as well as to France, and thereby complete the division and consequently the humiliation of the British empire; a work too glorious and laudable not to merit the notice of so magnanimous a prince as his majesty, and engage the attention of a minister of such acknowledged abilities as your excellency.

I flatter myself that the importance of the subject will apologize for my trespassing so long on your excellency's patience so soon after your return to Aranjuez.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

This letter gives occasion for many observations, which I am persuaded will not escape Congress, and therefore I forbear repeating them. Your excellency will be pleased to observe that on some of the subjects of it I ought to be without delay apprised of the intentions of Congress, and furnished with such information and instructions as may be necessary to enable me to fulfill them.

On the 27th of April last I received at Madrid a letter from the committee of foreign affairs, enclosing copies of the resolutions of Congress of the 23d and 29th of November, 1779, for drawing on Mr. Laurens and myself for £100,000 sterling each. I went the next day to Aranjuez, and the day after wrote to the Count de Florida Blanca in the words following, viz.

ARANJUEZ, *April* 29, 1780.

SIR: By the address of Congress to their constituents on the subject of their finances, which I had the honor of transmitting to your excellency, you have doubtless observed that in September last Congress came to a resolution of emitting no more bills than, with those already emitted and in circulation, would amount to $200,000,000; that about the same time they called upon their constituents to raise money by taxes, and assigned the *first day of January* last for the first payment, at which day it was supposed that the bills to be emitted would be nearly expended.

Congress, perceiving that at once to stop the great channel of supplies that had been open ever since the war, and to substitute another equally productive, was not one of those measures which operate almost insensibly, without hazard or difficulty, and well knowing that if the first payment of these taxes should be delayed beyond the limited time the treasury would be without money and the public operations obstructed by all the evils consequent to it, they were of opinion that collateral and auxiliary measures were necessary to insure success to the great system for retrieving and supporting the public credit. So early, therefore, as the 23d day of November last they took this subject into their most serious consideration, and although they had the highest reason to confide in the exertions of their constituents, yet having received repeated assurances of his majesty's friendly disposition toward them, and being well persuaded that they could avail themselves of his majesty's friendship on no occasion more agreeable to him and advantageous to them than on one so interesting to the United States and important to the common cause, they adopted a measure which,

but for these considerations, might appear extraordinary, viz, to draw bills upon me for £100,000 sterling, payable at six months' sight.

The drawing bills previous to notice of obtaining money to satisfy them may at first view appear indelicate, but when it is considered that the whole success of this measure depended on its taking place between the 23d of November and the 1st of January last, in which period it was impossible to make the application, his majesty's magnanimity will, I am persuaded, readily excuse it.

As I shall always think it my duty to give your excellency all the information in my power that may enable his majesty from time to time to form a true judgment of the state of American affairs, it is proper that I should inform your excellency that Congress, having reasons to believe that a loan might be obtained in Holland, did shortly after my leaving America take measures for that purpose, and on the 23d of November last resolved to draw bills on Mr. Henry Laurens, to whom that business had been committed, for the sum of £100,000 sterling.

I greatly regret that it was not in my power to advise your excellency of these matters sooner; but it was not until the 27th instant, at Madrid, that I received the letter which informed me of them.

As further remarks would draw this letter into greater length than the opinion I have of your excellency's discernment will permit me to think necessary, I forbear longer to engage your time and attention than to request the favor of your excellency to lay it before his majesty.

The eyes of America are now drawn towards him by their opinion of his virtues and the situation of their affairs; and I flatter myself it will not be long before their hearts and affections will also be engaged by such marks of his majesty's friendship as his wisdom and liberality may prompt and their occasions render expedient.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

On the subject of this and my former letter I had a conference with the count on the 11th of May, 1780, of which the following are notes taken immediately after it ended:

ARANJUEZ, *May* 11, 1780.

Mr. Jay having waited on the Count de Florida Blanca in consequence of a message received on the evening of the 10th, the latter commenced the conversation by observing that he was sorry that his ignorance of the English language prevented him from speaking with that ease and frankness with which he wished to do in his conference with Mr. Jay, and which corresponded with his own disposition and character.

He observed that he intended to speak on two points. The first related to the letter Mr. Jay had written to him on the subject of bills of exchange drawn on him by Congress, that being an affair the most pressing and more immediately necessary to enter upon. He said that the last year he should have found no difficulty on that head, but that at present, although Spain had money, she was in the situation of Tantalus, who, with water in view, could not make use of it; alluding to the revenue arising from their possessions in America, which they were not able to draw from thence. That their expenses had been so great in the year 1779, particularly for the marine, as to oblige them to make large loans, which they were negotiating at present. He entered into a summary of those expenses, and particularized the enormous expense of supporting thirty-five ships of the line and frigates in French ports. He observed that to do this they had prepared a very expensive and numerous convoy at Ferrol and other ports of Spain, loaded with provisions, naval stores, and every other article necessary for the squadron before mentioned, which convoy did not arrive at Brest until the day on which the Spanish fleet sailed from thence. That the supplies so sent had emptied their magazines at Cadiz, Ferrol, and their other ports, and had consequently obliged them to buy at enormous prices the

necessary stores to supply the fleet under the admirals Cordova and Gaston on their arrival in the ports of Spain. That they had been forced to sell these stores thus sent to France and others purchased for the same purpose at Bordeaux, Nantes, and elsewhere at half price; and added that their loss on this occasion could scarce be calculated. This, joined to other expenses, and the great losses they had sustained in their marine and commerce, but chiefly in the former, and the great expenses they were at in consequence thereof, rendered it difficult for the king to do for America what he could have done easily the last year, and which he declared repeatedly, and in the strongest manner, it was his intention to do, and might be judged from his conduct heretofore; touching slightly on the succors sent us from Spain, the Havana, and Louisiana, but dwelling on his conduct in the negotiation last year with Great Britain, in which he would on no account be brought to sacrifice the interest of America.

Such being his majesty's disposition and intentions previous to the war, Mr. Jay might easily judge that he was not less determined at present to support their interests, whether formerly connected with America by treaty or not. That, notwithstanding the losses and misfortunes sustained, the king's resolution, courage, and fortitude induced him to continue the war, and that therefore they were obliged to incur much expense in order to fill their magazines and make the necessary preparations for this campaign and the next, yet that it was his majesty's intention to give America all the assistance in his power. That it was as much his inclination as duty to second these dispositions, and that he had received the king's orders to confer with his colleagues thereon. He observed, however, that although he was first secretary of state, he must first confer with them on this subject; and from his own personal inclinations to second the king's intentions and to serve America he was desirous of concerting with Mr. Jay measures in such a manner as would prevent him from meeting with opposition from his colleagues, and therefore he spoke to him not as a minister, but as an individual.

In order to facilitate this, he said it was necessary to make some overtures for a contract, in case Mr. Jay was not absolutely empowered to make one; and then he pointed out the object most essential to the interests of Spain at the present conjuncture. He said that for their marine they wanted light frigates, cutters, or swift-sailing vessels of that size. That for ships of the line, they could procure them themselves; that if America could furnish them with the former, they might be sent to their ports in Biscay, loaded with tobacco or other produce, and, discharging their cargoes, be left at the disposition of Spain. He also mentioned timber for vessels, but said that was an article which was not so immediately necessary, though it might be an object of consequence in future. He observed that he mentioned this at present in order that Mr. Jay might turn his thoughts on that subject as soon as possible, and that he would, in order to explain himself with more precision, send him, either on Saturday or Sunday next, notes containing his ideas on this subject, and adding that he hoped that the one, viz, Jay, would assist the other, meaning himself, to manage matters in such a way as to procure the means of obtaining for America present aid.

With respect to the bills of exchange which might be presented, he said that at the end of the present year, or in the beginning of the next, he would have it in his power to advance twenty-five, thirty, or forty thousand pounds sterling; and in the mean time, should these bills be presented for payment, he would take such measures as would satisfy the owners of them, viz, by engaging, in the name of his majesty, to pay them, observing that the king's good faith and credit were so well known that he did not imagine this would be a difficult matter. He also said that, in consequence of what Mr. Jay had written with respect to clothing for the American army, it might be in his power to send supplies of cloth, etc., which he would endeavor to do.

Mr. Jay, in answer, assured him of his high sense of the frankness and candor with which he had been so obliging as to communicate the king's intentions and his own sentiments, and gave him the strongest assurances that he should, for his part, with the same frankness and candor, give him all the assistance and information in his

power to forward his generous intentions in favor of his country, and that he might depend that, in doing this, he would neither deceive him in his information, nor mislead him by ill-grounded expectations.

The count then expressed his confidence in these assurances, said he had been well informed of the characters both of Mr. Jay and Mr. Carmichael (who was present at the conference), said he considered them as *les hommes honnêtes*, and that no consideration could have prevailed upon him to have treated with men who did not sustain that reputation.

The count then proceeded to the second point, viz, with respect to the treaty in contemplation between Spain and America. He began by observing that he now spoke as a minister, and as such that he would be as candid and frank as he had just been speaking as a private man; and that it was always his disposition to do so with those from whom he expected the same conduct. He then proceeded to observe that there was but one obstacle from which he apprehended any great difficulty in forming a treaty with America, and plainly intimated that this arose from the pretensions of America to the navigation of the Mississippi. He repeated the information which the court had received from M. Miralles, that Congress had at one time relinquished that object; that he also knew from the same source that afterwards they had made it an essential point of the treaty. He expressed his uneasiness on this subject, and entered largely into the views of Spain with respect to the boundaries (he mentioned Cape Antonio and Cape ——, and expressed their resolution, if possible, of excluding the English entirely from the Gulf of Mexico) they wished to fix by a treaty, which he hoped would be perpetual between the two countries. He spoke amply of the king's anxiety, resolution, and firmness on this point, and insinuated a wish that some method might be fallen upon to remove this obstacle. He observed that the king had received all his impressions with respect to the necessity of this measure previous to his being in place, and appeared to regard it as a point from which his majesty would never recede; repeating that still, however, he was disposed to give America all the aid in his power, consistent with the situation of his affairs, to distress the common enemy; that this point being insisted on, it would be necessary for the court of Spain to obtain the most accurate knowledge of local circumstances, with which he supposed Mr. Jay and his constituents were more fully apprised than his majesty's ministers could be. That for this purpose they had already written to the Havana and Louisiana, in order to obtain all the necessary information, which he gave reason to believe that they had not yet received. He dwelt on the necessity of this information previous to any treaty, and expressed his own regret that ways and means could not be found to obviate or overcome this impediment.

Mr. Jay here took an opportunity to mention that many of the States were bounded by that river and were highly interested in its navigation, but observed that they were equally inclined to enter into any amicable regulations which might prevent any inconveniences with respect to contraband or other objects which might excite the uneasiness of Spain.

The count still, however, appeared to be fully of opinion that this was an object that the king had so much at heart that he would never relinquish it, adding, however, that he hoped some middle way might be hit on which would pave the way to get over this difficulty, and desired Mr. Jay to turn his thoughts and attention to the subject, in which he assured him he was as well disposed to assist him as in the means of procuring the assistance and succors for America before mentioned; always repeating the king's favorable disposition, his inviolable regard to his promise, etc. On this subject he also subjoined that, whenever Mr. Jay chose to go to Madrid he desired to have previous notice of it; for in those cases he would leave his sentiments in writing for him with Mr. Carmichael, or if he should also go to Madrid, that he would then write to Mr. Jay there, to which he might return an answer by the *Parle* (a post which goes to and from Madrid) to Aranjuez, every twenty-four hours.

Mr. Jay expressed his full confidence in what the count had done him the honor to

communicate to him, and assured him of his satisfaction and happiness in having the good fortune to transact a business so important to both countries with a minister so liberal and candid in his manner of thinking and acting.

The conference ended with much civility on the one part and on the other, and with an intimation from the count that he should take an opportunity of having the pleasure of Mr. Jay's company at dinner, and of being on that friendly footing on which he wished to be with him.

What passed in the course of this conference needs no comment, though it calls for information and instructions. If Congress remains firm, as I have no reason to doubt, respecting the Mississippi, I think Spain will finally be content with equitable regulations, and I wish to know whether Congress would consider any regulations necessary to prevent contraband as inconsistent with their ideas of free navigation. I wish that as little as possible may be left to my discretion, and that as I am determined to adhere strictly to their sentiments and directions, I may be favored with them fully and in season.

The Count de Florida Blanca had upon all occasions treated me with so much fairness, candor, and frankness, that between the confidence due to him and the footing I was and ought to be on with the French ambassador embarrassed me exceedingly, especially as there is little reason to doubt of their being on confidential terms with each other. I was reduced to the necessity, therefore, of acting with exquisite duplicity, a conduct which I detest as immoral and disapprove as impolitic, or of mentioning my difficulties to the count and obtaining his answer. I preferred the latter, and wrote the following letter to him:

ARANJUEZ, *May* 12, 1780.

SIR: It is with the utmost reluctance that I can prevail upon myself to draw your excellency's attention from the great objects that perpetually engage it. But the liberality, frankness, and candor which distinguished your conduct towards me the last evening has impressed me with such sentiments of correspondent delicacy as to place me in a most disagreeable situation.

Deeply sensible of the benefits received by my country from their illustrious ally, prompted by duty and inclination to act not only with the highest integrity, but the greatest frankness towards him and his ministers, and influenced by the good opinion I have imbibed of the talents, attachment, and prudence of the Count de Montmorin, I have given him and his court assurances that he should receive from me all that confidence which these considerations dictate. These assurances were sincere; I have most strictly conformed to them, and as no circumstances of delicacy forbid it, I have communicated to him the information I gave your excellency relative to American affairs and the resolution of Congress for drawing bills upon me, these being the only transactions within my knowledge and department which related to that proposed connection between Spain and America for the accomplishment of which the King of France has been pleased to interpose his kind offices with his Catholic majesty.

But, sir, my feelings will not allow me to permit the confidence due to one gentleman to interfere with that which may be due to another. Honor prescribes limits to each which no consideration can tempt me to violate. You spoke to me last evening in the character of a private gentleman as well as a public minister, and in both without reserve. Let me entreat your excellency, therefore, to inform me whether I am to consider your conferences with me, either in the whole or in part, as confidential. I am apprised of the delicacy of this question. I wish I could

know your sentiments without putting it. I assure you my esteem and respect are too sincere and too great not to make me regret every measure that can give you an uneasy sensation. On this occasion I am urged by justice to you as well as to myself, and that must be my apology.

Unpractised in the ways of courts, I rejoice in finding that I am to transact the business committed to me with a gentleman who adorns his exalted station with virtues as well as talents, and looks down on that system of finesse and chicanery which, however prevalent, wisdom rejects and probity disapproves.

With sentiments of attachment and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

To this I received the following answer:

[Translation.]

ARANJUEZ, *May* 14, 1780.

SIR: Sensible of the favorable opinion you are pleased to entertain of my conduct both as a minister and a private gentleman, I have the honor to assure you that on every occasion you shall experience nothing but frankness and candor on my part. Besides that my own principles are invariable on these points, I am certain thereby to follow the example and good intentions of the king, my master.

The delicacy which induced you to doubt whether there would be any impropriety in communicating to the ambassador of France the explanations we had in the course of our late conference accords well with the idea I first formed of your character, and I am pleased with this mark of your attention. Besides, it appears to me that you may do it freely, especially as those explanations are founded on principles of equity and wisdom for the benefit of the common cause.

But if hereafter circumstances demand a more pointed reserve, by accidents we can not now foresee, we shall always have time to agree upon those points which it may be necessary to keep secret.

I am, sir, with the most sincere attachment and the most perfect consideration, your most humble and most obedient servant,

COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

I have not yet received from his excellency the notes mentioned in the conference, and therefore can not have the satisfaction of sending copies of them to Congress by this opportunity.

On the 9th April, 1780, Sir John Dalrymple arrived here from Portugal with his lady. On the evening of the 10th I heard of it, and the next morning sent the following card to the French ambassador at Aranjuez, viz:

Mr. Jay presents his compliments to his excellency Count Montmorin, and informs him that Sir John Dalrymple arrived here the day before yesterday from Lisbon, and it is said intends to be at Aranjuez to-day. What business should call this gentleman here, or enable him to obtain license to come, are questions which I am persuaded will receive from your excellency all the attention due to their extent and importance.

MADRID, *April* 11, 1780.

To this I immediately received the following answer on that subject, viz:

[Translation.]*

M. de Montmorin received this morning Mr. Jay's note, and thanks him for the information. M. de Montmorin is fully sensible of the importance of it, and although

*4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 193.

he is far from entertaining the least doubt on the sentiments of the Spanish ministry, he will not fail to take the precaution to be informed of everything connected with Sir John Dalrymple's arrival. He advises Mr. Jay to follow the same course. Courts are so beset with intrigues that nothing should be neglected which may tend to discover them. He repeats that he has not the slightest cause to suspect the Spanish ministry, but, on the contrary, has the strongest reasons for confiding in its integrity and honor.

M. de Montmorin begs Mr. Jay to accept his compliments, and to present his respectful homage to Mrs. Jay.

Learning that Sir John had obtained leave to go to France in his way to England, I apprised Mr. Adams of it in a letter of the 26th of April, 1780, of which the following is an extract:

Sir John Dalrymple is here; he came from Portugal for the benefit of his lady's health, as is said. He is now at Aranjuez. He has seen the imperial ambassador, the governor of the city, Señor Campomanes, the Duke of Alva, and several others named to him I suppose by Lord Grantham, who I find was much respected here. He will return through France to Britain. I shall go to Aranjuez the day after to-morrow, and shall form some judgment of that gentlemen's success by the conduct of the court towards America.

On waiting on the Count de Florida Blanca a few days afterwards at Aranjuez, he told me that Sir John had applied to him to obtain from him permission to go through Spain to France and to the French minister for a passport through that kingdom to England. The indisposition of his lady was the reason assigned for not going from Portugal by water. That, in conversation, Sir John took occasion to say several things respecting the war and the manner of drawing it to a conclusion. That the count desired him to reduce what he would wish to say on that subject to writing, and that Sir John thereupon sent him a paper entitled "A Historical Anecdote," of which the following is a copy:

A PROJECT OF LORD ROCHFORD TO PREVENT THE WAR.

Before the declaration of France in favor of America Lord Rochford, formerly ambassador in Spain and in France, formed a project to prevent the war. It was, that England should propose a great treaty of confederation between France, Spain, Portugal, and England, the object of which should be the three following: The first, a mutual guaranty between these four powers of their possessions in America and the two Indies, with a proviso that a war in Europe should never be a war in those remote regions on any pretext whatever, fixing also the number of troops and vessels to be furnished by the contracting powers against the power that should contravene the peace in those distant parts. The second object was, to grant a participation in the commerce of America to France, Spain, and Portugal, as far as such participation might not be incompatible with the common interests and without the rivalship of English America and England. The third object was, the adjustment of the contested privileges of the Americans upon principles just and honorable for them. Lord Rochford was at that time secretary of state. He told me that the first person to whom he had communicated this project was the late Prince of Mazarano, ambassador of Spain, and that though old and indisposed, he arose and embraced him, and said, "Ah! my lord, what divinity has inspired you?" Lord Rochford also communicated it to a friend of his, who was then and still continues one of the ministers of the King of England, who gave it his approbation: but Lord Rochford soon after quitted the ministry and retired to the country, by which accident the project failed of being presented to the cabinet of the king.

I have given a relation of this anecdote, because I am one of the four or five persons who alone know the truth of it, and because I am of opinion that it is not yet too late to revive a project which will save a million of Christians from becoming widows and orphans. As to the first object of such a confederacy, Lord Rochford did not doubt of the proposition's being accepted by all the powers, because it was the interest of all to accept it. The losses of France in the two Indies the last war, and their misfortunes in the East Indies in the present one, where in six weeks they have lost all they possessed; the losses of the Spaniards in the last war in the two Indies, and even the stroke the other day in the Bay of Honduras by a young captain with a handful of soldiers; the facility with which Portugal lost the island of St. Catharine in the Brazils, and the misfortunes of the English armies the three last years in America, all prove that France, Spain, Portugal, and England have their tender parts in America and the two Indies, and of consequence that they have all an interest in a mutual guaranty of their possessions in those three parts of the world.

As to the second object of the confederacy, I am sensible that the idea of the other three powers participating in the commerce of America, under the limitation of its not being incompatible with the common interests of English America and England, is an idea somewhat vague and subject to disputes. But fortunately for humanity, there are five persons in those five countries of characters which render them proper to draw the outlines of some determinate regulations which will admit of no disputes, and may enrich France, Spain, and Portugal, without impoverishing England and her Colonies. In America there is Dr. Franklin, perhaps the first genius of the age, who is well acquainted with the commercial connections between America and England; France has her comptroller-general, who from his youth has been brought up in the practice of commerce; in Spain we find M. Campomanes, who has employed the maturity of his life in studies that give him a superiority in discussions of this kind; Portugal will be assisted by the counsels of the Duke of Braganza, who has gathered knowledge in almost every field—in courts, in libraries, and even on the exchanges of the merchants of Europe; and as for England, she has a minister who, thoroughly versed in the true interests of commerce, will not refuse to America what he has just granted to Ireland.

As to the third object of the confederation: England, who much boasts of her own *Magna Charta*, will make no difficulty in granting a *Magna Charta* to the liberties of America. Perhaps the best means to expedite this measure would be to give a *carte blanche* to Dr. Franklin. A generous confidence is the surest means to secure a generous man. Spain has two very solid interests in the success of such a confederacy and against the independence of America. The first is, that if English-America becomes independent Spanish-America will be overrun with the contraband of the Americans thus independent of England. (1) England is bound by treaties with Spain not to carry on the contraband trade. (2) She is restrained by the fear of this contraband's drawing a war upon her in Europe, which was the consequence of it in the times of Sir Robert Walpole. (3) The dearness of English and European commodities sets natural bounds to the quantity of this contraband. But when the Americans are independent, they will say, first, they are not bound by the treaties of the English; secondly, they will not be restrained by fear, being so far from Spain, and having defended themselves against eighty thousand English soldiers and marines, they would but little dread the forces of Spain; and thirdly, the low price of American commodities will cover the Spanish colonies with contraband. Indeed, necessity itself will oblige the Americans either to carry on this contraband or to make war on Spanish and Portuguese America and their islands. They have neither gold nor silver among themselves, and without these precious metals they can neither cultivate their lands nor carry on commerce. They will only have four sources from whence to draw them: First, their commerce with Europe; secondly, pensions from France and Spain; thirdly, a contraband trade with the provinces of Spain and Portugal in the New World: and fourthly, a war in these provinces.

While the Americans continue in a state which the English call rebellion, their commerce with Europe will be interrupted by English cruisers. Thus they will draw but a small quantity of these precious metals from this first source. The pensions of France and Spain will be much too inconsiderable to support the agriculture and manufactures of so extensive a country. Their only remaining source, then, for these metals will be in the contraband or wars with the Spanish and Portuguese provinces. To prevent this contraband, the treaty of confederation might make provision against the contraband both of the English and Americans. It is a delicate point for an Englishman to suggest the means, but were the two nations sincerely disposed for peace, I could in a quarter of an hour suggest the infallible means.

Spain has another interest, perhaps still greater, against the independence of the Americans, and consequently in favor of the treaty in question. The Americans, who will be able to fly with their sails wherever they please, will make establishments in New Zealand, the islands of Otaheite, or some other islands in the South Sea, from whence they will torment the Spaniards in that sea, and even the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Dutch in the East India seas. Being independent, no treaty will prevent their making such establishments. They may make them consistent with the laws of nations. Captain Cook, in his last printed voyages, says there are forty-seven thousand seafaring people in the island of Otaheite alone; and Captain Wallis, who discovered those Islands, told me at Lisbon a few days ago that the inhabitant of Otaheite went to the masthead of the English ships, and ran on the yard-arms as well in three days' time as the English mariners, and gave me two reasons for it. The first was, that living on fish, they are all seafaring people; and the second, that those who wear no shoes are always the most dexterous in mounting the upper parts of a ship. Captain Cook also in the same voyage gives a description of a port and city in New Zealand which might in a few weeks be made impregnable, and one needs only look at the shape of the islands in the South seas in the maps we have of them to be convinced that they have no small number of these impregnable ports.

I show myself as much a friend to Spain, to France, to Portugal, and Holland as to England in disclosing the following idea, which may have escaped others: Heretofore it was impossible to go to the South seas with any safety but in the months of December and January, and by the dreadful latitudes round Cape Horn. But the late discoveries of Captain Cook and other Englishmen have demonstrated the practicability of going thither in every month of the year round the Cape of Good Hope and the fine latitude of New Zealand, and in almost the same time—the one being a passage of four and the other of five months—because the same west wind, which blows almost the whole of the year and retards the vessels passing by Cape Horn, carries them with rapidity by the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand. Hence it follows that when the Americans quarrel with Spain perhaps on the subject of the contraband, they will send their ships on the coast of Chili from their establishments in the South seas by the latitudes of New Zealand, and with the west winds, which always blow in that quarter. This is a voyage of only five weeks; for Captain Cook in one voyage, and Captain Fourneaux in another, went from New Zealand to Cape Horn in less time, and the journal of the winds annexed to the voyage of Captain Cook shows that the west winds in those latitudes bear to the east the proportion of ten to one. When their vessels are on the coast of Chili they will take the advantage of the land wind, which, blowing constantly from south to north, will carry them along the coasts of Chili and Peru. With this wind they will go in fourteen days to the Bay of Panama, and in the course of this voyage they will ravage the seacoasts, and make prizes of all the vessels they meet. The naval force of Spain at Lima will not have it in their power to hinder them, for the same south wind which will push the Americans forward will prevent the fleets of Spain going to meet them. From the Bay of Panama they will return by the great wind of the tropics, which never fails blowing from east to west, either to their settlements in the South seas or to sell their prizes in the seas of China or India, from whence they will per-

haps again return with new vessels, newly manned, to repeat their ravages. Their return will either be by New Zealand in coming from the Indies, or by the latitude of forty north in coming from China. In this last case they will fall on Mexico, and profiting of the land winds which always blow there from north to the Bay of Panama, they will ravage Mexico as before they ravaged Chili and Peru. From the Bay of Panama they will return by the great tropic wind either to their own homes in the South seas or to the seas of Asia, to renew a war insulting, tormenting, and without remedy.

On the other hand, when at war with England, France, Portugal, or Holland, they will direct their course from their establishments in the South Seas and fall upon the possessions of those powers in the East Indies. They will have two great routes to go and return by—the one to the west of New Zealand, the other by the islands between China and New Holland, and in this they will have as many passages as there are islands. Thence follows the impossibility of waylaying their vessels either going or on their return. These consequences may all be prevented by the treaty proposed by Lord Rochford, in which it might be stipulated that these islands shall forever belong to their present inhabitants and their posterity, for certainly the nation who shall first possess herself of them will command the commerce of the South Seas and those of Asia.

Europe, wishing for the independence of America, resembles a man asleep on ice and not sensible that ice thaws, and therefore to give the greater weight to the confederation Holland and Denmark, who have interests in both the New Worlds, might be invited to become contracting parties to those articles of treaty which regard the mutual guaranty.

The reason of the frequent breach of treaties is that they are made without provision for the future reciprocal interests of the contracting nations. The only ones that I know of that pay attention to this object are the treaties between Portugal and England, by which Portugal gains a preference for the sale of her wines in England and England for the sale of her cloths in Portugal. The consequence is that there never has, and in appearance never will be, a war between Portugal and England. It would not be difficult, either in the general confederation or by separate treaties of commerce between England on the one part, and the three kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, and France, respectively, on the other, to advance infinitely the commercial interests of all three by their connections with England. Spain having wines, oil, fruits, salt, fine wools, and some other articles, which England has not, and England having iron, with coal in the same fields for the manufacturing of it, and by the moistness of her climate long wool for cloths of a low price, also tin, fish, with some other articles, which Spain has not, it follows that when England is rich she will buy more articles of Spain, and when Spain is rich she will buy more articles of England, and, consequently, that one can not enrich herself without enriching the other. The same reasoning applies to the natural connections between England and Portugal. There is even a natural connection between England and France in many articles of commerce, if the jealousy of fools and misinformed persons did not perpetually interrupt it. I have heard, from certain authority, that had the Abbé Terray continued in the ministry of France there would have been a tariff between France and England for the entry, on the most favorable conditions, of the wines and articles of mode of the one nation and the manufactures of iron and wheat of the other, and England might have procured the consent of Portugal for the diminution of her commerce of wines with England by other indemnifications. England, in favor of France, Spain, and Portugal, might, without injury to herself, even permit the exportation of those wools, paying a duty at the exportation thereof. The exportation of the superfluous wool would be an advantage to the proprietors of lands in England, to the king in furnishing him a new revenue, and to those three nations in giving them an article necessary for their manufactures.

Unfortunately for humanity the Abbé Terray is no more; but happily for humanity Dr. Franklin, the comptroller-general of France, M. Campomanes, the Duke of

Braganza, and Lord North are all still living, and the King of Spain, with the Count de Florida Blanca, may put all these five in motion.

For my part I have no authority from the English minister to present this project, but living in friendship with the greater part of them, and on an intimate footing with the others, I am certain that some of the sentiments in this memorial correspond with their manner of thinking on the subject. I confess I received a letter in Portugal, fourteen days before my departure for Spain, from Lord Rochford, who is not at present in the ministry, but who is so taken up with a project that does him so much honor that he has advised me to feel the pulses on the possibility of making it succeed, and that I have a letter on the same subject from the Duke of Braganza, who entered into the views of my Lord Rochford not as a politician, but as a friend to humanity.

Encouraged by such men, and still more by the dictates of my own heart, I wrote to one of the English ministers that if I did not find minds too much heated, and there was no danger of giving offense, I intended to do justice to the project of my Lord Rochford in Spain and in France, and begged him to send me an answer to Paris whether the ministry of England approved or disapproved my intentions.

I have only to add that, my views being to unite and not to separate nations, I have no objection that the ministers of France and Dr. Franklin should each have a copy of this memorial."

The count spoke of Sir John and his anecdote very properly, and concluded with assurances of the king's firmness.

The manner in which Sir John speaks of Dr. Franklin, however just, I impute to a design of injuring the confidence reposed in him by his constituents.

The house of Gardoqui, at Bilboa, are rich, in favor with the ministry, and friends to America. The navy board have sent to them for goods for the use of the navy, and have remitted to them only an inconsiderable part of the sum to which they will amount, desiring the residue on credit, and promising speedy payment. One of the house now here spoke to me on the subject; I advised him to complete the orders. It is of the utmost consequence that the navy board be punctual in their remittances. American credit is not high, and ought to be higher. I am the more anxious on this subject, as that house is exceedingly well disposed, and a disappointment would not only be injurious to them, but much more so to us. Perhaps it would be a good rule if the United States were to contract debts only with governments, and never with individuals abroad.

I received a letter last week from a Captain Hawkins, at Cadiz, informing me that the Americans who had escaped from captivity and were collected there were fitting out a vessel for America, which they were arming, and wished to be enabled to act offensively and defensively in their way home, by having a proper commission from me for that purpose. As I had neither blank commissions nor authority to grant them, I referred him to Dr. Franklin.

Congress will be pleased to consider how far it may be proper to remove these obstacles by sending me both. This leads me again to remind your excellency of several letters I wrote you from Cadiz respecting American seamen coming to Spain from captivity at Gibraltar and

other places. As copies of these letters have been sent by different vessels, I presume some of them have reached you. It certainly is necessary that provision be made for these people, and in a regular established manner. I am very desirous of instructions on this subject.

The credit given me by Congress on Dr. Franklin is expended, and I am without other means of obtaining supplies than by private credit, which I am at a loss to satisfy. To apply to and be maintained by the court is in my opinion too humiliating to be for the public good; and as yet I have neither received nor heard of remittances from America. It would give me pleasure to know in what manner Congress mean I should be supplied, and whether any measures have been taken for that purpose.

I am much embarrassed for the means of conveying and receiving intelligence. Being at a great distance from the sea, all my letters to and from thence here must either be conveyed by private couriers or the public post. All my letters by the latter, whether in France or Spain, are opened. By that conveyance, therefore, it would not always be proper to write either to Congress, to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, or others with that freedom which would often be useful, and sometimes necessary. The salary allowed me, so far from admitting the expense of private couriers, is inadequate for the common purposes for which it was given. This is a delicate subject, and I wish it was not my duty to say anything respecting it. This place is the dearest in Europe. The court is never stationary, passing part of the year in no less than five different places, viz: Madrid, Pardo, Aranjuez, St. Ildefonso, and the Escurial; hence considerable expenses arise. I forbear enumerating particulars, my design being only to mention this matter to Congress, not to press it upon them. I shall always live agreeably to my circumstances; and if, from their being too narrow, inconveniences result to the public, they ought to be informed of it. I hope what I have said will be viewed in this light only. So far as I am personally interested I am content.

Mr. Harrison, a gentleman of Maryland, now here, will be the bearer of this letter to Cadiz. I therefore embrace this good and unusual opportunity of being so minute and explicit in it.

The family of Galvez is numerous and of weight. The one on the Mississippi has written favorably of the Americans to his brothers here, three of whom are in office. It would be well to cultivate this disposition whenever opportunities of doing it offer.

The resolution providing for Spanish prisoners at New York was well judged.

Dr. Franklin is more advantageously circumstanced than I am to gain and transmit to Congress intelligence of the disposition of Holland and of the northern powers.

From the conduct of the ministers here I have no reason to predict much to our advantage. They are cold, and I have received nothing

more than common civility from any of them, except the ministers of Holland and Sweden, and, indeed, not much from them. Perhaps they have been rendered unusually cautious by an extract of a letter from Madrid in the Leyden paper, mentioning the precious reception Mr. Carmichael met with here, and the attentions he received from the foreign ministers. You have probably seen it in the *Courier de l'Europe*.

From what I hear of the character of the Empress of Russia I can not but think that a prudent agent there would be very useful. They say she is sensible, proud, and ambitious. Hence I infer that such a mark of attention would be grateful, and consequently useful.

I should have given your excellency seasonable intelligence of the Spanish fleet and armament, which lately sailed from Cadiz, as I believe, to the Havana, and whose objects I suspect to be the Floridas or Jamaica, or probably both; but I omitted writing on that subject previous to the departure of the fleet, from a persuasion that any letters by the post containing such advices would not be permitted to proceed, and therefore I thought it unnecessary; nor will I now swell the pages of this letter, already very voluminous, by entering into particulars relative to it, especially as that armament will probably have begun its operations before this letter will come to your excellency's hands.

The reports of dissensions in Congress, which prevailed here prior to my arrival and the causes to which they were ascribed, had filled this court with apprehensions; and it gives me pleasure to assure you that the present appearance of union in Congress is attended here with very happy effects.

The people in this country are in almost total darkness about us. Scarce any American publications have reached them, nor are they informed of the most recent and important events in that country. The affairs of Stony Point, Paulus Hook, etc., had never been heard of here, except, perhaps, by the great officers of state, and they could scarcely believe that the Roman Catholic religion was even tolerated there.

There are violent prejudices among them against us. Many of them have even serious doubts of our being civilized, and mention a strange story of a ship driven into Virginia by distress, about thirty years ago, that was plundered by the inhabitants, and some of the crew killed in a manner and under circumstances which, if true, certainly indicate barbarity. The king and ministry are warm, yet I have reason to believe that the bulk of the nation is cold towards us; they appear to me to like the English, hate the French, and to have prejudices against us.

I mention these things to show in a stronger light the necessity of punctuality in sending me from time to time all American intelligence of importance, and observing such conduct towards Spaniards in general as may tend to impress them with more favorable sentiments of us. There was a little uneasiness among the mercantile people at Cadiz

respecting the capture of some Spanish vessels by privateers. I hope the former have had ample justice done them. It certainly is of great importance that they should have reason to be satisfied.

Your excellency may observe that I have written very particularly. Both this court and that of France have very particular information respecting the proceedings of Congress.

Want of prudence, rather than virtue, I believe to be the cause. I nevertheless think it my duty to give Congress from time to time full information of their affairs here, and shall not be restrained by the apprehension of any consequences that may result from want of secrecy there. I make it a rule to write on these subjects only to Congress, and to them very particularly.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—Congress may think it extraordinary that Mr. Carmichael's handwriting does not appear in this letter. He is, with my approbation, now at Aranjuez, and I must do him the justice to say that he is always ready and willing to do his duty as secretary.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 27, 1780.

SIR: In the beginning of this controversy with Great Britain the Americans made such extensive researches into the principles of the British constitution and into those controversies which had taken place in former ages concerning their application to external dominions in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Gascoine, Guienne, Jersey, Guernsey, Man, etc., and published the result of their inquiries to the world, which were read with avidity everywhere, that I consider those publications as having laid the foundation of most of the events that have happened since. The proceedings of Ireland in 1779 and 1780 may be read in some publications made in America in 1774 or 1775. I have long expected to see something produced by the same principles in the East Indies, and at last I find I am not disappointed. In the General Advertiser of May 13 is this paragraph:

We are authorized to correct the account that appeared in this paper on last Thursday concerning the petitions lately arrived from the East Indies. It is not true that the British inhabitants of Bengal have sent over a petition to his majesty to abolish the court of judicature established there. Their petition is addressed and will shortly be presented to Parliament; and so far from wishing to abolish the court of justice, they only pray that its constitutional powers may be restrained. The grand object of their petition is to obtain "a trial by jury in all cases where it is by law established in England," which they conceive is one of those inherent, unalienable, and indefeasible rights of which neither time nor circumstance can deprive a

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 95.

British subject, living under British laws, and which the judges in Bengal have lately ventured to declare they are not entitled to except in criminal cases.

The prayer of the Persian petitions already presented to one of the secretaries of state from the natives of different districts in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa is, we understand, to be relieved from the hardships they suffer by the establishment of the English court of judicature. They express in the strongest language their distress and terror at the extraordinary powers assumed and exercised by the judges. They pray to be exempted from the jurisdiction of a court to whose rules they are utter strangers, and from the control of laws which they consider as calculated for a different state of society, and which are abhorrent to the manners institutions, and religion of their forefathers.

If this war continues we shall hear more of the East Indies and their claims. Great Britain holds them by a slender thread, and by the good-will only of a few individuals.

Among the English papers which I enclose to Congress will be found a dialogue in the Shades between the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Chatham, and Mr. Charles Yorke. It was written by Edward Jennings, of Maryland, now residing at Brussels, a gentleman of great merit.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *May* 27, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: On the 27th of last month I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 11th December, 1779, with copies of the resolutions of Congress for drawing on Mr. Laurens and myself for £100,000 sterling each.

I had the honor of writing to Congress yesterday very fully respecting their affairs in this kingdom, and particularly on the subject of those resolutions.

I have not yet had the pleasure of hearing of Mr. Laurens' arrival about which I am anxious. Be pleased to assure Congress that Mr. Laurens shall receive from me every mark of attention and all the aid in my power to afford. The latter, I fear, will not be great.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to James Lovell.†

MADRID, *May* 27, 1780.

SIR: Eight days ago I had the pleasure of receiving a packet containing journals and newspapers.

From an indorsement I conjecture that I am indebted to you for it.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev., Corr., 205, with verbal changes.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 205.

There was no letter enclosed in it. I am much obliged by this attention. American intelligence is of more importance here (where they have little of it) than can well be imagined.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Carmichael to Jay.*

ARANJUEZ, *May* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Since my letter of the 25th instant I have very strong reason to believe, in consequence of conversations which I have had with persons who ought to be well informed, that the fleet and troops which sailed from Cadiz the 28th ultimo are destined in the first instance to the Windward Islands, to act in concert with the squadron of the Count de Guichen, from thence as circumstances may render it proper they will proceed to Jamaica or the Floridas; for it appears to be the intention of the Spanish, as well as of the French, court to detach a part at least of their force in the islands to the continent, as soon as the hurricane season in the West Indies renders it dangerous for them to act against the enemy in that part of the world. I do not mention by letter my source of information, because I do not choose to hazard the loss of intelligence which I may gain in future from the same persons by the miscarriage of letters. I shall, however, mention it to you *viva voce*, in order to enable you to judge of the credit due to my information.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

ARANJUES, *May* 28, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. Jay having judged it proper for me to reside at this place while the court remains here, I did not know until his letters for Congress were closed that Mr. Harrison, who charges himself with the care of them to Cadiz, was on the point of setting out from Madrid for that city. This prevented me from assisting him in copying papers which he tells me he has transmitted by this opportunity. I regret exceedingly my not having received earlier information, because I wished to convey several papers which I do not choose to trust to the ordinary post. Our situation in this respect is very disagreeable and delicate, for we can neither send nor receive letters without their being subject to the inspection of others, and, indeed, we have sometimes the mortification to hear of the arrival of letters from America in the sea-

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 206, with verbal changes.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 19, with verbal corrections.

ports, which, notwithstanding, never reach us. Our opportunities of information thus become very precarious, and I am much afraid that the same cause will frequently interrupt our correspondence with Congress.

Before Mr. Jay arrived in the capital I did myself the honor to inform his excellency the President of my arrival at Madrid, and enclosed him copies of the letters I wrote to Mr. Jay on the subject of his reception and of the disposition in which the court appeared to be. As I sent several copies of these letters, I subjoined all that occurred worthy of the notice of Congress in the interval between the departure of the different copies. Not having had any instructions to address myself to Congress unless in the absence of Mr. Jay, or in case of any event that deprived the public of his services, I know not whether I may not appear officious at present; particularly as I have already communicated to him regularly all the intelligence I have been able to procure, as also my reflections on that intelligence, which his ability and long experience in affairs will enable him to put in a much clearer point of view than I can pretend to do. If I err, I hope the Committee will set me right and instruct me how to conduct myself in future.

The king, the Prince of Asturias, and the ministry appear favorable to our cause, but I am much afraid their ability to assist us in the article of money is neither equal to our expectations or their desires to serve us. The papers sent by Mr. Jay will show the sentiments of this court with respect to the object of his mission. I think the negotiation will be attended with more delay than Congress had reason to apprehend when we left America. This court manifest a strong desire of excluding every other nation from the navigation of the Mississippi, and, indeed, of the Gulf of Mexico. The situation of the affairs of America will undoubtedly regulate the conduct of Congress on this subject, and I hope it will be such as to enable them to adhere to the rights of all the States.

Our enemies are making use of the time before Spain takes a decided opinion to sow jealousies between us. Governor Johnson sounded the dispositions of this court early last winter. At the close of it, Sir John Dalrymple obtained permission to come to Madrid on the pretense of the bad state of health of his lady. His strange memorial to the Count de Florida Blanca is transmitted to you.* I have no doubts that other attempts will be made to bring about a negotiation. If they succeed no better than Sir John's, we shall not have much to apprehend on that score. The Count de Florida Blanca appears to act with much candor, and gives Mr. Jay such strong and frequent assurances of the king's favorable intentions, and his own disposition to second them, that I hope we may rely on what he tells us. His character for probity is

* See "*A Project of Lord Rochford to Prevent the War*," *supra*, enclosed in Jay to the President of Congress, May 26, 1780.

high in this country and among the foreign ministers at this court. As I have frequent opportunities of mixing with the latter, I have not omitted to give them proper impressions of our strength, union, and firmness, without seeming too solicitous to do it. It is possible that if the neutral maritime powers were fully persuaded of the reality of this unanimity and firmness, and were sincerely disposed to bring about a peace, instead of regarding with pleasure the mutual losses of the house of Bourbon and Great Britain, they might end the war by declaring their disposition to acknowledge our independence.

The King of Prussia seems to be a cool speculator, prepared to profit by the general distress. Denmark is influenced by Russia, and Sweden by France. Britain also still retains some influence in Denmark. The court of Vienna will be adverse to us as long as the empress queen exists. How the emperor is inclined I do not know. Sardinia and Portugal are friendly, and attached to England. The Dutch are divided into parties, neither of which is strong enough to give firmness and decision to the conduct of the republic. The stadtholder and his party find means to thwart and retard all the vigorous resolves which the French and republican party engage the states to enter into to support their honor and dignity. The hopes entertained in Britain of the influence of the former party, and the proneness of the king and his ministers to violent measures induced the late extraordinary conduct of that court with respect to the Dutch. They will submit to this and more rather than go to war. If the Empress of Russia is determined to support her late declaration, and to coincide effectually with the powers whom she has invited to accede to it, Great Britain must, however, recede from her present conduct, or offend highly the neutral powers.

The negotiation between Russia and Holland proceeds slowly. The court party in England has gained once more its superiority in Parliament; a feigned sickness of the speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton (for I have been since informed that he will have a title), gave the minister time to rally his forces, since which opposition grows more feeble every day. That of Ireland, for want of system and union among its members and by the promises of places and honors, is a little staggered. There is, however, a fermentation in both nations, which the continuance of the war and its consequent distresses will probably increase, if not bring to maturity. The distresses of our army last winter, the depreciation of our paper money, the exaggerated accounts of our divisions, and our apparent inactivity have had a bad effect in Europe, which I hope the firmness and unanimity of Congress, added to the exertions of our ally and these of this court, will entirely efface.

The expedition which sailed from Cadiz the 28th ultimo, consisting of twelve sail of the line, besides frigates, and eleven thousand five hundred men, proceeds to the Windward Islands, and there joins M. de Guichen, or goes against Jamaica or the Floridas, as circumstances

may render it proper. Another expedition from France follows M. Ternay's, I believe, to re-enforce M. de Guichen, who, if I am not deceived, will join the Spaniards to the leeward in the hurricane months, and, if necessary and practicable, send eight or ten ships to our coasts in the beginning of the autumn. This depends, however, much on the events of war. Spain, in concurrence with France, will have between forty and fifty sail of the line to oppose the grand English fleet, which I am informed will sail the last of this month or beginning of next. The allied fleet is not in such readiness. Strong interest is making for the Count d'Estaing to command in chief, and I think he will be nominated.

A very little time will determine the fate of the bills drawn on Mr. Jay. I received the first last week in a letter from Mr. Nesbitt, of L'Orient, who very prudently did not negotiate it until he consulted me on the subject. I am also informed that bills on Mr. Laurens are in circulation, and we have not yet heard of his arrival. I have written to Dr. Franklin and Messrs. Adams and Dana, and if I have not heard from them oftener I impute it to the miscarriage of their letters, which was the case of those of Dr. Franklin the first two months after my arrival at Madrid. Mr. Jay will transmit an account of the revenues and expenses of Spain, with which I have furnished him, which will show that Congress can not depend on such pecuniary assistance from this nation as they expected.

Mr. Jay's situation has been particularly disagreeable; the sum allotted by Congress by no means accords with his necessary expenses, even if he received his salary as it became due. I do not complain, although I have been obliged since my departure from America to expend more than £650 and have not as yet received more than £200 of my salary. Almost everything that passes, even in Congress, is known here either by intercepted letters or otherwise. You, gentlemen, will conceive how delicate Mr. Jay's situation must be if he delivers faithfully his sentiments of men and measures. I must repeat again, however, that there is a great appearance of candor and good faith. The Count de Florida Blanca and M. Galvez speak with much apparent civility and frankness, and seem desirous of doing all that is possible to succor us consistent with the actual situation of their finances; the former particularly.

I have sent a copy of this *via* Bilboa and another from Cadiz. I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving one letter from any one member of Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *May* 28, 1780.

SIR: In the journal of the proceedings of Congress of November, 1779, I find that on the 8th day of that month they were pleased to come to the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the late and former Presidents of Congress be desired to lodge as soon as they conveniently can in the secretary's office copies of all public letters by them respectively written during their Presidentship."

After I resigned the chair, and immediately on your excellency's election, I delivered a book containing copies of the public letters I had written during my Presidentship to your excellency, who promised to lodge it in the secretary's office, which I am persuaded was accordingly done. It gives me concern, therefore, to find this resolution is made to extend to me, and I flatter myself Congress will do me the justice to let it appear by the entry to be made on their journals of the receipt of this letter, that I had done that part of my duty in season and without their express request.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to the President of Congress.†

MADRID, *May* 28, 1780.

SIR: Since closing my letter of the 26th instant I have received from Mr. Carmichael the interesting intelligence contained in the enclosed paper.‡ He is now here, and has communicated to me the channel through which he obtained it, from which I think the information deserves belief, and his address in obtaining it credit.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Torris.§

PASSY, *May* 30, 1780.

SIR: In my last, of the 27th instant, I omitted one thing I had intended, viz, to desire you would give absolute orders to your cruisers not to bring in any more Dutch vessels, though charged with enemy's goods, unless contraband. All the neutral states of Europe seem at present disposed to change what had never before been deemed the law of nations, to wit, that an enemy's property may be taken wherever

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 207, with verbal changes.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 206, with verbal changes.

‡ See Carmichael to Jay, May 27, 1780, *supra*.

§ MSS. Dep. of State.

found, and to establish a rule that free ships shall make free goods. This rule is in itself so reasonable, and of a nature to be so beneficial to mankind, that I can not but wish it may become general; and I make no doubt but that the Congress will agree to it in as full an extent as France and Spain. In the mean time, and until I have received their orders on the subject, it is my intention to condemn no more English goods found in Dutch vessels unless contraband, of which I thought it right to give you this previous notice, that you may avoid the trouble and expense likely to arise from such captures and the detention of them for a decision.

With great regard and best wishes for the success of your enterprises, I have the honor, to be, sir, etc.*

Franklin to Sartine.†

PASSY, *May* 30, 1780.

SIR: I am under the greatest uneasiness to find that great part of the clothing sent to Brest to be shipped for America was left behind, and that the *Alliance* alone had not sufficient room to receive it, with the arms and gunpowder, which the king has been so good as to order for us, and which are also much wanted in the American armies. A proposition has been made of asking to borrow the *Ariel* to assist in carrying these things. It is said that a sufficient number of men and officers can be furnished for her out of the *Alliance*.

I am so unacquainted with ship business that I can not judge of the fitness of that vessel; but if your excellency should approve of that proposal, and be inclined to favor us with the loan of that or any other ship more convenient for the purpose, it will be an essential service to the United States, and for which they will be under great obligations.

With the greatest esteem and respect, I am your excellency's most obedient, etc.,

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Neufville to Jay.‡

[Without date.]

SIR: By vessels lately arrived from the continent and from St. Eustatia there appeared here some bills drawn by the treasurer of loans in America on Henry Laurens, commissioner for the States in Amsterdam. Everybody has been surprised at it, and we in particular, as we were directly applied to. We said at the first that we expected Mr.

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* This letter appears in 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 103; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 458; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 62, entitled "Franklin to an agent of American Cruisers."

† MSS. Dep. of State.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 207.

Laurens would be in town very soon, begging them to keep those bills a fortnight, and that at all events we would accept them. We have seen others since more willing to wait; but not knowing what sums may have been drawn for already, we are in hopes to be soon released from this anxiety by the arrival of the minister. As we think your excellency may have some intelligence about this matter, and have it in your power at the same time to save the credit of America if Mr. Laurens by any accident should not arrive, we beg the favor to be informed how to conduct ourselves. In the mean time we will do what lies in our power to prevent all noise and trouble about them. In case Mr. Laurens should not arrive, your excellency will have time left to make or provide for remittances, as the bills are drawn at six months' sight.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *May* 30, 1780.

SIR: On the 26th instant I had the honor of writing a very long and particular letter to your excellency by the way of Cadiz, of which a duplicate has also been sent. To the contents of that letter I have nothing new to add, except that two of the bills directed to be drawn upon me have arrived.

I shall go to-morrow to Aranjuez, from whence I shall embrace the first opportunity of communicating to Congress the further progress of their affairs here.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to the President of Congress.†

PASSY, *May* 31, 1780.

SIR: I wrote to your excellency the 4th of March past, to go by this ship, the *Alliance*, then expected to sail immediately. But the men refusing to go till paid their share of prize money, and sundry difficulties arising with regard to the sale and division, she has been detained thus long, to my great mortification, and I am yet uncertain when I shall be able to get her out. The trouble and vexation which these maritime affairs give me is inconceivable. I have often expressed to Congress my wish to be relieved from them, and that some person better acquainted with them and better situated might be

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., with verbal changes.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 103; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 459; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 63.

appointed to manage them; much money, as well as time, would, I am sure, be saved by such an appointment.

The *Alliance* is to carry some of the cannon long since ordered, and as much of the powder, arms, and clothing (furnished by government here), as she, together with a frigate, the *Ariel*, we have borrowed, can take. I hope they may between them take the whole, with what has been provided by Mr. Ross. This gentleman has, by what I can learn, served the Congress well in the quality and prices of the goods he has purchased. I wish it had been in my power to discharge his balance here, for which he has importuned me rather too much. We furnished him with about twenty thousand pounds sterling to discharge his first accounts, which he was to replace as soon as he received remittances from the committee of commerce. This has not been done, and he now demands another nearly equal sum, urging as before that the credit of the States as well as his own will be hurt by my refusal.

Mr. Bingham, too, complains of me for refusing some of his drafts as very hurtful to his credit, though he owns he had no orders from Congress to authorize those drafts. I never undertook to provide for more than the payment of the interest bills of the first loan. The Congress have drawn on me very considerably for other purposes, which has sometimes greatly embarrassed me, but I have duly accepted and found means to pay their drafts; so that their credit in Europe has been well supported. But if every agent of Congress in different parts of the world is permitted to run in debt and draw upon me at pleasure to support his credit, under the idea of its being necessary to do so for the honor of Congress, the difficulty upon me would be too great, and I may in fine be obliged to protest the interest bills. I therefore beg that a stop may be put to such irregular proceedings.

Had the loans proposed to be made in Europe succeeded these practices might not have been so inconvenient; but the number of agents from separate States running all over Europe and asking to borrow money has given such an idea of our distress and poverty as makes everybody afraid to trust us. I am much pleased to find that Congress has at length resolved to borrow of our own people by making their future bills bear interest. This interest duly paid in hard money, to such as require hard money, will fix the value of the principal, and even make the payment of the interest in hard money for the most part unnecessary, provided always that the quantity of principal be not excessive.

A great clamor has lately been made here by some merchants, who say they have large sums in their hands of paper money in America, and that they are ruined by some resolution of Congress, which reduces its value to one part in forty. As I have had no letter explaining this matter, I have only been able to say that it is probably misunderstood, and that I am confident the Congress have not done, nor will do, anything unjust towards strangers who have given us credit. I have, in-

deed, been almost ready to complain that I hear so little and so seldom from the committee of correspondence; but I know the difficulty of communication, and the frequent interruption it meets in this time of war. I have not yet received a line this year, and the letters written by the *Confederacy*—as I suppose some must have been written by her—have not yet come to hand.

I mentioned in a former letter my having communicated to Mr. Johnson, of Nantes, the order of Congress appointing him to examine the account and his acceptance of the appointment. Nothing, however, has yet been done in pursuance of it; for Mr. Deane having written that he might be expected here by the middle of March, and as his presence would be very useful in explaining the mercantile transactions, I have waited his arrival to request Mr. Johnson's coming to Paris, that his detention here from his affairs at Nantes might be as short as possible. Mr. Deane is not yet come; but as we have heard of the arrival of the *Fendant* in Martinique, in which ship he took his passage, we imagine he may be here in some of the first ships from that island.

The medal for M. de Fleury is done and delivered to his order—he being absent. I shall get the others prepared as soon as possible by the same hand, if I can not find a cheaper equally good, which I am now inquiring after. Two thousand livres appear to me a great sum for the work.

With my last I sent a copy of my memorial to the court of Denmark. I have since received an answer from the minister of that court for foreign affairs, a copy of which I enclose. It referred me to the Danish minister here, with whom I have had a conference on the subject. He was full of professions of the good-will of his court to the United States, and would excuse the delivery of our prizes to the English as done in conformity to treaties which it was necessary to observe. He had not the treaty to show me, and I have not been able to find such a treaty on inquiry. After my memorial, our people left at Bergen were treated with the greatest kindness by an order from court, their expenses during the winter that they had been detained there all paid, necessaries furnished to them for their voyage to Dunkirk, and a passage thither found for them, all at the king's expense. I have not dropped the application for a restitution, but shall continue to push it, not without some hopes of success. I wish, however, to receive instructions relating to it, and I think a letter from Congress to that court might forward the business; for I believe they are sensible they have done wrong, and are apprehensive of the inconveniences that may follow. With this I send the protests taken at Bergen against the proceeding.

The *Alliance*, in her last cruise, met with and sent to America a Dutch ship, supposed to have on board an English cargo. The owners have made application to me. I have assured them that they might depend

on the justice of our courts; and that if they could prove their property there it would be restored. M. Dumas has written to me about it. I enclose his letter, and wish despatch may be given to the business, as well to prevent the inconveniences of a misunderstanding with Holland as for the sake of justice.

A ship of that nation has been brought in here by the *Black Prince*, having an English cargo. I consulted with Messrs. Adams and Dana, who informed me that it was an established rule with us, in such cases, to confiscate the cargo, but to release the ship, paying her freight, etc. This I have accordingly ordered in the case of this ship, and hope it may be satisfactory. But it is a critical time with respect to such cases, for whatever may formerly have been the law of nations, all the neutral powers, at the instance of Russia, seem at present disposed to change it, and to enforce the rule that *free ships shall make free goods*, except in the case of contraband. Denmark, Sweden, and Holland have already acceded to the proposition, and Portugal is expected to follow. France and Spain, in their answers, have also expressed their approbation of it. I have therefore instructed our privateers to bring in no more neutral ships, as such prizes occasion much litigation and create ill blood.

The *Alliance*, Captain Landais, took two Swedes in coming hither, who demand of us for damages—one, upward of sixty thousand livres, and the other near five hundred pounds sterling; and I can not well see how the demand is to be settled. In the newspapers that I send the Congress will see authentic pieces expressing the sense of the European powers on the subject of neutral navigation. I hope to receive the sense of Congress for my future government and for the satisfaction of the neutral nations now entering into the Confederacy, which is considered here as a great stroke against England. In truth, that country seems to have no friends on this side of the water; no other nation wishes it success in its present war, but rather desires to see it effectually humbled; no one, not even their old friends the Dutch, will afford them any assistance. Such are the mischievous effects of pride, insolence, and injustice on the affairs of nations as well as on those of private persons.

The English party in Holland is daily diminishing, and the states are arming vigorously to maintain the freedom of their navigation. The consequence may possibly be a war with England, or a serious disposition in that mad nation to save what they can by a timely peace.

Our cartel for the exchange of American prisoners has been some time at a stand. When our little squadron brought near five hundred into Holland England would not at first exchange Americans for them there, expecting to take them in their passage to France. But at length an agreement was made between the English and French ambassadors, and I was persuaded to give them up, on a promise of having an equal number of English delivered to my order at Morlaix. So those were exchanged for Frenchmen. But the English now refuse to take any

English in exchange for Americans that have not been taken by American cruisers. They also refuse to send me any Americans in exchange for their prisoners released and sent home by the two flags of truce from Boston. Thus they give up all pretensions to equity and honor, and govern themselves by caprice, passion, and transient views of present interest.

Be pleased to present my duty to Congress, and believe me to be, with great respect, your excellency's, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

La Fayette to President Reed.*

HEADQUARTERS, *Morristown*, *May* 31, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Though you must on this moment be more particularly engaged in public business, I can't help indulging the strong desire I feel of writing some lines to you, and from the affectionate sense I have of our old friendship I flatter myself you will have no objection to lose a few minutes in this epistolary conversation. What I want to tell you, my dear friend, has been fully explained in public letters and in a private one from our respected and heroic friend. I shall therefore confine myself to imparting to you confidentially my private feelings on this important affair.

It is only as an American soldier—as an ardent lover of our noble cause, as one who, having been lately on both sides of the Atlantic, may the more properly foresee good and bad consequences—that he has been here and there led [let] into the secrets. It is not only on all the aforesaid accounts that I am far concerned in the operations of the campaign. But you may lately guess I was not a stranger to the planning of the co-operation which I then thought to be very important to America, which I now find to be necessary, and in the course of those arrangements I need not mention that I ever spoke with a becoming pride of the American army, of the effects which the virtue of America would make towards an honorable co-operation.

Those people are coming, my good friend, full of ardor and sanguine hopes, and may be every day expected. France and Spain are in high expectations. The world is looking on us, and all the European powers that never saw America but through a spyglass are watching the opportunity of fixing at once their fluctuating opinions.

It is from me, on the moment of their arrival, that the French generals expect intelligence, and you may guess that packets shall be by them immediately despatched to Europe. An army that is reduced to nothing, that wants provisions, that has not one of the necessary means to make war—such is the situation wherein I found our troops, and however prepared I could have been to this unhappy sight by our past distresses, I

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* 2 Reed's Life, 207.

confess that I had no idea of such an extremity. Shall I be obliged to confess our inability, and what shall be my feelings on the occasion, not only as an American and American soldier, but also as one that has highly boasted in Europe of the spirit, the virtue, the resources of America. Though I had been directed to furnish the French court and the French generals with early and minuted intelligence, I confess pride has stopped my pen, and notwithstanding past promises I have avoided entering into any details till our army is put in a better and more decent situation.

We have men, my dear sir; we have provisions; we have everything that is wanted, provided the country is awakened and its resources are brought forth. That, you know, can't be done by Congress, and unless the States take the whole matter upon themselves we are lost. You will, both as a soldier and a politician, easily foresee that the crisis is one way or other a decisive one, and that if proper exertions are made we may expect everything that is good.

As you are a military man (and I wish it was for the moment the case with the other leading men in America), you know that filling up immediately the Continental battalions is the way of having an army, and that can not be done but by militia drafts. Your State is the only one who undertook to give to their officers a decent clothing. In all other matters I hope it will take the lead. As far as it depends upon your influence in Pennsylvania, and that goes a great length, I have no doubt but that we shall be under the greatest obligations to that State. The expectations are also strengthened by the sense I have of your friendship to our general. But, my good friend, no time is to be lost.

In asking your pardon for this long and confidential letter, I am, with the most perfect regard, your affectionate,

LA FAYETTE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 1, 1780.

SIR: In consequence of an advertisement published to this effect, the corporation of the citizens of Dublin, having assembled on the 11th of May, at Thalsel, the committee named the 29th of February last to prepare and present resolutions relative to the affairs of the times made the following report, which was unanimously approved:

We, members of the committee appointed at a general meeting of the citizens, held the 29th of last February, having taken into consideration the objects the examination of which was committed to us, submit to our fellow-citizens the following resolution:

That we think that it is the absolute duty of every virtuous citizen to declare, in the most explicit manner, what he thinks relatively to the great constitutional objects, which have been suspended in the moment when we expected it the least, as

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 99.

well as to co-operate with courage and unanimity in everything which can tend to the acquisition of these same objects. That our sincere desire is to maintain an inviolable connection between Great Britain and Ireland, to establish and fix this connection upon the only basis which can render it stable and permanent, that of a royalty inseparable from the common rights of an equal liberty. That it is at this time necessary to declare, that the king, the peers, and commons of Ireland are the only powers to which it belongs to make laws for binding this kingdom.

That in putting in use all the constitutional means, whatever be the public or private character with which we may be clothed, whether we are magistrates, jurors, or simple individuals, we will maintain and propagate these principles, and we will adhere invariably to the great and important objects of our instructions, those of establishing the independence of the parliament of Ireland and of obtaining a modification of Poyning's law.

That all the plans of reformation which may be proposed are necessarily vain and of no effect, while the influence of the crown, arising from the profusion with which the people bestow their grants and from the imprudent prodigalty of ministers shall not be diminished; and that we ought constantly to employ our efforts to obtain a system of retrenchment and economy, to the end the better to diminish the means of corruption.

That the independent electors of Ireland are particularly called upon to make their efforts to procure for the nation more virtuous representatives, more equality in the representation of the people in Parliament, and to study the most effectual measures to obtain these desirable ends. We think that the said electors can not better succeed than by refusing with firmness to vote for any man provided either with places or pensions, or who shall have acted in any manner contrary to the inherent rights or manifest sentiments of the people; and by giving for instructions to their representatives to make all their exertions to obtain an augmentation in the number of members who represent the counties, the populous cities, and the independent towns.

That we pledge ourselves to each other, and all to our country, by all which men know that is sacred, to take the foregoing resolutions for the rule of our conduct, and that at all opportunities and by all constitutional means we will support the spirit and principles of them.

In testimony of this solemn declaration we have all signed the said resolutions.

Resolved, unanimously, That the said resolution thus signed by the members of the committee shall be deposited in the coffee-house at the royal exchange, there to receive the signatures of the citizens.

CONTINUATION OF SAID REPORT.

We, members of the committee, etc., propose further to our fellow-citizens the following resolutions:

That our sincere thanks be presented, in the most respectful manner, to Henry Grattan for the motion, excellently well conceived, which he has made in parliament the 19th of April last, tending to a declaration that his most excellent majesty the king, the peers, and commons of Ireland are the only power to which it belongs to make laws capable of binding this kingdom.

That thanks also be presented to the ninety-eight members which supported this great constitutional assertion; passed unanimously.

That our sincere thanks be presented in the most respectful manner to Barry Yelverton for the patriotic motion which he made in parliament the 25th of last April, to the end to introduce regulations concerning the manner in which bills are transmitted from this kingdom to England; the object of this motion being to hinder the unconstitutional interposition of the privy council in obtaining the modification so much desired of Poyning's law.

That thanks be given also to the one hundred and six members who seconded this manly effort; passed unanimously.

That our sincere thanks be presented to our worthy representatives Dr. William Clement and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, baronet, on account of the uniformity of their conduct in parliament, and particularly for the zeal with which they have supported the two important motions aforesaid; conforming themselves in this to the late instructions which they have received from us and seconding the general wish of this kingdom; passed unanimously.

That our sincere thanks and full gratitude be presented in the most respectful manner to the noble lords who have opposed, and to those who had the courage to protest against, the last paragraph of the address which the house of peers presented to the throne the 2d of March last. The said paragraph contains insinuations which were neither founded upon fact nor authorized by actions, implying reproaches which the people of Ireland have not merited, and contained in these words: "That they would use all possible endeavors to discourage and disappoint all endeavors which ill-advised men may employ to the end to excite ill-founded fears in the minds of the people of his majesty or to divert their attention from those advantages relative to commerce which have been granted to us in so great an extent;" passed with three negatives.

That we earnestly request our magistrates not to give in any manner nor on any occasion any effect to any law which does not proceed from or has not received the sanction of the king, the peers, and commons of Ireland. That while they conduct themselves thus they shall receive from us the most constant and the most firm support, to the end to annihilate the ill-founded hope which may have been conceived of subjecting Ireland in any case to a foreign legislation; passed unanimously.

That it is the opinion of this committee that the two great and favorite objects of the people, viz, a declaration of its rights and the modification of Poyning's law having been suspended in Parliament in a manner so unexpected, it appears at this time of absolute necessity to form a committee of correspondence, to the end to cooperate with such other committees of the same nature as may be formed in the kingdom in the measures the most proper to give extension and safety to the advantages relative to commerce which we have at last obtained, to restore still further our rights and liberties, and to preserve the constitution of Ireland free and independent; passed with one negative.

The committee of correspondence was named upon the spot, and formed of fifteen members.

Thus a new epocha is formed in the politics of Ireland. Hitherto they had left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of parliament. The people have now taken it into their own hands. The committee of Dublin, by communicating with other committees through the kingdom, will be able to conduct the body of the kingdom and unite the various parts of it in certain principles which will by degrees work themselves into a system and complete the independence of Irish legislation. This will depend, however, upon the continuance of the war; for if England should be wise enough to make peace, of which there is little probability, the spirit of Ireland will evaporate, and their beautiful edifice dissolve like the fabric of a vision.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 1, 1780.

SIR: This morning a friend at Versailles sent me two English papers of the 26th and 27th of May, containing Rodney's account of an action between the French and English fleets on the 17th of April. At the conclusion of the battle, says Rodney, the enemy might be said to be completely beat. How easy it is to say and write this! Much easier than to find a sufficient number of persons ready to believe it. Such was the distance of the van and the rear from the centre and the crippled condition of several ships, particularly the *Sandwich*, which for twenty-four hours was with difficulty kept above water, that it was impossible to pursue them that night without the greatest disadvantage. He found it in vain to follow them with his majesty's fleet in the condition they were in to Guadaloupe, and accordingly put away to Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, there to wait for them.

The French admiral appeared to Rodney a brave and gallant officer, and was nobly supported during the whole action. The killed on board the English fleet were one hundred and twenty; the wounded, three hundred and fifty-three; four hundred and seventy-three in all. These circumstances are very far from giving authenticity to the idea that the French were beaten. It has every appearance of a third general drawn battle, in which the English have ultimately the worst. Drawn battles do not maintain the empire, the dominion, the sovereignty, the mastership of the seas. To all these they pretend, and they must make good their pretensions by clear victories or they are undone. The French court has not yet received any account.

ENGLISH LINE OF BATTLE.

The *Sterling Castle* to lead with the starboard tack, the *Magnificent* with the larboard tack.

REAR-ADMIRAL PARKER'S DIVISION.

Vessel.	Captain.	Guns.	Men.
Sterling Castle	Casket	64	50
Ajax	Uvedale	74	60
Elizabeth	Maitland	74	60
Princess Royal	R. A. Parker, C. Hammond,	90	77
Albion	Bawyer	74	60
Terrible	Douglas	74	60
Trident	Malloy	64	50
Greyhound, frigate.			

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 97.

SIR G. RODNEY'S DIVISION.

Vessel.	Captain.	Guns.	Men.
Grafton (Commander Collingwood)	Newnham	74	617
Yarmouth	Bateman	64	500
Cornwall	Edwards	74	600
Sandwich (Sir G. Rodney)	C. Young	90	732
Suffolk	Crespin	74	600
Boyne	Cotton	68	520
Vigilant	Home	64	500
Venus, to repeat signals; Deal Castle, Pegasus, frigates.			

REAR-ADMIRAL ROWLEY'S DIVISION.

Vengeance (Commander Hotham)	Holloway	74	617
Medway	Affleck	60	420
Montague	Houlton	74	600
Conqueror (R. A. Rowley)	Watson	74	617
Intrepid	St. John	64	500
Magnificent	Elphinstone	74	600
Andromeda, frigate; Centurion to assist the rear in case of need.			

On the 24th of May Governor Pownal moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "to enable the king to make a convention or truce, or to conclude a peace, with the Colonies on terms convenient and necessary." This motion was seconded by Mr. Dunning, and after debate the order of the day was moved, which was carried by 113 against 52.

It is said that Johnstone despatched C. Maclawrin from Lisbon to S. G. Rodney, with advice that fourteen sail of the line, with ten thousand troops, sailed from Cadiz to the westward the 28th of April.

The Hudson's Bay fleet, consisting of the *Beaver*, Captain Moore; the *Sea Horse*, Christopher; the *Prince Rupert*, Prichards; and the *King George*, Fowler, have completed their lading at Gravesend and will soon sail.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *June* 1, 1780.

SIR: Commodore Jones, who, by his bravery and conduct has done great honor to the American flag, desires to have that also of presenting a line to the hands of your excellency. I cheerfully comply with his request in recommending him to the notice of Congress and to your

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 108; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 465; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 69.

excellency's protection, though his actions are a more effectual recommendation, and render any from me unnecessary. It gives me, however, an opportunity of showing my readiness to do justice to merit, and of professsing the esteem and respect with which I am your excellency's, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Neufville & Son to Jay.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 1, 1780.

SIR: Craving reference to our last, we have now the honor to propose to your excellency on what terms we think all difficulty on account of the absence of Henry Laurens as commissioner from Congress here may be prevented. We write the same to Dr. Franklin in France, offering him to accept all those bills, provided he gives us permission to redraw directly on him for account of Congress, and to do it even at seven or eight months, until, by the arrival of Mr. Laurens, or in some other way, this matter may be arranged, for there must certainly be provision made for those bills, and the sums we do not think will exceed two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand guilders before Mr. Laurens' arrival here may be known in America and matters are settled. We even offered those transactions without any view of interest as for a commission. The importance of the business must have influence with every one who has any regard for the United States; and this emboldened us even to trouble your excellency with this relation, not doubting but you might equally find means to make matters easy at all events; for the terrible loss which there would be on such bills if protested must be prevented, and the honor of the credit of America must be saved. We hope our endeavor for it may be approved of and have the desired end.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *June* 2, 1780.

SIR: When a minister of an ancient nation, which has been renowned for its wisdom and virtue as well as power, rises in a popular assembly, which is the most conspicuous theatre in Europe, and declares, as it were, in the face of all the world, and with an air of reflection, of deliberation, and of solemnity, that such and such are his own opinions

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 208, with verbal changes.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 108, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 180.

concerning the truth of facts and the probability of future events, one can not call in question his good faith, although we may know his information to be false and his judgment erroneous.

Lord George Germain, in the debate in the House of Commons on the 6th of May, declared that "he flattered himself the completion of the chief wish of his heart, peace with America, on what he thought good and honorable terms for Great Britain, was not far off. He verily believed, and his belief was not merely speculative, but founded on recent information, that the moment of conciliation was near. His lordship described the misery which the Americans felt at this time, and stated that the greatest majority of the people there were ready and desirous to return to their allegiance, but that they were prevented by the tyranny of those who had got the power of government into their own hands. He did not believe the Congress would ever treat for peace, but from the condition of affairs in America, from the depreciation of their paper currency, from the poverty and distress of the country, from the great debt it groaned under, from the dissatisfaction which all ranks of people expressed at the alliance with France, from the little benefit America had derived from that alliance—from all these considerations he did believe that the people of America and the assemblies of America would soon come to terms."

There may be some ambiguity in the phrase "good and honorable terms for Great Britain," but there can be no reasonable doubt that his lordship meant either to return to their allegiance to Great Britain or at least to make a peace with her separate from France. Whether the Americans ever will agree to such terms or not, being a question concerning a future event, can not be decided by witnesses, nor any other way, but by probable arguments. There is one argument which his lordship does not appear to have considered. It is of some weight. It is this, that in order to return to their allegiance to the King of England, or make a peace with him separate from France, they must involve themselves in a certain war with France and Spain at least, and indeed, according to present appearances, with Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Portugal, for every one of these powers appear to be as decided against the claims, pretensions, and usurpations of Great Britain upon the seas as France and Spain are. There is not an American merchant, yeoman, tradesman, or seaman but knows this, or will know it very soon. Americans must, therefore, be destitute of that common share of reason which God has given to men to exchange the friendship of all the nations of the world for their enmity merely for the sake of returning to a connection with Great Britain, which could not protect them, and which they have the best reasons to dread as the greatest evil that could befall them from the unheard-of tyrannies and cruelties they have already experienced from her. His lordship is desired to consider this, and to ask himself, if he was an American, whether he would wish to run under the broken fragments of an empire

that is dashed in pieces like a China vase, and commence a fresh war against a combination of all the nations of the world who discover a degree of esteem and regard for America.

If the Americans are as miserable as his lordship represents them, will they be likely to increase that misery tenfold, and make it perpetual by espousing the cause of a ruined empire, and going to war with half a dozen that are not ruined?

If we believe the testimonies of witnesses who come from all parts of America we shall be convinced that his lordship deceives himself. Every man from that country who knows the principles and opinions of the people declares that they are, with an unanimity that is unexampled in any other revolution, firmly determined to maintain their sovereignty and their alliances, and that there is nobody there who utters a wish of returning to the Government of Great Britain, or even of making a separate peace.

But if his lordship was a candid inquirer after truth, and had a mind sufficiently enlightened to discover the means that are in the power of all men of obtaining it, he might have seen his error. There are certain marks by which the opinions, principles, inclinations, and wishes of a people may be discovered with infallible certainty, without recurring to witnesses or to far-fetched arguments.

The press, the towns, the juries, and the assemblies are four sources from whence an unerring demonstration of the true sentiments of the people of America may be drawn. There is not in any nation of the world so unlimited freedom of the press as is now established in every State of America, both by law and practice. Every man in Europe who reads their newspapers must see it. There is nothing that the people dislike that they do not attack. They attack officers of every rank in the militia and in the army; they attack judges, governors, and magistrates of every denomination; they attack assemblies and councils, members of Congress, and Congress itself, whenever they dislike their conduct. But I appeal to every newspaper upon the continent whether one paragraph, one wish or hint of returning to the Government of Great Britain, or of making a separate peace, has ever appeared.

The towns in many parts of America are small districts of territory on an average perhaps six miles square. By the ancient laws of the country, which are still in force, any seven inhabitants of one of these towns have a right to demand of the magistrates a public assembly of all. There are necessarily several of these town meetings every year and generally a great number of them. In these assemblies every man high and low, every yeoman, tradesman, and even day laborer, as well as every gentleman and public magistrate, has a right to vote and to speak his sentiments upon public affairs, to propose measures, to instruct their representatives in the legislature, etc. This right was constantly and frequently used under the former government, and is now

much more frequently used under the new. The world has seen some hundreds of sets of instructions to representatives under the former government, wherein they enjoined an open opposition to judges, governors, acts of Parliament, king, lords, and commons of Great Britain. What is there now to prevent them from opposing Congress? Nothing. Has a single vote of any one of these towns been read or one speech heard proposing or uttering a wish to return to the Government of Great Britain? Not one. Is not this a demonstration of the sentiments of the people?

Juries in America were formerly another organ by which the sentiments of the people were conveyed to the public. Both grand juries and petit juries have expressed themselves in language sufficiently bold and free against acts of Parliament and the conduct of Great Britain. But has any one ever uttered a word against Congress, or the assemblies, or the judges under their new governments, or a wish to return to the obedience of England? Not one. But it is said the paper money embarrasses Congress. What then? Does this tend to make them dissolve their union—to violate their alliances? Would the paper money embarrass Congress less if they had a war to maintain against France and Spain than it does now? Would not the embarrassment be much greater? Does the paper money prevent the increase and the population of the States? No. Does the war prevent it? No. Both the population and the property of the States have increased every year since this war began, and all the efforts of Great Britain can not prevent it. On the contrary, has the wealth and population of Great Britain increased? Has her commerce increased? Has the political weight of the nation in the scales of Europe increased? Let a melancholy Briton tell.

His lordship talks about the misery of the people in America. Let him look at home and then say where is misery—where the hideous prospect of an internal civil war is added to a war with all the world! The truth is, that agriculture and manufactures, not of luxuries, but of necessaries, have been so much increased by this war, that it is much to be doubted whether they ever fed or clothed themselves more easily or more comfortably. But, besides this, the immense depredations they have made upon the British trade have introduced vast quantities of British merchandises of every sort; and in spite of all the exertions of the British fleet their trade is opening and extending with various countries every year, and Britain herself is forced to aid it, and will be more and more; a recent proof of which is the permission to import American tobacco into the kingdom from any part of the world in neutral bottoms.

The great debt is also mentioned. Do they pay an interest for this debt? Is every necessary and convenience of life taxed to perpetuity to pay this interest? Is the whole equal in proportion to their abilities to the debt of England? Would the debt be rendered less by joining

Great Britain against France and Spain? Would the war against France and Spain be shorter, less expensive, or less bloody than the war against England? By returning to England would not their debt be ten times more burdensome? This debt is as nothing to America. Once give her peace, let the Americans trade freely with one another and with all other nations, and this debt would be but a feather. Let them come under Great Britain again, and have the communication between one colony and another obstructed as heretofore and their trade confined to Great Britain as heretofore, and this debt would be a heavier millstone about their necks than that of England is about theirs.

A general repugnance to the alliance with France is mentioned. A greater mistake was never made. On the contrary, every step of Congress, every proceeding of every assembly upon the continent, every prayer that is made in the pulpit, and every speculation in the newspapers, demonstrates the high sense they have of the importance of this alliance. It is said that this alliance has been of little utility. Has it not employed the British army? Has it not cut out work enough for the British navy? Has it not wasted for England her annual twenty millions? Has it not prevented these from being employed against America? Has it not given scope to American privateers? Has it not protected the American trade? Has it not hurt that of Great Britain? Has it not engaged Russia, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal at least to a neutrality? At least has it not contributed much to these vast advantages to America—has it not taken away from Great Britain the dominion of the sea, so far as to allow liberty of navigation to others? It is true the alliance might have been of more utility to all the allies with the same expense if France and Spain had sooner adopted the policy of sending more of their forces to America. But they are now so well convinced of it that, unless miracles are wrought to prevent it, America and England too will soon see more of the effects of this alliance. Let Britain tremble at the consequences of her own folly and her own crime.

His lordship says that the people would return to their allegiance if they were not restrained by the tyranny of those who have got the powers of the government. These are the assemblies, senates, governors, and Congress. Now what power have any of these but what the people please to allow them? By what engine is this tyranny exercised? Is it by the militia? In order to judge of this, let us consider the constitution of the militia. The militia is, in fact, the whole people; for, by the laws of every State, every man from sixteen to sixty years of age belongs to the militia—is obliged to be armed, to train, and march upon occasion, or find a substitute. The officers are chosen by the men, except the general officers, who are appointed by the assemblies. It is this very militia which forms the body of voters who

annually choose the members of the assembly and the senators and governors. Is it possible these men should tyrannize over men upon whom they are so entirely dependent? As well might it be reproached to his lordship and his colleagues in administration that they tyrannized over their royal master, who can displace them at his pleasure. The assemblies thus annually chosen by the people or militia annually choose the delegates in Congress, and have power to recall them at pleasure. Will the militia, then, obey either assemblies or Congress in the execution of tyrannical orders, or any orders that are not generally agreeable to them? The thing speaks for itself. Is it the Continental army, then, that is the instrument of their own servitude and that of their country? Every officer holds his commission at the pleasure of Congress. But his lordship and his colleagues often represent the Continental army as so small and feeble as to be unable to make head against the British troops; and it is true that they are nothing in comparison with the militia. What would become of them, then, if the militia, or any considerable number of them, were to join the British troops?

There has never been any part of the Continental army in more than three or four of the thirteen States at a time, watching the motions of the British army and confining them to the protection of their men-of-war. What has there been then in the remaining nine or ten States for an instrument of tyranny? This is too ridiculous to need many words.

His lordship concludes with a distinction, if possible, less grounded than his assertions. He says that Congress will never treat, but that the people and the assemblies will. Where does his lordship find the ground of his difference between the Congress and the assemblies? Are not the members of Congress made of the same clay? Are they not themselves members of the assemblies? Are they not the creatures of the assemblies? Are they not annually created? Are they not dependent every moment upon the assemblies for their existence? Have not the assemblies a right to recall them when they please, and appoint others by law and the constitution? Have not the assemblies a right to instruct them how to act? If they do not obey these instructions, can not the assemblies displace them and appoint others who will be more obedient? If the assemblies desired a reconciliation with England, would not they appoint a Congress who desired it too? If the people desired it, could not they appoint assemblies who would soon make a Congress suitable for their purpose? But I have been too long. His lordship betrays such misinformation of facts, such an inattention to those obvious marks of the feelings of a people as are infallible indications of their designs, and such a want of knowledge of the laws and constitution of the United States, as excite astonishment in an impartial examiner, and a real commiseration for the unhappy

nation who are devoted to destruction from his errors and delusions.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *June* 2, 1780.

SIR: We are informed from The Hague, of the 28th of May, that the merchants of the republic have presented two petitions, one to their high mightinesses and the other to their noble and grand mightinesses. The tenor of the first is as follows:

To their high mightinesses our lords the States-General of the United Provinces:

The undersigned, merchants, assurers, and owners of vessels, and freighters, established in these provinces, give respectfully to understand that it is with sentiments of the most sensible gratitude that the commerce has been informed of the affectionate resolution taken by your high mightinesses to equip a number of vessels of war to the end to protect the free navigation of the subjects of this state. But as the petitioners were ignorant that the activity of the progress of the said equipment has to this time been retarded both by the sickness which prevails among the crews of the vessels ready to put to sea and by the want of experienced seamen necessary to the equipment of vessels put into commission and by other causes, while in this interval the most favorable season for navigation slips away, many ships loaded with merchandises dare not set sail from the ports of this country for want of the necessary protection, while they can not find means here nor elsewhere of insuring but a small portion of those vessels and their cargoes, and that even at enormous premiums, such as have never before been demanded, being from 20 to 30 per cent., which occasions an interruption and an inactivity to their navigation so excessive, as well as to their commerce, that their total ruin must necessarily result from it; all the commissions for merchandises passing elsewhere, without a hope of being able ever to see them return here, which an unfortunate experience has already many times proved. For these causes the petitioners humbly pray that it may please your high mightinesses to grant and effectuate as soon as possible the protection necessary, as the commercial interest on their part are ready to co-operate effectually to complete the crews and to submit to all prompt and convenient measures which, according to the exigence of the case and the urgent circumstances your high mightinesses, according to your enlightened wisdom, shall judge to be the most proper for the preservation of commerce and the navigation of your subjects.

**Barriers between Great Britain and the United States of America to a reconciliation, alliance or even peace.*

(1) The malice, revenge, pride, obstinacy, and absurdity of the king and royal family.

(2) The guilt and danger of the ministry, danger to their lives and present safety, as well as of ruin to their fortunes, characters, and reputations.

(3) The ambition and avarice of the ministry, whose chiefs have the same hunger for the loaves and fishes as the ministers; as little attention to and affection for the public as they, and therefore dare not displease the king, and so give up their hopes of his favor by adopting any principles or espousing any system that could lead to reconciliation or to peace.

(4) The general prevalence of profligacy.

† 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 103.

The second petition is as follows:

To their noble and grand mightinesses our lords the states of Holland and West Friesland:

The subscribing merchants, assurers, owners of ships, and freighters, all living in these provinces, give respectfully to understand that the petitioners, pressed by the urgent necessity and to the end to ward off the total ruin of commerce and navigation, without which neither they nor the greater part of the inhabitants of the republic can subsist, have addressed themselves to your high mightinesses our lords the States-General of the United Provinces, to solicit a prompt protection, by the way of petition, of which the petitioners have the honor to annex a copy.

Nevertheless, although the petitioners have every reason to flatter themselves that an arrangement equally ready and efficacious will soon fulfill their wishes; nevertheless, the better to complete their views, and for the preservation of commerce and navigation, the soul and the nerve of the prosperity of the republic, and to the end to prevent its inaction, as well as the total ruin of the petitioners, which would infallibly follow, they think that it would be very necessary that it may please your noble and grand mightinesses to second in this the petitioners as in your high wisdom you shall judge expedient and convenient.

I have before sent a copy of what was published for the answer of the court of Madrid to the Russian declaration. But as that court has now published an authentic copy, which is a little different from that, although more clear and better, I beg leave to trouble Congress with a translation of it:

The king has been informed of the fashion of thinking of the Empress of Russia in regard to the powers, both belligerent and neuter, by a memorial which M. Stephen de Zinowioff, minister of that sovereign, has presented on the 15th of this month to the Count de Florida Blanca, first secretary of state. The king considers this act of the empress as an effect of the just confidence which his majesty has merited on his part; and it is to him so much the more agreeable, as the principles adopted by this sovereign are those which have ever governed the king, and which his majesty endeavored by all possible means, although without effect, to induce England to observe during the time that Spain herself was neuter. These principles are those of justice, of equity, and of moderation; these same principles, in fine, Russia and all the powers have acknowledged in the resolutions of his majesty, and it is only by the conduct which the English navy has established both in the last and present war (a conduct which subverts the rules the most constantly observed in regard to neutral powers) that his majesty has seen himself under the necessity of imitating it, because the English, not respecting the neutral flag when it had on board the effects of an enemy, although they were not contraband, and this flag not defending itself against these violences, they could not with justice hinder Spain from using equal reprisals to secure herself from the enormous prejudice which would result from an inequality in this respect.

The neutral powers on their side have also given occasion to the inconveniences which they have suffered by having served themselves with double papers and other artifices to the end to prevent the capture of their vessels. From this have followed the numerous captures and detentions, as well as the consequences which have resulted from them; although in truth these have not been so prejudicial as has been pretended. On the contrary, we know that some of these detentions have turned to the advantage of the owners of the cargoes; the provisions of which they were composed having been sold in the port where the ships were tried, at a price higher than the price current at the place of their destination.

The king, nevertheless, not content with these proofs of his justification, manifested to the eyes of all Europe, would at this day have the glory of being the first to give the example of respecting the neutral flag of all the courts which have con-

sented, or which shall consent, to defend it, until his majesty shall see the part which the English navy shall take, and until he shall discover by experience whether this navy will restrain itself or not, as well as the English privateers. And to this end to make it appear to all powers how ready Spain is to observe, now she is at war, the same rules which she desired while she was neuter, his majesty conforms himself to the other points contained in the declaration of Russia, it being well understood that what concerns the place blockaded, of Gibraltar, the danger of entering into that subsists in the manner in which this point is ascertained by the fourth article of the said declaration by the means of the number of vessels stationed there to form the blockade; a danger, however, which the neutral vessels may avoid by conforming to the rules of precaution established in the declaration of his majesty of the 13th of March last, which has been communicated to the court of Petersburg by the means of its minister.

Aranjuez, April 18, 1780.

DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

There are two articles worth translating from the foreign gazettes, if it were only as specimens of the art which is employed to keep the enemy in uncertainty about the designs of this court and the destinations of their fleets, whether successfully or not.

The first is Amsterdam, 29th of May. A letter from Toulon of the 8th of this month contains the following details:

Orders have arrived here from court to send out into the road as soon as may be the ships of the line the *Zélé* and the *Marseillois*; but as the destination of these two ships is kept extremely secret, we exhaust ourselves in conjectures concerning the object of the operations which they are ordered to execute. Some will have it that they have orders to go and join the squadron of Don Solano, which sailed from Cadiz the 28th of last month, which it is pretended is bound to Brest. Others presume that they have no other commission than to go and cruise in the neighborhood of Mahon, to keep in the privateers which frequently come out from thence, and which give extreme trouble to the navigation of the ports of the Mediterranean; in fine, there are some who believe that these vessels are to co-operate in an important enterprise which is to be attempted in that sea. However this may be, as we know that a number of vessels have been taken up upon freight on account of the king, and that they may easily embark in our port eleven or twelve thousand men; as, moreover, it is more than probable that on the one hand the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar being sufficiently guarded by the Spaniards, so that there will not be occasion for a strong squadron to protect the transport vessels which may be employed in an expedition against Mahon, and that on the other hand the English, being sufficiently occupied on divers sides, may not be able easily to send to the relief of this island, we conclude from the combination of these different circumstances that it may very well happen that they may attempt this conquest, the success of which does not appear in effect to present any very insurmountable difficulties, and which would procure, after all, an advantage sufficiently important to the good of our commerce in general to merit that at least we should make the essay.

The other article is in the Amsterdam Gazette of the 30th of May, and from Paris the 23d of May, 1780:

We are of opinion here that M. de Ternay is ordered to conduct the division of M. de Rochambeau to Canada, and that with so much the more foundation, as we see everywhere what M. de Sartine has published of the dispatches of the Count de Guichen, that the arrival of his squadron in the seas of the Antilles was sufficient to give us there a decided superiority. We can not, moreover, but applaud the prudence of M. de Guichen and M. de Bouillé in not sacrificing, perhaps in vain, a great many

ives to expel the English from the Island of St. Lucia, these two generals having without doubt designs more important and the success of which appears to them more certain, which naturally raises conjectures that M. de Guichen proposed very soon to put to sea. However this may be, there are nevertheless other people who presume that if the Count de Rochambeau does not go directly to Canada he may very well go and disembark at Rhode Island, where he may make a place of arms, in order to go from thence and join himself to General Washington, and attack New York together while it is unfurnished with a strong garrison.

In this manner it is that some person or other is employed to give scope to the speculations and conjectures of the public, while the courts of Europe flatter themselves that their real councils are kept secret. There is reason, however, to believe that in fact the councils of all the courts of Europe are penetrated by their enemies. The councils of Congress in many striking and important instances, although necessarily confided to such numbers, have been much more inviolably kept without the aid of hired paragraph writers to disguise them. Our character and interest depend upon improving this fidelity, as well as upon discountenancing both by manner, and authority that base art so prevalent in Europe, that of political lying.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Morris.*

PASSY, *June* 3, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your kind letter of March 31, acquainting me with your having engaged in M. de la Frète's affairs on my recommendation. I thank you very much, and beg you to be assured that any recommendation of yours will be regarded by me with greatest attention. The letter you enclosed to M. Dumas is forwarded to him. We are impatient to hear from America; no account of the operations at Charleston later than the 9th of March having yet come to hand. Everything here in Europe continues to wear a new face. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland are raising a strong naval force to establish the free navigation for neutral ships and of all their cargoes, though belonging to enemies, except contraband—that is, military stores. France and Spain have approved of it, and it is likely to become henceforth the law of nations that *free ships make free goods.* England does not like this confederacy. I wish they would extend it still further, and ordain that unarmed trading ships, as well as fishermen and tanners, should be respected as working for the common benefit of mankind, and never to be interrupted in their operations even by national enemies; but let those only fight with one another whose trade it is, and who are armed and paid for the purpose.

With great and sincere esteem, I am ever, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1878; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 465; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 70.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 4, 1780.

SIR: We learn from The Hague the 30th of May that their noble and grand mightinesses have resolved, since the offer of the commerce, to take for the equipment of the vessels of war put into commission a certain portion of the crews of merchant ships.

As I wish to inform Congress at some time or other of all the conspicuous characters in Europe who have penetrated enough of the system of events that compose the present great epoch, and have had sufficient firmness to resist the unnatural efforts and solicitations which Great Britain has made to disturb it, I think it is proper to take notice that the Count de Panin, who has been very ill of a chronical disorder, was on the 2d of May much better, and made his appearance at the court of St. Petersburgh. This minister, I fancy, will have great merit with posterity for the part he has acted for several years in the politics of Europe.

Extract from a letter from Cadiz, 2d of May:

The convoy under the escort of Messrs. de Thomasco and de Solano continued in sight all day the 28th of April; the 29th it went off with a fair wind, which continues to this time. We expect the division of Toulon in fifteen days. Then Don Gaston will go out with a squadron of twelve ships and all the French vessels which may be collected in Cadiz. If the thirteen vessels which are ready at Ferrol joins this commander his fleet will be very respectable, and will not fear that the enemy should oppose his junction with that of Brest.

Toulon, May 10.—The order which the king's ships the *Zélé* and the *Marseillois*, of seventy-four guns, have received unexpectedly to sail gives place to several conjectures. The most probable is that they are to join the division of French vessels which are in the Bay of Cadiz; and that after they shall be united they will go in concert with a Spanish squadron to Brest, to form a part of the fleet destined to cruise in the English channel. There have been taken up in our port several merchant vessels on account of the king, to the end to go and carry to Cadiz the provisions of the French division commanded by the Chevalier Beausset. It is confirmed that the *Experiment*, commanded by M. de Martelly Chautard, is arrived at Marseilles, to escort from thence, in concert with the frigate the *Graciente*, and the cutter the *Naiade* a considerable convoy of vessels bound for the islands in America.

Brest, May 15.—The convoy which was coming here from Bordeaux, to form the second division of the expedition under the command of Messrs. de Ternay and de Rochambeau, escaped the gale of wind by taking shelter in L'Orient. The *Magnanime*, which was coming here from Rochfort, having lost an anchor, was obliged to return thither.

Paris, May 25.—Letters from Cadiz, dated the 5th of this month, announce the departure of the French squadron, which was in the road, under the command of M. de Beausset. It was furnished with provisions for six months, and before it put to sea it took in more, for six weeks; it was to have sailed the 6th. We are absolutely ignorant of the object of his expedition. M. Beausset has dispatches, which he is not to open until he arrives at a certain latitude. This squadron, composed of five ships of the line and loaded with provisions for seven and a half months, is it bound to the Indies? We do not believe that it is. But to combine with M. de Ternay at a certain latitude? Some persons presume so. Others maintain that this squadron is to make part of the fleet of observation in the channel, and that the circumstance of seven and a half months' provision is a falsity which ought not to be believed.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 114.

They write from Rochfort that the *Invincible*, a new ship of one hundred and four guns, is actually in the road. The command of this vessel has been given to M. de la Cary.

The following article shows that some foreign merchants are enterprising a trade towards America:

Ostend, May 23.—The ship the *City of Brussels*, Captain Peter Voughen, of five hundred tons belonging to merchants of Brussels, who had loaded her for St. Eustatia, has had the misfortune to strike, the 20th of this month, in going out of the basin. In spite of the alacrity with which they labor to get her afloat and repair the damage she has sustained on the occasion, we think she can not again be put in a condition to proceed to her destination.

Leyden, May 30, 1780.—The convoy of troops which has arrived so apropos at Barbadoes, and from thence to St. Lucia, at the very instant that the Count de Guichen conducted to the Antilles a considerable re-enforcement for the French troops, is that which sailed from Portsmouth the 27th and from Plymouth the 30th of January, under convoy of the *Intrepid*, of sixty-four guns, with some frigates, and which was dispersed upon the coast of Ireland. An officer of the sixty-eighth regiment (one of the four regiments embarked upon this convoy) writes from Antigua the 19th of March: "We have been arrived here two days; we sailed from Plymouth the 30th of January, in concert with the eighty-seventh, ninetieth, and ninety-first regiments, under convoy of the *Intrepid*, of sixty-four guns. The next day we were separated from the convoy by a great storm, which lasted six days, and we saw nothing more of any vessel. Having no orders concerning our destination, as we were not to receive them till we had doubled Cape Lizard, we were in great pain concerning the part we should take. Commanding eighty soldiers on board this vessel, it fell to me to direct their route. I ordered the master to conduct us to the first of our West India islands, which we could gain, and in consequence we arrived here safe and sound. God knows what is become of the rest of the convoy; I hope that it will join us soon."

The following article I add from the Mercury of France of the 3d of June. I can not answer for the truth of it, nor do I know that it is false:

They write from London the 11th of May that a courier, dispatched from The Hague by Sir Joseph Yorke, had arrived with the following news: In consequence of the permission granted by the States-General for the passage of the recruits from Brunswick, Hesse, Haynau, etc., in the pay of Great Britain, through the territory of the republic, and for their embarkation in one of their ports, one ship of war and transports have sailed from England to take on board these recruits destined for the army in Canada. But scarcely were the troops and their baggage embarked when there arrived an order of the States-General to stop their departure. They attribute this conduct of the States-General to the formal demand which they have made upon Great Britain of the restitution of the Dutch vessels taken by Commodore Fielding. In consequence, the transports and recruits would remain in Holland until entire satisfaction should be given to the States-General upon this object.

Brussels, May 30.—The arrival of extraordinary couriers continually from Versailles and Madrid to Lisbon gives rise to conjectures that the good intelligence which reigns between this court and that of London may very well change in part, and that at least his most faithful majesty is not far from adopting the system of Holland and the northern powers, the effect of which must be the maintenance of the liberty of the navigation and of the commerce of their respective subjects against the continual depredations of privateers.

Paris, May 30.—We learn by letters from Ferrol that the intendant of the marine in that port had received orders to send out without delay eight ships of the line and four frigates, and to deliver them packets, which are sent him, not to be opened but

in a certain latitude. They write from Brest that they continue to work at the armament of the vessels intended for the fleet; there are several of them already in the road. The *Actif*, of seventy-four guns, came in on the 17th. They expected in that port the fleet from Bordeaux, loaded with stores, provisions, and wine. Their arrival is necessary to equip completely the squadron destined to transport a second division of troops of four or five thousand men. The convoy which sailed from St. Malo on Good Friday was still at Cherbourg. It is so much the more valuable, as it consists partly of cast cannons and other pieces of artillery, brought in wagons from the arsenals, for the descent which was to have been made last year. The English, who know its value, do not lose sight of it, as they say; and it is said if they were not restrained by a calculation of the expense they would bombard Cherbourg, if they could not come at the vessels in port to burn them. It is believed that a few ships of the line may soon go out of Brest to give chase to the English and scatter them from Cherbourg.

London, May 20.—The despatches which the court has received from its ministers in the northern courts confirm the plan of confederation of the powers of this part of Europe to protect the commerce of their subjects against the attacks of the belligerent powers, and we can not dissemble that more moderation on our part would have hindered this event, which is about to strike the last blow to our maritime supremacy, and snatch from us forever the empire of the seas, which are about to become again free, as they ought to be.

Cadiz, May 5.—The fleet which sailed from this port the 28th of last month has been met in the latitude of Lagos by a vessel which arrived yesterday. Since that time the progress of it has not been retarded. The wind is changed, and is favorable. It is composed of twelve ships of the line, five frigates, seven privateers armed by the trade, sixty-four transport vessels, with twelve thousand land forces, artillery, and warlike stores, and fifty-nine merchant vessels, three of which are French and three American. There remain in this port fifteen ships of the line, whereof ten are ready to go to sea; the five others will be immediately. There are eight at Corunna, five frigates and one cutter, in condition to sail at the first orders. The convoy which sailed from Brest on the 14th is arrived there with the frigate the *Leocadia*. We have seen come to anchor in this bay the flag of truce the *Sartine*, which brings from the Indies M. de Bellecombe, formerly governor of Pondicherry, and the other officers. This vessel, being off St. Vincent, had the misfortune to meet the squadron of Commodore Johnstone. He made the signals of a flag of truce, and seeking to fly, when, in contempt of the law of nations, Commodore Johnstone, who was in the *Romney*, sent him two broadsides, which killed and wounded twenty-five persons on board the *Sartine*. The captain and two officers are in the number of the slain. They expected so little such an attack, that the people were all upon the tillace, and one bullet fell dead at the feet of M. de Bellecombe. Johnstone, knowing his error, or at least pretending to have been mistaken, ceased firing, and wrote a letter of excuse. One would think he should not come off so easily, and that his nation should not even content herself to disavow his conduct.

M. de Beausset set sail yesterday with his five vessels; he goes to cruise in the latitude of Lisbon, and he may very well combine himself with the seven vessels which were to go out of Ferrol. It is believed he will return here as soon as the squadron of Toulon shall arrive.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Report of a Committee of Congress respecting Communications from the French Minister.*

IN CONGRESS, *June* 5, 1780.

The committee appointed to receive the communications of his excellency the minister of France, relating to supplies for the forces of his most Christian majesty and on other matters, beg leave to report that, in a conference had on the 3d of the present month, the minister was pleased to make the following communications, viz:

That M. de Corney, commissary of the troops of his most Christian majesty, had orders to purchase a number of horses and to purchase or hire a number of teams in the States where they could be most conveniently procured for the use of the forces of his most Christian majesty that should arrive to co-operate with the forces of these United States.

That M. de Corney had also orders to endeavor to procure in the several States where it should be found most convenient provisions for the forces above mentioned in such manner as should least interfere with the purchaser of the States or agents of Congress, and as should be best adapted to support and establish the credit of the paper currency. That M. de Corney would apply to the supreme executive powers of the several States in which the purchases were to be made for their advice and aid in the matter.

To obtain which the minister wished for the approbation of Congress, and that, if they should think fit, letters might be written by the President to the supreme executive powers of the several States, requesting their advice and aid to M. de Corney in procuring those supplies.

That M. de Corney had received £7,000 of the bills lately emitted by the State of Pennsylvania to use for the purposes above mentioned, and would in his negotiation avail himself of all opportunities for contributing to the utmost of his power for establishing the currency of the public bills of credit.

That it would be necessary to give the said forces of his most Christian majesty the option of receiving their pay in specie, from their unacquaintedness with paper money in general, and ignorance of the language in which the bills of these United States are struck.

Which circumstance the minister thought proper to suggest, that Congress might take any measures they should judge necessary to prevent uneasiness arising therefrom to the troops of these United States, who might receive their pay in a different manner.

That to prevent loss happening to any of the citizens of these United States from receiving from the troops of his most Christian majesty any small coins they may be possessed of that shall be below the standard alloy, the same will be exchanged for other coins by persons that shall receive orders therefor.

The minister desired to be informed of the mode of intelligence Congress would rely on to give them immediate notice of the arrival of the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 689.

forces from France and for keeping up a constant communication after their arrival, and again repeated his wishes that nothing might be left unprovided for that could promise despatch to their operations and render them most extensively useful to these United States.

The minister also wished to recommend to the consideration of Congress M. Louis Ethis de Corney, provincial commissary of the troops in the service of his most Christian majesty, for the honor of a brevet commission of lieutenant-colonel, which title his office has given him in the French service. M. de Corney desired not command or pay, but was ambitious to deserve a mark of honor from these United States from which benefits might result to him hereafter.

Upon the foregoing information your committee beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress the following resolutions:

That a brevet commission of lieutenant-colonel be granted to M. Louis Ethis de Corney.

That Monsieur de Corney be furnished with letters from the President to the supreme executive powers of the several States, or to such of them as M. de Corney shall apply for, requesting their advice and aid to him in procuring provisions and other necessaries for the forces of his most Christian majesty expected to arrive in these United States, in such manner as will best avoid a competition of purchases for the use above mentioned and those for the use of the troops of these United States.

That the minister of France be informed that it is the opinion of Congress that the public service will be best promoted by having the same currency made use of, so far as may be, to procure supplies for the forces of his most Christian majesty as for those of these United States.

That the governors of the States of Virginia and Maryland be requested immediately to engage trusty persons in those States respectively, at proper distances from each other, on the main road from Cape Henry in Virginia to Philadelphia, to hold themselves in readiness should the French fleet be discovered off that Cape or the adjacent coast, to forward intelligence thereof, and any despatches that may be received from them to Congress, in the most expeditious manner.

Washington to Luzerne.*

MORRISTOWN, *June* 5, 1780.

SIR: My time has been so entirely engrossed in the preliminary arrangements of immediate necessity towards the intended co-operation that I have not been able till now to do myself the honor to thank your excellency for your letter of the 21st of May. We have too many proofs of the general zeal of your countrymen in the cause of America not to

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 689.

be entirely convinced of it, and to feel all that the most grateful sensibility can inspire.

I am happy in believing that the troops and citizens of these States will eagerly embrace every opportunity to manifest their affection to the troops and citizens of your nation, as well as their gratitude and veneration to a prince from whom they had received the most important benefits. Penetrated with a sense of these, I shall think it my duty to cultivate correspondent sentiments as far as my influence extends.

The Marquis de la Fayette has given me an account of all your excellency has done for the advancement of the combined operations. It will no doubt contribute essentially to their success, and gives you a claim to the acknowledgments of the two countries.

I am too sensible of the value of the permission you gave me to solicit your aid in everything in which you can continue to afford us your good offices not to make use of it as frequently as possible. I begin by entreating you to favor me with your advice with the greatest freedom on whatever occurs to you interesting to our affairs at this period.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 5, 1780.

SIR: The fleets of Graves and Walsingham are real objects of humor. All Europe was amused with Walsingham's squadron, and assured that it was to sail as long ago as last January or February. There has scarcely a newspaper appeared in Europe since that time but has had some article respecting it, all tending to show that it was ready, or nearly ready, to sail. This is in order to keep up the spirits of friends and at the same time play upon the fears of enemies. The last *Courier de l'Europe* has the following article:

Torbay, May 20.—Although the winds had been favorable for ten days past, Walsingham's fleet could not have taken advantage of them, the commodore having received on the 10th orders from the admiralty to wait for the rest of the transports bound to Quebec and the East India ships which now lie at Portsmouth. He will escort them, without altering his course, as far as Madeira.

Plymouth, May 9—The squadron of Admiral Graves sailed from hence this morning is destined for Jamaica. It consists of four ships of the line, two frigates, and transports, having on board three thousand land forces. This fleet is the re-enforcement which the armament which was in preparation at Jamaica for an expedition waited for the 9th of April last, when the packet-boat sailed. The passage of such a fleet can not take less than two months; so that it can not arrive at Jamaica until the end of July. Never was there such confusion and timidity and irresolution and unsteadiness in the naval and maritime affairs of England. Witness the following paragraph:

Portsmouth, May 22.—The following vessels of war had come to sail with their respective convoys, but they have returned here again: The *Endymion*, of forty-four guns,

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* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 119.

Captain Cartaret; the *Beaver's Prize*, of sixteen, Captain Drummond; and the *Zephyr* of fourteen, Captain Inglis, for the coast of Guinea. The frigate *Aurora* for Plymouth, the sloops *Swallow* and *Wasp*.

May 25.—It is said the regiment of Colonel Rainsford passed through London to go to Portsmouth destined to Jamaica. It will be escorted out of the channel by the grand fleet, then it will make a common course up to a certain latitude with the fleet destined for the East Indies.

Petersburgh, May 9.—Our fleet destined to maintain the neutrality at sea is ready to sail from Cronstadt. They say that, after having passed the sound, it will clear off all cruisers whatsoever not only in the Baltic Sea, but those which are in the neighborhood of Norway, as far as Archangel. The report prevails even that we shall equip immediately a second squadron, destined to re-enforce the first.

Hague, May 31.—The corn merchants living in Amsterdam presented last Friday two petitions, the first of which is of the following tenor:

To their high mightinesses our lords the States General of the United Provinces:

"The subscribing merchants, trading chiefly in grain at the exchange of the corn merchants of the city of Amsterdam, respectfully make known that the scarcity of grain among foreigners having been the cause that they have been charged for some time, and from all parts, with very considerable commissions for sending off theirs, which can not but give a new activity to this important branch of commerce; the difficulties which in the present situation of affairs embarrass navigation have raised the price of freight to such a degree that several masters of ships have entirely refused to navigate towards the south, considering that they could not expose themselves to execute the commissions of the said merchants in grain without running the risk of being seized and taken, which became extremely prejudicial to the corn, which is liable to take hurt and corrupt; from whence it must necessarily result, that for want of sales the petitioners see themselves on one hand deprived of a reasonable profit, and on the other find themselves forced to keep their grain in their magazines for a longer space of time, while, moreover, the importation by the Baltic, which diminishes by this means considerably, can not fail also to give to this branch of commerce, so interesting for the republic a most sensible blow, to the great prejudice of the petitioners as well as to the agriculture of these provinces, the advantage of which increases in proportion to the augmentation of the export of corn.

For these causes the petitioners address themselves in all humanity to your high mightinesses, respectfully praying that, according to your known wisdom and foresight, it may please your high mightinesses to grant them a remedy, and grant them a protection as prompt as convenient to commerce and to the navigation of the petitioners, to the end that their vessels loaded with corn may, without any impediment, make sail toward all places that are free. The petitioners, on their part, will be zealous to second vigorously all the measures which in this respect your high mightinesses may judge convenient and necessary."

The second of the petitions contains as follows:

To their noble and grand mightinesses our lords the States of the Province of Holland and of West Friesland:

"The undersigned, merchants, dealing chiefly in grain at the exchange of the corn merchants of the city of Amsterdam, give respectfully to understand, that to the end to preserve and maintain this branch of commerce, so important for them, they had found it of the last necessity to address themselves, by the way of a petition, to their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, tending to request a prompt, convenient, and sufficient protection in favor of their navigation, for the reasons more fully particularized in the said petition, of which they take the liberty to annex a copy, humbly requesting your noble and grand mightinesses to cast a propitious eye upon the address of the petitioners, and to be so good as to favor it with your powerful protection, that they may be at length remedied against the un-

just vexations and the ruinous seizure of their ships, and against all the shackles which have been put upon their commerce, while the petitioners, on their part, offer to concur with all their hearts and with zeal in all convenient measures which in this respect your noble and grand mightinesses shall judge to be necessary to come at the end proposed."

Hamburg, May 26.—They write from Stockholm that the court of Sweden had positively accepted the plan of an armed neutrality proposed by Russia, and given orders to equip six more ships of the line, so that at present the naval forces of Sweden, like those of Denmark, consist in ten ships of the line and six frigates, whereof six ships of the line are ready to make sail from the port of Carlscroon.

We learn from the Sound that, the 21st of this month the English ship the *Chatham*, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain G. Altan, was arrived there, as well as the frigates the *Siren*, the *Lizard*, and the *Lynx*, under the command of the captains Dodde, Parry, and Britton, of twenty-four and twenty guns. The cutters the *Bussy*, Captain Coaths, of twelve guns, and the *Frederick*, C. Pasechall, of eight. These two last have sustained in the North Sea a brisk action with two French cutters, one of which was named the *Alexander*, of fourteen guns, which they have conducted to the Sound. It is not known what is become of the other prize, which they think is sunk or carried to Norway.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *June* 5, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The gentleman whose name you wished to know, in one of your late letters, is *M. Westhuysen échevin et conseiller de la ville de Harlem.* I shall probably send an order to that place for some of the types of which you have sent me the prices *before I leave Europe.* I think them very good, and not dear.

A Dutch ship, belonging to Messrs. Littledale & Co., of Rotterdam, being brought into France as having an English cargo on board, I have followed your opinion with regard to the condemnation of the cargo, which I think the more right, as the English have in the West Indies confiscated several of our cargoes found in Dutch ships. But, to show respect to the declaration of the Empress of Russia, I have written to the owners of our privateers a letter, of which I enclose a copy, together with a copy of the judgment, for your use, if you hear of any complaint. I approve much of the principles of the confederacy of the neutral powers, and am not only for respecting the ships as the house of a friend, though containing the goods of an enemy, but I even wish, for the sake of humanity, that the law of nations may be further improved by determining that, even in time of war, all those kinds of people who are employed in procuring subsistence for the species, or in exchanging the necessaries or conveniences of life which are for the common benefit of mankind—such as husbandmen on their lands, fishermen in their

* Franklin Letter Book, Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 108, with verbal changes; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 466.

barks, and traders in unarmed vessels—shall be permitted to prosecute their several innocent and useful employments without interruption or molestation, and nothing taken from them even when wanted by an enemy, but on paying a fair price for the same.

I think you have done well to print the letter of Clinton;* for, though I have myself had suspicions whether some parts of it were really written by him, yet I have no doubt of the facts stated, and think the piece valuable, as giving a true account of the state of British and American affairs in that quarter. On the whole, it has the appearance of a letter written by a general who did not approve of the expedition he was sent upon; who had no opinion of the judgment of those who drew up his instructions; who had observed that the preceding commanders—Gage, Burgoyne, Keppel, and the Howes—had all been censured by the ministers for having unsuccessfully attempted to execute injudicious instructions with unequal force; and he therefore wrote such a letter not merely to give the information contained in it, but to be produced in his vindication when he might be recalled, and his want of success charged upon him as a crime; though in truth, owing to the

* General Sir Henry Clinton, born in 1738, was the son of Admiral George Clinton, who was governor of New York from 1741 to 1754, and was the grandson of Francis Earl of Lincoln, and therefore closely related to the family of the ducal house of Newcastle. General Clinton began his military service in New York when his father was governor. He served in Europe during the seven years' war; became major-general in 1772; took command in Boston in May, 1775, and had general command at the battle of Bunker's Hill, where he so greatly distinguished himself that he was made a local lieutenant-general in September, 1775, and a local general in January, 1776. In the last year he was sent to America again with re-enforcements, and a commission to act as second in command to Sir William Howe. He reached Staten Island with three thousand men in August, 1776, and played so great a part in the battle of Long Island, on 16th August, and in the capture of New York on 15th September, that he was promoted lieutenant-general and made a knight of the Bath in the following year. Sir William Howe returned to England in May, 1778, and Clinton became commander-in-chief of the forces in North America. He at once evacuated Philadelphia and concentrated at New York, and pursued a policy of sending out predatory expeditions and not attempting military operations. These were all successful, and one expedition, in May, 1779, under Major-General Mathew, alone destroyed property worth £300,000 on the Chesapeake River. But Clinton was not happy; Lord Cornwallis, his second in command, held a dormant commission to succeed him, a circumstance which always arouses distrust, and he would form large military plans, which were repugnant to the instincts of Clinton, and which he knew he had not sufficient force to carry into execution. However, in December, 1779, he agreed to go to the southern States, and in January, 1780, he took Charleston, in conjunction with Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot, with six thousand prisoners and four hundred guns, with a loss to his own army of only seventy-nine killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Clinton then returned to New York and left Cornwallis to operate in the south, and the younger general in 1781 made the famous march which ended in the capitulation of Yorktown, and the final loss of the American Colonies. (H. M. Stephens in Leslie Stephens' Dict. of Biog.) He resigned his command in 1781, and on his return was cordially received at court, and in 1794 was appointed governor of Gibraltar, at which post he died in December, 1795.—See *infra*, Adams to Dumas, June 6, 1780.

folly of the ministers who had ordered him on impracticable projects, and persisted in them, notwithstanding his faithful informations, without furnishing the necessary number of troops he had demanded. In this view much of the letter may be accounted for without supposing it fictitious; and therefore, if not genuine, it is ingeniously written. But you will easily conceive that, if the state of public facts it contains were known in America to be false, such a publication there would have been absurd, and of no possible use to the cause of the country.

I have written to M. Neufville concerning the bills you mention. I have no orders or advice about them, know nothing of them, and therefore can not prudently meddle with them; especially as the funds in my power are not more than sufficient to answer the Congress bills for interest and other inevitable demands. He desired to know whether I would engage to reimburse him if he should accept and pay them; but as I know not the amount of them, I can not enter into any such engagement; for though, if they are genuine Congress bills, I am persuaded all possible care will be taken by Congress to provide for their punctual payment, yet there are so many accidents, by which remittances are delayed or intercepted in the time of war, that I dare not hazard for these new bills the possibility of being rendered unable to pay the others.

With great esteem, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Adams to Dumas.*

PARIS, *June* 6, 1780.

SIR: I thank you for your letter in answer to mine of the 21st of May, and for your kind congratulations on my arrival here.

Mr. Brown, with whom you took your walks in the neighborhood of Paris, has been gone from home some weeks on his way hence. I should have had much pleasure if I had been one of the party. I have rambled in most of the scenes round this city and find them very pleasant, but much more indebted to art than to nature. Philadelphia, in the purlieus of which, as well as those of Baltimore and Yorktown, I have often sought health and pleasure in the same way in company with our venerable secretary, Charles Thomson, will in future time, when the arts shall have established their empire in the New World, become much more striking. But Boston above all, around which I have much oftener wandered in company with another venerable character little known in Europe, but to whose virtues and public merits in the cause of mankind history will do justice, will one day present scenes of grandeur and beauty superior to any other place I have yet seen.

The letter of General Clinton, when I transmitted it to you, was not

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 304.

suspected to be an imposition. There are some circumstances which are sufficient to raise a question, but I think none of them are conclusive, and upon the whole I have little doubt of its authenticity. I shall be much mortified if it proves a fiction, not on account of the importance of the letter, but the stain that a practice so disingenuous will bring upon America. When I first left America such a fiction, with all its ingenuity, would have ruined the reputation of the author of it if discovered, and I think that both he and the printer would have been punished. With all the freedom of our presses, I really think that not only the government but the populace would have resented it. I have had opportunities of an extensive acquaintance with the Americans, and I must say, in justice to my countrymen, that I know not a man that I think capable of a forgery at once so able and so base. Truth is indeed respected in America, and so gross an affront to her I hope will not, and I think can not, go unpunished.

Whether it is genuine or not, I have no doubt of the truth of the facts, in general; and I have reasons to believe that if the secret correspondence of Bernard, Hutchinson, Gage, Howe, and Clinton could all be brought to light the world would be equally surprised at the whole thread of it. The British administration and their servants have carried toward us from the beginning a system of duplicity in the conduct of American affairs that will appear infamous to the public whenever it shall be known.

You have seen Rodney's account of the battle of the 17th of April. The scepter of the ocean is not to be maintained by such actions as this, and Byron's and Keppel's. They must make themselves more terrible upon the ocean to preserve its dominion. Their empire is founded only in fear—no nation loves it. We have no news.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Landais.*

PASSY, *June* 7, 1780.

SIR: I received yours of the 29th past, and after the manner in which you quitted the ship, my clear and positive refusal of replacing you, contained in mine of March the 12th and my furnishing you with a considerable sum to enable you to go to America for a trial, I am surprised to find you at L'Orient, when I thought you had long since been on your voyage, and to be told that "you had been waiting ever since your arrival there for my orders to retake the command of the *Alliance*," when I had never before heard of your being there or giving you the least expectation of the kind. The whole affair between us will be laid before our superiors, who will judge justly of the consistency and pro-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 76.

priety of your conduct and of mine. I waive, therefore, any further dispute with you. But I charge you not to meddle with the command of the *Alliance*, or create any disturbances on board her, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

I am, sir, yours, etc.

Report of a Committee of Congress respecting a Conference with the French Minister.*

IN CONGRESS, *June* 7, 1780.

The committee appointed to confer with the minister of France on the mode of obtaining supplies for the forces of his most Christian majesty and on other matters, report:

That the minister of France has communicated to your committee that, as M. de Corney, commissary of the troops of his most Christian majesty, will go into the State of Connecticut to procure some supplies, it would be convenient for him to receive there an advance of money from these United States, either in Continental bills or the bills of that State, to be replaced in specie on the arrival of the fleet from France, and the minister engages that the moneys which shall be so advanced by these United States to M. de Corney, shall be replaced in specie as above mentioned.

Upon which communication your committee beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress the following resolution, viz:

That the Governor of the State of Connecticut be, and he hereby is, authorized to receive, on account of these United States, out of the moneys raised by that State more than sufficient to discharge the drafts heretofore made by Congress and to comply with the requisition of Congress of the 20th of last month, or out of the bills that shall be completed and lodged in the Continental loan office in that State for the use of the United States, pursuant to a resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last, $1,200,000 of the bills now in circulation, or $30,000 of the bills last mentioned, or a proportion of each, on the application of M. de Corney, commissary of the troops in the service of his most Christian majesty, and advance the same to him, taking his receipt therefor, to replace the same in specie in the treasury of these United States when required by Congress; said receipts to be transmitted to the treasury board as soon as may be.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 692.

Neufville & Son to Jay.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 8, 1780.

May it please your excellency that, in conformity with what we have informed you, we had engaged for the acceptance of some of the bills drawn on Henry Laurens, commissioner for the United States of North America residing in Amsterdam, since nothing being heard again [sic] we accepted those on the first instant by absence, and we hope your excellency, as well as Dr. Franklin, may approve of our proceeding, and of the method we have proposed for our reimbursement in case Mr. Laurens may not appear, or that they should not be provided for in time. Certain it is that those bills should be honored for the credit of America. At the same time it is not in the power of a mercantile house to stand for the whole; and the measure proposed may make it easy, since the sums will not be so large but that they may be easily provided for in Spain and France by the plenipotentiary ministers. And for ourselves we only want to be properly empowered to draw again for any sums we may accept. As there was no time to get the matter previously adjusted, we will go on and see how our plan may be agreed to and approved of.

We have the honor to be always, with the most devoted regard, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *June* 10, 1780.

SIR: We read, under the head of Hamburg, of the 20th of May, that the project of a confederation, armed for the maintenance of the navigation of the neutral powers, appears every day to assume more consistency. The fleet armed in Russia for the protection of her neutrality and of her commerce is composed of fifteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a large number of smaller vessels. Their orders are to sweep not only the Baltic Sea but the Swedish Sea and the neighborhood of Archangel of all the corsairs of the belligerent powers. They assure us at the same time that orders are given to equip at Revel and at Archangel a second fleet of twenty ships of the line; Sweden arms ten and six frigates. She will send out at first but four of the former; the six others will remain at Carlscroon, but in a condition to sail at the first signal. They are busy in Denmark in arming a like number. They assure us even that there are orders to augment it.

The opinion the most general is that the powers which are to enter into the armed neutrality will confine themselves at first to make their

* MSS. Dep. of State 4 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 209, with variations and omissions.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 122.

navigation to be respected, and will not appear as mediators but when they shall see that the fate of arms shall make the balance incline too much to one side to the disadvantage of the other. It will be then that they will intervene for a re-establishment of the equilibrium by moderating the too excessive pretensions of some, and by repairing the losses which the misfortune, the negligence, or the unskillfulness of others shall have occasioned them. One does not know which we ought to admire most, the immutability of the English in the midst of all the movements which they excite, or the movements themselves, which they are no doubt themselves astonished to have excited. This recalls the saying of an Englishman, who, seeing a magnificent chapel built for the accomplishment of a vow made in the midst of a battle, cried, "When the emperor made this great vow he had great fear." Is it not astonishing that the most formidable maritime powers of Europe should have believed their rights so much in danger as to make it their duty to confederate against the arbitrary pretensions of England? It would be much more astonishing if she should be able to realize them; but this is not to be presumed.

Under the head of Italy, Genoa, the 10th of May, we read:

They write from Trieste that they are actively employed there in arming a company of commerce for the East Indies. The grant (charter, patent, octroi) is very soon to appear in print, that every one may have shares in it and have a part in the advantages that shall result from it. As it is of importance to our court that the productions of the country should be transported to foreigners, this company will obtain all the privileges necessary to put it upon a flourishing footing. They are taking all possible measures that the funds advanced should produce to the proprietors a considerable interest. Austria proposes to observe the most exact neutrality with all the maritime powers and to form alliances with the states of Barbary. In the mean time, that we may have nothing to fear from these last, our vessels will be partly armed for war and partly loaded with merchandises.

A sensible letter from London (real or fictitious, I know not) says:

The armed neutrality engages still the attention of our court. We do not cease to dread here that it will have melancholy consequences. If some persons flatter themselves that it may lead to peace, others think that we can not make an advantageous one. France and Spain appear determined not to lay down their arms until they shall have taken away from us the empire of the seas and rendered commerce and navigation free. We are not ignorant that the wish of Europe is in their favor, and the armed neutrality has sufficiently demonstrated it. Our ministry, well convinced that it is upon a superiority at sea that depends the safety of our posessions in the four quarters of the world, will neglect nothing to preserve it. But it is at least necessary that, by a prudent conduct toward the neutral powers, we should engage them to permit us to enjoy it. The part which we act can not but alienate them. Far from retracting, we go directly on.

According to the account of the officers arrived in the cartel ship the *Sartine*, the squadron of Admiral Hughes, in its passage from Europe to the Cape of Good Hope, has suffered considerable losses, which have very much diminished it. They are persuaded that it has not suffered less in its route to the Indies, during which it has had constantly contrary winds, and that it has been scarcely able to land in Asia a number

of troops sufficient to put the English forces there in the condition they were in before the war. Admiral Hughes had said to the governor of the cape that his orders were to go and attack Manilla. But it is most probable that, at his arrival at Madras, he found himself in an impossibility of undertaking anything this year. He has not a sufficient number of troops with him, and far from being able to take any in India, those already there are sufficiently occupied with the chiefs of the country, and have occasion for re-enforcements. Nadgiskan, general of the Emperor of Mogul, threatens them in Bengal. The Marattas disturb them at Bombay; and Hyder Aly Khan upon the coast of Coromandel. The English, troubled in their own possessions, have more cause to think of preserving them than of attempting elsewhere expeditions that would weaken them.

The last letters from the gold coast of Africa contain the following details:

One of our outforts, called Succondée, has been attacked some time since by a French frigate, of forty guns. She cast anchor in the bay within cannon shot of the fort, which was falling in ruins, defended solely by some pieces of artillery almost out of a condition for service, and in which was a garrison of four men, to wit, the commandant, one sergeant, and two soldiers, which in such a condition could not make a long resistance. Nevertheless, before they surrendered they killed six Frenchmen and wounded twelve. The sergeant of the fort was killed; and the commandant, seeing that the enemy had effected their landing with two hundred men, saved himself by retreating back into the country. The French have derived neither honor nor profit from the expedition; they have found nothing but the effects of the commandant, valued at £800 sterling, which they destroyed. The fort contained nothing valuable. They spiked the cannon, which they found upon carriages, and broke off the trunnions; after which they went off without attempting anything against the other forts. The same letters add that the governor of Cape Coast Castle, and those of the other forts, were preparing to quit a service in which they could not long remain, the company having stopped the arrearages which were due to them, as well as to those in general who have been employed since the month of December, 1778, and having refused to reimburse them the sums which they have advanced out of their pockets for the maintenance of the forts of the government, and which amount to half of their private fortunes. By a conduct so unjust, and without example, the principal officers find themselves ruined, and the inferior officers and soldiers are dying with hunger. There was scarcely an English vessel upon the coast, and the price of all the necessaries of life were raised more than a hundred per hundred. What defense could be made by people in such a situation if attacked by the French, who burn with a desire of forming an establishment upon that coast.

The losses in Africa are considerable, and the English are threatened with more considerable in India, where the natives of the country begin to be weary of the vexation of foreigners, who come from Europe to subject them to the yoke. The Emperor of Mogul threatens them in Bengal, the Marattas at Bombay, and the famous Hyder Aly upon the coast of Coromandel, and the domestic troubles which have arisen in the bosom of their establishments may put them out of a condition to defend them. All Europe prays for the liberty of the seas, and waits with impatience the effects of the union of the maritime powers, which

must put a bridle upon the violent and arbitrary proceedings of the English.

On the 18th and 19th of May there were warm debates in the House of Commons of Ireland, where the patriotic party carried a duty of 12 shillings per quintal on sugars imported from England. On the 22d it was resolved by an hundred and forty voices against eighteen that a bill should be brought in for the punishment of mutiny and desertion and to establish better regulations for the land forces. This is a decisive measure, and if it is admitted, it concedes the principle that the British Parliament has no authority over Ireland.

Hague. June 4.—M. de Nowicoff, secretary of the Prince de Gallitzin, envoy extraordinary of the Empress of Russia, being returned here the 1st of this month at night from Petersburgh, where he has been as express some weeks ago, the Prince de Gallitzin had the next day a conference with some members of government. A second express, sent to Petersburgh by the same minister about the middle of April, returned last night. We flatter ourselves that the despatches which they bring will contribute to accelerate the execution of the project of an armed neutrality, for which her Imperial majesty continues to testify the most favorable dispositions, provided that the other neutral powers act readily in concert with her.

The merchants of Dort and Rotterdam have followed the example of those of Amsterdam, by presenting on the 2d a petition to the States-General to the end to supplicate them to hasten the equipment of the vessels which it has been resolved to arm, and to give to commerce the effectual enjoyment of the protection of the state. According to the ordinance projected to accelerate this equipment, "no merchant vessel belonging to the subjects of the republic can put to sea without voluntarily delivering to the college of the admiralty at least the third man of her crew, under penalty of 600 florins per head upon the captains and freighters of the vessel, which shall attempt to go out without having made the said delivery." It will not, however, take place but twice a year, viz, the two first voyages which a vessel shall make; and from this will be excepted those upon which there shall be but two men besides the master, the vessels employed in the different fisheries, the ships of the East India Company, and those of the West Indies; in fine, the foreign vessels manned with crews of their own nation, etc.

April 21, 1780.—It happened that the French privateer the *Spring*, commanded by Capt. John Huë, and mounted with four guns, which had anchored in the road of Helvoetsluys, put to sea in company with some Dutch vessels bound to the Greenland fishery. Three Scotch coal vessels put to sea at the same time, and soon after two others, somewhat larger. The three largest having come just opposite the point of Westland, the French privateer, which was not at a distance of more than four yards from the shore, opposite the Cape of the Isle of Goree, wore round to return into port; the three coal vessels, perceiving it, made the same maneuver, and bore down upon the French privateer, upon which the latter, approaching nearer and nearer the coast, and passing along very near it under the city of Goree, to enter into the port, they began to fire upon him with ball, and they continued to cannonade him incessantly, although this little vessel, which in truth carried French colors, did not answer them with more than one gun. They pursued him quite up to the lighthouse of Goree only at the distance of about six yards (I suppose ship's yards) west of the place, where they forced her to run ashore. The vessel was there stopped upon the sand, and the crew, crawling along upon the bowsprit in the sea, saved themselves at land. Meantime the three coalmen did not cease to fire upon the little privateer, without regarding even a large number of workmen who were about their business on shore; so that the bullets passed through the midst of these people and just over their heads, and they were very happy to run off and save themselves in

the Downs. The three coalmen, not content to have pushed thus far their enterprise, continued not only to fire upon the privateer stopped in the sand without any crew, but in fine they came to anchor at the distance of about forty yards from this vessel, while the two smaller coalmen were come out of the Bay of Helvoetsluys, and were under sail near and round it, firing upon it until noon, when the tide began to set afloat the privateer which had been stopped for two hours. Then the English went on board with their boats, took down the French flag, took the vessel off the shore, and attached her, broadside and broadside, to the largest of the coalmen. They took away from her many effects, under the eyes of the Dutch coasting pilots, who, having asked in English what was their design in regard to the privateer, and having cautioned them to take care what they did, the captain of the largest of the coalmen answered, "We will take her—we are also privateers."

Their noble and grand mightinesses the States of Holland and West Friesland, after having stated these circumstances to the States-General, have adopted in their report—"That they considered this excessive audacity of the English or Scotch coalmen as a manifest and voluntary violation of the territory of the republic, accompanied with circumstances the most aggravated, as having been committed in going out of a harbor of this country, and in a place where it could not be doubtful that they were within reach of the cannon of the shore, since their own balls reached the land without the least provocation from the French privateer, which did not fire a single gun; so that this action of the coalmen has had no other cause than a premeditated hostility, whilst there was not the least reason to fear that the privateer, after having got to sea, would interrupt one of them, considering that the attack was begun on their part in the very moment when the privateer had tacked about to quit the open sea and return into port, besides that he was pursued for two hours after that he was indubitably aground upon the shore, and that the enterprise was finished by taking away the French privateer from the Dutch shore, contrary to the exhortation and warnings of the coasting pilots. That in the judgment of their noble and grand mightinesses the States-General had not only a right to complain of the insolence so excessive on the part of the English or Scotch masters, which their high mightinesses admit into the ports of the republic, but that they can not even suffer them without wounding the neutrality which they have embraced in the present troubles, and without prejudicing the dignity, the sovereignty, and the independence of the state; and having been under obligation effectually to have opposed and hindered them even by force, if they could have been informed in time of these violences, they can not excuse themselves from demanding, in a manner the most serious, the vessel which was taken, and from demanding from his Britannic majesty a suitable satisfaction for this conduct of his subjects."

After this report the States-General have resolved, the 13th of May, "That advice of these facts should be sent to the Count de Welderen, envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary of their high mightinesses at the British court, by sending him copies of the depositions, joined to the letter of the receiver-general of the customs of their noble and grand mightinesses in the country of Voorne, dated the 4th day of May last, by which he has informed of the facts the lords the deputy counselors of Holland, as the said depositions are annexed to the letter which the said counselors have addressed to their noble and grand mightinesses the 5th of the same month concerning this affair; and at the same time the Count de Welderen should be instructed to give notice, in the manner that he shall judge the most convenient and the most effectual, of the said insolences committed by the masters of the English or Scotch coal vessels, and to complain, in the name of their high mightinesses, of a violation so incontestable of their territory and of the law of nations, by the way of open force, that their high mightinesses can not think that his Britannic majesty can or will suffer that his subjects should allow themselves in such excesses; that, in consequence, the Count de Welderen should demand a suitable satisfaction; that the masters of the coal vessels should undergo a correction, and that the French vessel taken should be brought back to the place from whence she has been taken, or at

east that she should be restored to their high mightinesses, to the end that they may ispose of her in the manner they shall judge proper; and that the damages caused o this vessel directly upon the territory of their high mightinesses, where she ought o have enjoyed the same safety as the coal vessels in the road of Helvoetsluys and hrough all the extent of the territory of their high mightinesses, should be made ood."

The English frigate the *Ambuscade*, Captain Phipps, has taken, on he 24th of April last, in the Bay of Biscay, four Dutch ships, which ave made some resistance, so that there were some men killed and ounded on both sides. One of the Dutch captains was killed. They ere bound, it is said, from Helvoetsluys to Spain. They have been arried into Plymouth, where arrived at the same time a Spanish igate of thirty guns, taken, they say, by the English frigate the *Medea*, off the port of Brest, where she was going with despatches from he court of Madrid relative to the junction of the French and Spanish eets. This is not likely, since the despatches go by land from court to ourt.

I shall finish this tedious letter by enclosing a letter from the Count 'Urre Molans, proposing to raise some horse at the expense of himself nd his officers. I promised to enclose it to Congress, which was all I ould do. But I hope, before an answer can come the American States ill have no more occasion for cavalry.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 12, 1780.

SIR: The following is given in the public papers as a copy of the bill roposed by Governor Pownal, on the 24th of May, for putting Great ritain in a situation for making peace with America:

In order to remove all doubts or disabilities which may prevent, obstruct, or delay he happy work of peace, may it please your majesty that it may be declared and nacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, etc.,

That his majesty is empowered to make a convention or truce, or to conclude a eace, with the inhabitants of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and rovidence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the hree Delaware Counties, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, n North America, convened in Congress, or in any other assembly or assemblies, or ith any person or persons authorized to act for and in behalf of the same, in such orm and manner as he, by virtue of the prerogative of his crown, hath power to do n all other cases, and on such terms and conditions as in the course of events shall ecome convenient and necessary for the honor and welfare of his majesty and his eople. And in order thereto, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from nd after the passing of this act it shall and may be lawful for his majesty to ap- oint such person or persons (subjects of Great Britain) as his majesty in his wisdom hall think fit, and fully to authorize and empower the same to treat, consult, and gree with the said Americans, or with any part of them, or with any person or per-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 133.

sons acting for and in their behalf to the said purpose of convention, truce, or peace. And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act it shall and may be lawful for his majesty to grant safe conduct to any such person or persons whatsoever as his majesty shall see cause and judge proper to receive on the ground of treaty for such convention, truce, or peace in like manner as he is by divers ancient statutes empowered to do in the cases therein specified.

On the 19th of May, at a meeting of the wholesale merchants of Dublin and several merchants of the outports, convened by the committee of merchants, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That this kingdom can not possibly derive any material advantages from a free trade with the British islands in the West Indies without securing a market here for raw sugar; that being the capital article here of the produce of those islands and the principal return to be obtained for any manufactures of Ireland which may be exported to the British Colonies.

Resolved, That a market here for our raw sugar can only be secured in a tolerable degree by laying an additional duty on refined sugar of 16 shillings and 7 pence half-penny per hundred-weight, being three times the additional duty to which the raw material is intended to be subjected.

Resolved, That we view with the utmost concern and astonishment a measure likely to be adopted not only destructive of the sugar refinery of this kingdom, but, consequently, frustrating the professed benefits held out to Ireland on laying open to her the colony trade.

Resolved, That we verily believe this to be the insidious intention of those in Great Britain who have suggested the measure.

Resolved, That we can not but hold in the utmost contempt and detestation every Irishman, of whatever rank or station, who, from private and selfish considerations, shall prove base enough to be subservient to the insidious purpose of those who aim at baffling and defeating the commercial interests of this too-long oppressed and unkindly treated country.

Resolved, That if we find the commercial interests of our country deserted where we have and ought to expect guardianship, whether from ignorance of the subject, misrepresentations received and too easily listened to, or any other cause, it will then be incumbent on us, as the only remedy for self preservation, to enter, along with our fellow-citizens and countrymen of whose general concurrence on such a necessary occasion we entertain no doubt, into such an effectual association against the importation and use of the manufactures of this kingdom as may secure to the industry of Irishmen the benefits at least of their own consumption.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to transmit copies of these resolutions to the merchants of the principal trading towns in this kingdom, and that the said committee do consist of Mr. Hartley, etc.

Resolved, That the committee be empowered to convene a general meeting when they shall think fit.

On the 15th of May Mr. Martin, in the House of Commons of Ireland, after having laid open in great detail the increase which had crept in by degrees upon the civil establishment of Ireland, proposed that a committee should be appointed, and especially instructed to examine into this alarming augmentation, and to propose a plan of economy, by means of which they might lighten the burden of the civil establishment of Ireland of the useless weight which overloaded it; but he withdrew his motion on account of the shortness of the time and the assurance that was given him that his object should be one of the first attended to next session.

The 17th the House, in the committee of ways and means, resolved upon a duty of 5*s.* 10*d.* per hundred-weight to be laid on refined sugar imported from England.

The 18th they were about to confirm the resolution, when an opposition arose, and Mr. Yelverton spoke with so much energy that the next day, the 19th, the House resolved upon a duty of 12*s.*, to the great detriment of the refiners of sugar at London. Mr. Yelverton's oratory was neither more nor less than that he would head the people, the only argument which carries any decisive weight in that House, and this very seldom fails.

Nothing which is now or will soon be interesting to the commerce and navigation of the United States is improper for me to send to Congress.

The port Vendres, situated in Roussillon, twenty leagues from Barcelona and four from Roses, upon the coast of the Mediterranean, having been a long time filled up and abandoned, the king has ordered the reparation of it, and it is now in a condition to receive not only merchant vessels of any size but frigates, and will very soon be fit for ships of the line. This port, the position of which forms the centre of the coast of the Mediterranean, receives by its right all that comes out of the Straits and by its left what comes from the levant and the coast of Italy at the passage of the Gulf of Lyon; and it presents to all the commercial nations not only a center of union the most advantageous for reciprocal commerce, but at the same time a mart and an asylum so much the more safe, as this port is sheltered from all the winds by the mountains which surround it, and as vessels are there as quiet as in a canal; and as it is not yet known but to those who within a year past have taken refuge in bad weather and have owed their safety to it—several having perished for want of knowing it—they have given two points by which to know it, by painting white the fort St. Elme and the tower of Massane, placed upon the highest mountain of the Pyrenees, which are seen at a distance of fifteen or twenty leagues at sea, and they have placed at the entrance of the port a light-house, which throws its light more than five leagues in the night. Roussillon, moreover, can furnish by itself wines of the first quality, oils, iron, silks, and wools almost as beautiful as those of Spain, and many other productions.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 12, 1780.

SIR: I can not omit to request the attention of Congress to a debate in the House of Peers on the 1st of June upon Lord Shelburne's motion for a variety of state papers to be laid before the House. I have had

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 130.

the honor to transmit these papers to Congress before. His lordsh in his speech upon this occasion has displayed more knowledge of t affairs of Europe than all the debates in the two Houses and all t newspapers and pamphlets have contained for a long time. I w translate from a French translation, not having the original before m what he says of Russia:

With regard to the papers which concern Russia, I see in the first place, in t declaration made by that court in 1779, that under pretense of some disorders co mitted in the Baltic Sea by an American privateer (Captain McNeal, I suppose), t empress announces to Great Britain that she is about to form a league with the kin of Sweden and Denmark for the protection of commerce in that sea. This princ must have known our ministers perfectly well to hope that they would fall in the snare. Yes, she knew that they would bite at the hook when it was covered wi the bait of some appearance of hostility against the Americans. While they we running after the dainty worm all Europe saw clearly that this exclusion from t Baltic Sea was general for all armed vessels, whether American or English; but R sia was too wise to begin by speaking of English vessels. It is, nevertheless, curio to consider the nature of the right alleged by the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, a Copenhagen, to arrogate to themselves the dominion of the Baltic; a dominion mention of which is made in any treaty existing, and of which no one ever heard a mention made. They say to you that God Almighty intended that these three pow should govern exclusively over this vast sea. The terms of the declaration say e pressly that nature has given them this right; if this declaration is extraordina and without example, the last declaration of the Empress of Russia is much mo astonishing. This princess dares to announce a maritime code which will serve a rule for all Europe. I will acknowledge that when this imperial decree for the fi time fell into my hands I was confounded; I felt in a moment that Russia—this e pire coming out of the cradle, scarcely reckoned a few years ago in the number maritime powers—this Russia, which the ministers declared to us was our friend a our ally, was disposed not only to refuse us assistance, but moreover to contribute the annihilation of the maritime power of Great Britain. The empress declares this manifesto that free ships render the effects free that they have on board; s does not confine herself to establish this principle in favor of the vessels of her natio she makes it general, she invites all the states of Europe, whether neutral or bell erent, to unite with her to maintain it, and to set them an example she informs the that to maintain it effectually she equips a powerful squadron. What has given c casion to this astonishing measure? The infraction of treaties on the part of Gre Britain. By the treaties of 1673 and 1674 Holland had a right to carry all which w not expressly declared contraband; in spite of the existence of these treaties Comm dore Fielding received the extravagant orders to seize a Dutch convoy. This act madness alarmed Russia, who forthwith published her manifesto, which Hollan France, and Spain have received with all the marks of the most perfect satisfactio France has not failed to seize this opportunity to press the completion of the ma time code announced by the empress, promising to adopt it and to unite with her support it.

Such is the situation in which we find ourselves; not a single ally! There did main to us one friend. Administration has found the secret to break with him. it not the most consummate madness not to have sought to insure a single ally? O portunities have presented themselves more than once, more than twice, more th four times. If at the end of the war administration was weary of the connecti with the King of Prussia; if they preferred the friendship, or even the alliance of t house of Austria, the opportunity of making sure of it presented itself a few yea ago. In 1773, the epocha of the troubles in Poland, Great Britain would have ma a friend of this house by interposing its authority; this measure would have be

agreeable to more than one power of Europe. If we had preferred the alliance of the King of Prussia an opportunity has presented more recently of procuring it—that of the death of the Elector of Bavaria! Some time before this event France foresaw it with terror. She perceived how much it might turn to the advantage of Great Britain, and how much the war that it would infallibly occasion between the courts of Vienna and Berlin would be contrary to her interests. What parts have our ministers acted in this circumstance? They let it escape like the first. Instead of conciliating the friendship of Austria, or renewing that of Prussia, they have discovered the secret of disgusting these two powers, as well as nearly all those of Europe; they have suffered that France should be the mediator between them and make their peace.

Their conduct in regard to the court of Petersburgh has been equally chargeable with negligence; they have let slip one or two occasions of conciliating the friendship of that court. At the time of her rupture with the Porte what part have they acted? They did not enter into the negotiation; but, which they will perhaps have cause to repent, they sent vessels to the Russians to teach them how they might obtain and preserve that domination of the seas to which they pretend at this day. Such are the fruits of the prudence of our ministers. They have lost America, the most beautiful half of the empire, and against the half that remains to us they have excited all the powers of Europe. I say decidedly that they have lost America, because after what has passed in Holland and in Russia one must be very short-sighted not to see that in fine, and at present, the independence of America is consummated. The maritime code confirms the rest. France and the other maritime powers, whose interest it is that America should never return to the domination of England, will take care to comprehend her in the code; but I forewarn the administration that this code will soon be in force; that if they do not speedily make arrangements with Holland there will be soon held at The Hague a congress to the effect to give the sanction of maritime Europe to the law which establishes that free ships shall make free goods.

I can not say that his lordship is perfectly fair in this speech, nor that he has been much wiser than the minister. The true cause why the minister suffered France to make the peace between Russia and the Turk and between Austria and Prussia was the American war. While they pursued that phantom, all their men, all their ships, and all their money were necessary, and the whole not enough; so that they had not the power to lend troops, ships, or guineas to the emperor, the King of Prussia, the grand seignior, nor the Empress of Russia. If they had been wise, made peace with America, acknowledged her equal station with the powers of the earth, and conciliated as much as they then might have done her affection and her commerce, they might have preserved their importance in Europe at the peace of Teschen and the other peace. But my Lord Shelburne should have remembered that he was at that time as much against acknowledging American independence and as much for prosecuting the war against America as the ministers; so that it does not appear that his wisdom was so much greater than theirs. I am glad, however, that his lordship is convinced, and I hope some time or other the minister will be; but they have all called us rebels till they have turned their own heads. This word rebellion makes Englishmen mad; they still continue to use it, and by this means as well as many others to nourish and cherish the most

rancorous and malignant passions in their own bosoms against us, and they will continue to do so a long time to come.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *June* 13, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday, and not before, is come to hand your favor of April 14, with the packets and despatches from Congress, etc., which you sent me by a French gentleman to Nantes.

Several of them appear to have been opened, the paper around the seals being smoked and burnt as with the flame of a candle used to soften the wax, and the impression defaced. The curiosity of people in this time of war is unbounded. Some of them only want to see news, but others want to find (through interested views) what chance there is of a speedy peace. Mr. Ross has undertaken to forward the letters to England. I have not seen them; but he tells me they have all been opened. I am glad, however, to receive the despatches from Congress, as they communicate to me Mr. Adams' instructions and other particulars of which I have long been ignorant.

I am very sensible of the weight of your observation, "that a constant interchange of intelligence and attentions between the public servants at the different courts is necessary to procure to their constituents all advantages capable of being derived from their appointment." I shall endeavor to perform my part with you, as well to have the pleasure of your correspondence as from a sense of duty. But my time is more taken up with matters extraneous to the functions of a minister than you can possibly imagine. I have written often to the Congress to establish consuls in the ports and ease me of what relates to maritime and mercantile affairs, but no notice has yet been taken of my request.

A number of bills of exchange, said to be drawn by order of Congress on Mr. Laurens, are arrived in Holland. A merchant there has desired to know of me whether, if he accepts them, I will engage to reimburse him. I have no orders or advice about them from Congress; do you know to what amount they have drawn? I doubt I can not safely meddle with them.

Mrs. Jay does me much honor in desiring to have one of the prints that have been made here of her countryman. I send what is said to be the best of five or six engraved by different hands from different paintings. The verses at the bottom are truly extravagant. But you must know that the desire of pleasing by a perpetual rise of compliments in this polite nation has so used up all the common expressions

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* 2 Jay's Life, 53; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 469; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 81.

of approbation that they are become flat and insipid, and to use them almost implies censure. Hence music, that formerly might be sufficiently praised when it was called *bonne*, to go a little further they called it *excellente*, then *superbe*, *magnifique*, *exquise*, *céleste*, all which being in their turns worn out, there only remains *divine;* and when that is grown as insignificent as its predecessors I think they must return to common speech and common sense; as from vying with one another in fine and costly paintings on their coaches, since I first knew the country, not being able to go farther in that way, they have returned lately to plain carriages, painted without arms or figures, in one uniform color.

The league of neutral nations to protect their commerce is now established. Holland, offended by fresh insults from England, is arming vigorously. That nation has madly brought itself into the greatest distress, and has not a friend in the world.

With great esteem, etc.,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Vaughan.*

PASSY, *June* 13, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received duly the large parcel of letters and papers you favored me with by Mr. Austin, to which I shall, when I can get a little time, answer particularly. I received also a box containing twelve of the 4tos and four of the 8vos in boards, with the Spanish dictionary and grammar, and I think some pamphlets. A bound 4to is also come to hand, I know not whether it is from you or some other friend, but suppose it is from you. I have given most of these away to friends here who have presented me with their works, and I wish to have dozen, half 8vos and half 4tos, and to know what number was printed, and whether they are likely to sell, for I should be sorry that Mr. Johnson were a loser.

I can now only answer yours of the 2d instant, relating to Lord Tauperville's affair, which you represent as pressing. If his past conduct has been as you intimate it will undoubtedly have weight on occasion. I know nothing of the existence of the law you mention. The Congress make no laws, and each State governs its own particular affairs by its own internal laws, which rarely come to my hands here. I think an attorney or attorneys should be appointed to solicit, if necessary, and transact the business. A memorial to the Congress would be improper. It must be (if such a thing is found necessary) to the government of Virginia. I have not time just now to look for the papers you formerly sent me relating to this business, but I will peruse them, and if then anything occurs to me worth while I will mention it to you.

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

Remember me affectionately to your father and the good family, to Drs. P. and P., and present my respects to L. S., if you think they may be acceptable. I just now hear that the mob have burnt several houses of the ministers. If they went no further I should be less concerned at their extravagances, as such a taste of fire may make those gentlemen sensible of the wanton malice with which they have encouraged the burning of poor people's houses in America. Mr. S. Wharton, lately here, gave me for you a copy of one of my letters to him which he says he showed to some of the ministry as soon as he received it, but they were incapable of being the better for any warning. I send it you enclosed,

And am ever, my dear friend, yours, most affectionately,

——— ———.

Franklin to Landais.*

VERSAILLES, *June* 16, 1780.

SIR: I am much surprised to learn that you have, contrary to the express orders contained in mine of the 7th instant, taken upon yourself the command of the frigate. I do hereby repeat those orders, and charge you to quit the ship immediately.

I am, sir, yours, etc.,

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *June* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have just received a letter from Nantes, brought in a ship from New London. I enclose your excellency a newspaper enclosed in it and an extract of the letter, which is from a gentleman who is a member of the assembly and one of the judges of Boston. This is all the news I have. I hope your excellency has more by the same vessel.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

P. S.—I have mislaid the letter from Boston. The extract informed that a bill had passed the two houses of assembly adopting the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March, and establishing an annual tax for seven years, for the redemption of their part of the bills payable in silver and gold or in produce at the market price in hard money.

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*MSS. Dep. of State.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 144; 7 J. Adams' Works, 187.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have lately obtained a sight of a number of pamphlets published in London, which are given out as written by Mr. Galloway,† but there are many circumstances in them which convince me they are written in concert by the refugees. I see many traces, which appear unequivocal, of the hand of Governor Hutchinson ‡ in some of them. I

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 137, with verbal changes.

† Joseph Galloway was born in Maryland in 1730, but moved in early life to Philadelphia, where he reached high eminence as a lawyer. He was in his early professional career in friendly relations with Franklin, which was illustrated by the fact that Franklin left many valuable papers in Galloway's custody. With Franklin, Galloway took strong ground in 1764 in favor of the establishment in Pennsylvania of a royal as distinguished from a proprietary government; and as a delegate to the first Congress of 1774 he agreed with the liberal interests as to the necessity of a redress of grievances. The redress he proposed was the establishment of a viceroy over America, something like that established in Ireland, having a council, to be chosen by the colonial assemblies, reserving a veto to the British Parliament. This plan, however, was not acceptable to the majority, whose tendency was towards independence, while to Galloway the idea of independence was intolerable. He became an avowed tory, and was employed by Sir W. Howe, as we have seen, in various capacities during the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777–'78. When the British army left Philadelphia he left with it, and shortly afterwards went with his daughter to England. The Pennsylvania assembly thereupon confiscated his estate, amounting, according to his appraisement, to £40,000; while, on the other hand, he received from Sir W. Howe several lucrative offices (see Introduction, § 30), and on his settling in England obtained a considerable allowance to compensate him for his losses. After his death also, which took place in England in 1803, his daughter succeeded in recovering a considerable portion of the Pennsylvania confiscation. Galloway's position when in England was similar to that of Hutchinson's, already discussed (Introduction, § 28). As long as conciliation could have restored his estates and have recovered for him political influence he was for conciliation. When, however, conciliation involved the autonomy of the Colonies, by which his exile would have been perpetuated and the confiscation of his property would have been made absolute, then he renounced conciliation as shameful and odious, and called for such warlike measures from Britain, as, if they had been carried out, would have established in America a military despotism. He turned with bitterness on generals who had directed the British campaigns in America, charging them with incapacity and with indifference. On Sir W. Howe, in particular, his former patron, he poured merciless invectives, eliciting a reply which is elsewhere partially given. (Introduction, § 30.)

Galloway's literary ability placed him in the front rank of the loyalists so far as controversial power was concerned. His leading works in this line were his "Candid Examination of the Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies," New York, 1775; "Letters to Noblemen," London, 1779; "Reply to Sir W. Howe," London, 1780.

That Galloway and Hutchinson co-operated in preparing some of the papers attacking the British management of the war we may infer from Hutchinson's own notes; thus, for instance, we find Galloway saying to Hutchinson on August 29, 1781, that—

"Our generals have had it repeatedly pointed out to them, and yet they go on their old wretched way, entering provinces and then deserting them, leaving the unhappy loyalists the sacrifices to their folly.—2 Hutchinson's Diary, 371.

‡ As to Hutchinson, see Introduction, §§ 22, 23, and 28.

have read them with pleasure and surprise, because it seems to me that if their professed intention had been to convince America that it is both her interest and duty to support her sovereignty and her alliance, they could not have taken a method so effectual.

Such treaties [says he—that is, an offensive and defensive alliance between France and America] will naturally coincide with their several views and interests as soon as American independence shall be acknowledged by the powers of Europe. America will naturally wish, while she is rising from her infant state into opulence and power, to cover her dominions under the protection of France, and France will find new resources of strength in American commerce, armies, and naval force.

The recovery of America from the disasters and distresses of war will be rapid and sudden. Very unlike an old country, whose population is full, and whose cultivation, commerce, and strength have arrived at their height, the multiplication of her numbers and the increase of her power will surpass all expectation. If her sudden growth has already exceeded the most sanguine ideas, it is certain that the increase of her strength, when supported and assisted by France and pushed forward by the powerful motives arising from her separate interest, her own preservation, and the prospect of her own arising glory and importance among nations, will far outrun any idea we have had of her late population. Nor will it be the interest of America to check the ambition of France while confined to Europe. Her distance, and the safety arising from it, will render her regardless of the fate of nations on this side of the Atlantic as soon as her own strength shall be established. The prosperity or ruin of kingdoms, from whose power she can have nothing to fear and whose assistance she can never want, will be matters of equal indifference. She can wish for no other connection with Europe than that of commerce, and this will be better secured in the hands of an ally than in those with whom she holds *no* other connection. [The word *no* is an evident error in the press.] So that it will be of little concern to her whether Great Britain, Spain, Holland, Germany, or Russia shall be ruled by one or more monarchs. The new States are and will continue the allies of France, our natural enemy, unless reduced, and although at this time by far the greater part of the people wish and hope for an union with this country, and are ready to unite with us in reducing the power of their tyrants in the moment the least encouragement shall be given for that purpose, which the infatuated policy of every commander has hitherto withheld, yet should they be disappointed in their hope, it will compel them to unite with the enemies of this kingdom.

The mode of carrying on the war, more cruel to friends than to foes, added to the inhumanity and treachery of this country in not exerting its powers for their relief, will not fail to create permanent enmity and resentment, and the obligations of gratitude to the nation which shall save them from our ravages will stamp impressions never to be effaced. Advantage will be taken of these dispositions by the policy of France to establish treaties of alliance and commerce with them, which will be founded on two great principles, their own mutual interest and the subduing the power of Great Britain; and if she should be permitted to trade with them at all, it will only be to share with other nations in the worthless remains after their own and the purposes of their allies are served.

Here Congress will see the extreme ignorance or deception of the writer, in affirming that the "far greater part of the people wish and hope for an union with Great Britain, and are ready to unite in reducing," etc. But notwithstanding the bad faith of the writer, we see that such is the force of truth, that he can not adduce an argument to persuade the English to continue the war without producing at the same time a much stronger argument to persuade the Americans to adhere

to the last to their sovereignty and their alliances. Of this nature are all his other arguments.

"With the independence of America," says he, "we must give up our fisheries on the bank of Newfoundland and in the American seas." Supposing this to be true, which it is in part, but not in the whole, if Great Britain loses her fisheries, does not America gain them? Are they not an object then to America as important and desirable as to Great Britain? Has not America then at least as strong and pressing a motive to fight for them as Great Britain? The question then is reduced to another—Which has the best prospect of contending for them successfully? America, favored by all the world, or Great Britain, thwarted and opposed by all the world. And to whom did God and nature give them? The English lay great stress upon the gifts of God and nature, as they call the advantage of their insular situation, to justify their injustice and hostilities against all the maritime powers of the world. Why should the Americans hold the blessings of Providence in a lower estimation, which they can enjoy, without doing injury to any nation or individual whatsoever?

"With American independence we must give up thirty-five thousand American seamen, and twenty-eight thousand more bred and maintained in those excellent nurseries the fisheries. Our valuable trade, carried on from thence with the Roman Catholic states, will be in the hands of America. These nurseries and this trade will ever remain the natural right of the people who inhabit that country. A trade so profitable, and a nursery of seamen so excellent and so necessary for the support of her naval force, will never be given up, or even divided by America with any power whatsoever."

If Great Britain loses sixty-three thousand seamen by our independence—and I believe she will not lose much less, I mean in the course of a few years—will not America gain them? Are sixty-three thousand seamen a feebler bulwark for America than Great Britain? Are they weaker instruments of wealth and strength, of power and glory, in the hands of Americans than in those of the English; at the command of Congress than at the command of the King of England? Are they not, then, as strong a temptation to us to continue the war as to them? The question then recurs again, which has the fairest prospect of success—America, which grows stronger every year, or England, which grows weaker?

"The British islands," he adds, "in the West Indies must fall of course. The same power that can compel Great Britain to yield up America will compel her to give up the West Indies. They are evidently the immediate objects of France."

The true political consequence from this is to stop short, make peace, and save the British islands while you can; once taken, it will be more difficult to get them back. The whole returns again to the question, Are you able to keep peace at home and in Ireland and the East Indies,

to settle matters with the maritime powers, and go on with the war long enough to beat France and Spain, make them renounce the war, and after that reduce the United States of America to submission? Will your soldiers, your seamen, and your revenues hold out till this is done, and after it shall be done be sufficient to keep up a force sufficient to keep down France, Spain, and America?

"France," he subjoins, "expects from the independence of America, and the acquisition of the West India islands the sovereignty of the British seas, if not of Great Britain itself."

Is not this the strongest of all arguments for putting an end to the war? Now you may make peace and keep the West India islands, and secure the neutrality at least of America for the future; and in this case you may at least maintain your own sovereignty and the freedom of the British seas. France at present claims no more than freedom on any seas. If you make peace at present, you may have more of American trade in future than France, and derive more support to your navy than she will to her marine from that country, and consequently may preserve your liberty upon all seas; but by pushing the war you will weaken yourselves and strengthen France and Spain to such a degree that they will have in the end such a superiority as may endanger your liberty. But if Great Britain is to lose the West India islands and the sovereignty of the seas by the independence of America, surely France, Spain, or America, or all three together, are to gain them. And are not these advantages as tempting to these powers as to England, and as urgent motives to pursue the war? So that we come again to the old question, Which is likely to hold out the longest? The immense inexhaustible resources of France, Spain, and America together, or the ruined, exhausted, or distracted kingdom of Great Britain.

The writer goes on: "France has long struggled to rival us in our manufactures in vain; this will enable her to do it with effect." If England were to make peace now, it is very doubtful whether France would be able to rival her in manufactures—those I mean which are most wanted in America, of wool and iron. But if she continues the war, France will be very likely to rival her to effect, as it is certain she is taking measures for the purpose, and the longer the war continues the more opportunity she will have of pursuing those measures to effect.

"We receive," says he, "from the West India islands certain commodities absolutely necessary to carry on our manufactures to any advantage and extent, and which we can procure from no other country. We must take the remains from France or America, after they have supplied themselves and fulfilled their contracts with their allies, at their own prices, and loaded with the expense of foreign transportation, if we are permitted to trade for them at all." Is it possible to demonstrate the necessity of making peace now while we may more clearly? We may now preserve the West India islands, but continuing the war we lose them infallibly.

"But this is not all we shall lose with the West Indies," says the writer. "We must add to our loss of seamen sustained by the independence of America at least twenty thousand more who have been bred and maintained in the trade from Great Britain to the West Indies and in the West India trade among themselves and with other parts, amounting in the whole to upwards of eighty thousand; a loss which can not fail to affect the sensibility of every man who loves this country and knows that its safety can only be secured by its navy."

Is not this full proof of the necessity of making peace? These seamen may now be saved, with the islands whose commerce supports them. But if we continue the war will France and Spain be less zealous to conquer your islands? Because by this means they will certainly take away from you and divide among themselves twenty thousand seamen. Taking these islands from you and annexing them to France and Spain will in fact increase the trade of France and Spain, the United Provinces of the Low Countries, the United States of America, and Denmark; and the twenty thousand seamen will be divided in some proportion among all these powers. The Dutch and the Americans will have the carriage of a good deal of this trade in consequence of their dismemberment from you and annexation to France and Spain. Do you expect to save these things by continuing the war? Or that these powers will be less zealous to continue it by holding out to them such temptations?

"Will not Great Britain lose much of her independence in the present state of Europe," continues the writer, "while she is obliged to other countries for her naval stores? In the time of Queen Anne we paid at Stockholm £3 per barrel for pitch and tar to the extortionate Swede; and such was the small demand of those countries for the manufactures of this, that the balance of trade was greatly in their favor. The gold which we obtained in our other commerce was continually pouring into their laps. But we have reduced that balance by our importation of large quantities of those supplies from America."

But what is there to hinder Great Britain from importing pitch, tar, and turpentine from America after her independence? She may be obliged to give a somewhat higher price, because France, Spain, Holland, and all other nations will import them too. But will this higher price induce America to give up her independence? Will the prospect which is opened to the other maritime powers of drawing these supplies from America in exchange for their productions make them less zealous to support American independence? Will the increase of the demand upon the northern powers for these articles, in consequence of the destruction of the British monopoly in America, make these powers less inclined to American independency? The British monopoly and British bounties it was in fact which reduced the price of these articles in the northern markets. The ceasing of that monopoly and those bounties will rather raise the price in the Baltic, because those States

in America in which pitch and tar chiefly grow have so many articles of more profitable cultivation, that without bounties it is not probable that trade will flourish to a degree to reduce the prices in the north of Europe.

"Should a war take place between us and the northern powers, where are we to procure our naval stores" inquires the pamphleteer.

I answer, make peace with America, and procure them from her. But if you go to war with America and the northern powers at once, you will get them nowhere. This writer appears to have had no suspicion of the real intentions of the northern powers when he wrote his book. What he will say now, after the confederation of all of them against Great Britain—for I can call it no otherwise—I am at a loss to conjecture.

"Timber of every kind, iron, saltpeter, tar, pitch, turpentine, and hemp are raised and manufactured in America. Fields of a hundred thousand acres of hemp are to be seen spontaneously growing between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and of a quality little inferior to the European."

Are not these articles as precious to France, Spain, and Holland as to England? Will not these powers be proportionably active to procure a share of them, or a liberty to trade in them, as England will be to defend her monopoly of them? And will not America be as alert to obtain the freedom of selling them to the best advantage in a variety of markets as other nations will for that of purchasing them?

Will the coasting trade, and that of the Baltic and Mediterranean, with the small intercourse we have in our bottoms with other nations, furnish seamen sufficient for a navy necessary for the protection of Great Britain and its trade? Will our mariners continue as they are when our manufactures are laboring under the disadvantages of receiving their materials at higher and exorbitant prices and selling at foreign markets at a certain loss? Will these nurseries of seamen, thus weakened, supply the loss of eighty thousand, sustained by the independence of America and the conquest of the West Indies?

But what is the tendency of this? If it serves to convince Britain that she should continue the war, does it not serve to convince the allies that they ought to continue it too? For they are to get all that Britain is to lose, and America is to be the greatest gainer of all; whereas she is not only to lose these objects, but her liberties too, if she is subdued. France, Spain, and all the other maritime powers are all to gain a share of these objects if Britain loses them; whereas they not only lose all share in them, but even the safety and existence of their flags upon the ocean may be lost if America is reduced and the British monopoly of American trade, fisheries, and seamen is revived.

"It does not require the spirit of divination to perceive that Great Britain, robbed of her foreign dominions and commerce, her nurseries of seamen lost, her navy weakened, and the power of her ambitious

neighbors thus strengthened and increased, will not be able to maintain her independence among the nations."

If she would now make peace she might preserve not only her independence, but a great share of her present importance. If she continues this war but a year or two longer, she will be reduced to the government of her own island in two independent kingdoms—Scotland and England probably. As to conquest and subordination to some neighboring power, none that has common sense would accept the government of that island, because it would cost infinitely more to maintain it than it would be worth.

Thus I have given some account of these "cool thoughts on the consequences of American independence," which I consider as the result of all the consultations and deliberations of the refugees upon this subject.

I think it might as well have been entitled an essay towards demonstrating that it is the clear interest and the indispensable duty of America to maintain her sovereignty and her alliances at all events, and of France, Spain, Holland, and all the maritime powers to support her in the possession of them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to the Officers and Seamen of the Alliance.*

VERSAILLES, *June* 16, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Having judged fit for the service of the United States to appoint Commodore Jones to the command of the *Alliance* in her present intended voyage to America, I hereby direct you to obey him as your captain till further orders shall be given by the honorable Congress.

I am, gentlemen, your friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN,

Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, etc.

Lovell et al., Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Jay.†

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 16, 1780.

SIR: The embarrassments which the depreciation of the currency had created in the public affairs at the time of your departure for Europe were, as you may well remember, very distressing, and have till lately continued to increase. Congress, greatly anxious to avail themselves of every possible means of checking this evil, on the 23d of November last ventured on the expedient of drawing bills upon you for one hundred thousand pounds sterling, as you have been already advised by

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* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 209.

letter of December the 11th following. This they thought they might risk, considering the importance of the object; but as the time of your arrival in Europe could not be counted upon with certainty, and as the negotiation might not be immediately practicable, and, moreover, as a disappointment would be highly injurious to the public faith, they determined to draw the bills at six months' sight, which we hope will allow sufficient leisure for every preparation.

It will not be amiss to observe that Congress have not taken this measure without some circumstances of encouragement that a fund to satisfy the draft would not be unattainable. Since the agreeable news of your arrival, and to answer a purpose of great national utility, Congress, by their resolution of the 19th instant, have directed bills to be drawn for the additional sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, payable at sixty days' sight. The exertions necessary at this crisis require the command of a considerable sum of money; but these drafts, we hope, will not be increased till we have intelligence from you respecting your prospects and assurances. We have the pleasure to inform you that from the measures which have lately been adopted, and with which you are made acquainted by the journals, the finances begin to assume a better appearance, and our public affairs in general will, we hope, be delivered from many of the embarrassments under which they have labored, but we earnestly entreat you to push every possible exertion for procuring aids of money from the court of Spain, without which we are fearful the measures of Congress fully to restore the currency and prosecute the war with good effect will fall short of the desired success.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.
ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.
WILLIAM C. HOUSTON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 17, 1780.

SIR: The refugees in England are so great an obstacle to peace, that it seems not improper for me to take notice of them to Congress. Governor Hutchinson is dead. Whether the late popular insurrections, or whether the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March respecting their finances, by suddenly extinguishing the last rays of his hopes, put a sudden end to his life, or whether it was owing to any other cause, I know not. He was born to be the cause and the victim of popular fury, outrage, and conflagrations. Descended from an ancient and honorable family; born and educated in America, professing all the zeal of the Congregational religion; affecting to honor the characters of the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 144, with verbal changes and omissions.

first planters of the New World, and to vindicate the character of America, and especially of New England; early initiated into public business; industrious and indefatigable in it; beloved and esteemed by the people; elected and trusted by them and their representatives; his views opened and extended by repeated travels in Europe; minutely informed in the history of his country; author of an history of it which was extensively read in Europe; engaged in extensive correspondence in Europe as well as in America; favored with the crown of Great Britain, and possessed of its honors and emoluments;—possessed of all these advantages and surrounded by all these circumstances, he was perhaps the only man in the world who could have brought on the controversy between Great Britain and America in the manner and at the time it was done, and involved the two countries in an enmity which must end in their everlasting separation. Yet this was the character of the man and these his memorable actions. An inextinguishable ambition and avarice, that were ever seen among his other qualities, and which grew with his growth and strengthened with his age and experience, and at last predominated over every other passion of his heart and principle of his mind, rendered him credulous to a childish degree of everything that favored his ruling passion, and blind and deaf to everything that thwarted it to such a degree, that his representations, with those of his fellow laborer Bernard, drew on the king, ministry, Parliament, and nation to concert measures which will end in their reduction and the exaltation of America.

I think I see visible traces of his councils in a number of pamphlets not long since published in London, and ascribed to Mr. Galloway. It is most probable that they were concerted between the ministry and the refugees in general, and that Mr. Galloway was to be given out as the ostensible, as he probably was the principal, author.

"The Cool Thoughts on the Consequences of American Independence," although calculated to inflame a hasty, warlike nation to pursue the conquest of America, are sober reasons for defending our independence and our alliances, and therefore proper for me to lay before my countrymen. The pamphlet says: "It has been often asserted that Great Britain has expended in settling and defending America more than she will ever be able to repay, and that it will be more to the profit of this kingdom to give her independence and to lose what we have expended than to retain her as a part of her dominions." To this he answers: "That the bounties on articles of commerce and the expense of the last war ought not to be charged to America, and that the sums expended in support of colonial governments have been confined to New York, the Carolinas, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida. The New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia have not cost Great Britain a farthing, and that the whole expense of the former is no more than £1,700,000; and when we deduct the £700,000 extravagantly expended in building a key at Halifax,

we can only call it one million." He concludes: "That posterity will feel that America was not only worth all that was spent upon her, but that a just, firm, and constitutional subordination of the Colonies was absolutely necessary to the independence and existence of Great Britain." Here I think I see the traces of Mr. Hutchinson.

Another argument, he says, much relied on by the advocates for American independence is, "that a similarity of laws, religion, and manners has formed an attachment between the people of Great Britain and America which will insure to Great Britain a preference in the commerce of America." He agrees "that a uniformity of laws and religion, united with a subordination to the same supreme authority, in a great measure forms and fixes the national attachment. But when the laws and the supreme authority are abolished, the manners, habits, and customs derived from them will soon be effaced. When different systems of laws and governments shall be established, other habits and manners must take place. The fact is that the Americans have already instituted governments as opposite to the principles upon which the British Government is established as human invention could possibly devise. New laws are made, and will be made, in conformity to and in support of their new political systems, and, of course, destructive to this national attachment. Their new States being altogether popular, their essential laws do already and will continue to bear a greater resemblance to those of the democratical cantons of Switzerland than to the laws and policy of Great Britain. Thus we find in their first acts the strongest of all proofs of an aversion in their rulers to our national policy, and a sure foundation laid to obliterate all affection and attachment to this country among the people. How long, then, can we expect that their attachment, arising from a similarity of laws, habits, and manners, if any such should remain, will continue? No longer than between the United Provinces and Spain, or the Corsicans and the Genoese, which was changed, from the moment of their separation, into an enmity, which is not worn out to this day."

How it is possible for these rulers, who are the creatures of the people, and constantly dependent upon them for their political existence, to have the strongest aversion to the national policy of Great Britain, and at the same time the far greater part of the people wish and hope for a union with that country and are ready to unite in reducing the powers of those rulers as this author asserts, I know not. I leave him to reconcile it. If he had been candid and confessed that the attachment in American minds in general is not very strong to the laws and Government of England, and that they rather prefer a different form of government, I should have agreed with him, as I certainly shall agree that no attachment between nations arising merely from a similarity of laws and government is ever very strong, or sufficient to bind nations together who have opposite or even different interests.

"As to the attachments," says he, "arising from a similarity of religion,

they will appear still more groundless and ridiculous. America has no predominant religion. There is not a religious society in Europe which is not to be found in America. If we wish to visit the churches of England, or the meetings of the Lutherans, Methodists, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Menonists, Swinfielders, Dumplers, or Roman Catholics, we shall find them all in America.

"What a motley, or rather how many different and opposite attachments will this jumble of religions make!

"Should there be any remains of this kind of national attachment, we may conclude that the Lutherans, Calvinists, Menonists, Swinfielders, Dumplers, and Moravians will be attached to Germany, the country from whence they emigrated and where their religions are best tolerated; the Presbyterians and Puritans to Ireland; and the Roman Catholics to France, Spain, and the pope, and the small number of the Church of England to Great Britain.

"Do we not daily see monarchies at war with monarchies, infidels with infidels, Christians with Christians, Catholics with Catholics, and dissenters with dissenters? What stress then, can be justly laid on an attachment arising from a similarity of laws, government, or religion?

"It has also been asserted that America will be led from motives of interest to give the preference in trade to this country, because we can supply her with manufactures cheaper than she can raise them or purchase them from others.

"But a commercial alliance is already ratified greatly injurious to the trade of Great Britain, and should France succeed in supporting American independence, no one can doubt but other treaties yet more injurious will be added; and as to the ability of America to manufacture, she possesses, or can produce, a greater variety of raw materials than any other country on the globe. When she shall have a separate and distinct interest of her own to pursue, her views will be enlarged, her policy exerted to her own benefit, and her interest, instead of being united with, will become not only different from, but opposite to, that of Great Britain. She will readily perceive that manufactures are the great foundation of commerce, that commerce is the great means of acquiring wealth, and that wealth is necessary to her own safety. With these interesting prospects before her it is impossible to conceive that she will not exert her capacity to promote manufactures and commerce. She will see it to be clearly her interest not only to manufacture for herself, but others. Laws will be made granting bounties to encourage it, and duties will be laid to discourage or prohibit foreign importations. By these measures her manufactures will increase, her commerce will be extended; and feeling the benefits of them as they rise, her industry will be excited, until she shall not only supply her own wants, but those of Great Britain herself, with all the manufactures made with her own materials. The nature of commerce is roving; she has been at different periods in possession of the Phoenicians, Carthagenians, and the

Venetians; Germany and France lately enjoyed her, and supplied Great Britain with their manufactures. Great Britain at present folds her in her arms."

Surely it was never intended that any American should read this pamphlet, it contains so many arguments and motives for perseverance in our righteous and glorious cause. It is astonishing, however, that instead of stimulating England to pursue their unjust and inglorious enterprise, it does not convince all of the impracticability of it, and induce them to make peace.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Carmichael.*

PASSY, *June* 17, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 22d past came duly to hand. John Dalrymple has been here some time, but I hear nothing of his political operations. The learned talk of the discovery he has made in the Escurial library of forty epistoles of Brutus, a missing part of Tacitus, and a piece of Seneca, that have never yet been printed, which excite much curiosity. He has not been with me, and I am told by one of his friends that though he wished to see me, he did not think it prudent. So I suppose I shall have no communication with him, for I shall not seek it. As Count de Vergennes has mentioned nothing to me of any memorial from him, I suppose he has not presented it; perhaps discouraged by the reception it met with in Spain. So I wish, for curiosity's sake, you would send me a copy of it. The Marquis de la Fayette arrived safely at Boston on the 28th of April, and it is said gave expectations of the coming of a squadron and troops. The vessel that brings this left New London the 2d of May. Her captain reports that the siege of Charleston was raised, the troops attacked in their retreat, and Clinton killed; but this wants confirmation. London has been in the utmost confusion for seven or eight days. The beginning of this month a mob of fanatics, joined by a mob of rogues, burnt and destroyed property to the amount, it is said, of a million sterling. Chapels of foreign ambassadors, houses of members of Parliament that had promoted the act for favoring Catholics, and the houses of many private persons of that religion were pillaged and consumed or pulled down to the number of fifty; among the rest Lord Mansfield's is burnt, with all his furniture, pictures, books, and papers. Thus he who approved the burning American houses has had fire brought home to him. [Had the mob burned none other we might have more easily excused them.]† He himself was horribly scared, and Governor Hutchinson, it is said,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 471, with verbal corrections and omissions; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 86.

† Omitted in Sparks' rendering.

died outright of the fright. The mob, tired with roaring and rioting seven days and nights, were at length suppressed, and quiet restored on the 9th in the evening. Next day Lord George Gordon was committed to the tower.

Enclosed I send you the little piece you desire.* To understand it rightly you should be acquainted with some few circumstances. The person to whom it was addressed is Madame Brillon, a lady of most respectable character and pleasing conversation, mistress of an amiable family in this neighborhood with which I spend an evening twice in every week. She has, among other elegant accomplishments, that of an excellent musician, and, with her daughters, who sing prettily, and some friends who play, she kindly entertains me and my grandson with little concerts, a dish of tea, and a game of chess. I call this *my opera*, for I rarely go to the opera at Paris.

The Moulin Joly is a little island in the Seine, about two leagues from hence, part of the country seat of another friend (Watelet), where we visit every summer, and spend a day in the pleasing society of the ingenious, learned, and very polite persons who inhabit it. At the time when the letter was written all conversations at Paris were filled with disputes about the music of Gluck and Picini, a German and Italian musician, who divided the town into violent parties. A friend of this lady, having obtained a copy of it under a promise not to give another, did not observe that promise, so that many have been taken, and it is become as public as such a thing can well be that is not printed; but I could not dream of its being heard of at Madrid. The thought was partly taken from a little piece of some unknown writer, which I met with fifty years since in a newspaper, and which the sight of the ephemera brought to my recollection.

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours, most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Your namesake will send you copies of what passed between Lee and M. Grand. What relates to the difference between Sir George and M. Dumas I may tell you some time or other; it is not very important to you to know at present and is improper to write. Mr. Lee has been long at D'Orient (sic), waiting for a passage on board the *Alliance*. I have yesterday received several letters acquainting me with a mutiny on board that ship which he is supposed to have instigated. I have obtained and sent down orders to apprehend and imprison some of the chiefs, which I hope will produce quiet. That restless genius, wherever he is, must either find or make a quarrel.

I received the act you mention from the State of Maryland, with a letter from the governor, desiring me to forward a copy of it to the trustees in London, and to learn from them whether they would execute it, by selling the stock and paying the bills to be drawn on them. I have

* A memoir given in appendix to 8 Sparks' Franklin.

accordingly sent the act and written to them requesting an answer, but have yet received none. It is only in case of their refusal to act that I am empowered to name one of the several persons mentioned, and I apprehend that if they refuse it will be on this principle, that they were appointed and intrusted by an act of the old government; that the new is not yet acknowledged in England sufficiently to authorize the operation it requires; and that if by the fortune or (of?) war the old should be restored, they may be subject to a suit for breach of trust in complying with the directions of a law not made by due authority, etc. I also think that if they refuse, my nomination of another will also be deemed insufficient by the bank, which never pays money it has been intrusted with but to the order of the persons who actually deposited it, and who in this case were the trustees. I remember that having, when in London, about thirty thousand pounds in my hands belonging to the assembly of Pennsylvania, which I was ordered to deposit in the bank subject to their drafts, the bank refused to receive it on such condition, acquainting me that they never took in money for account of persons residing in other countries—never but for account of persons residing at the time in London, on whose drafts only it was to be repaid; so that I was obliged to deposit the money as in my own name, and the assembly to draw upon me. This (thus?) I imagine that if the trustees refuse the act will prove abortive, for it does not seem likely that the bank, even if it would formerly have paid respect to an act of assembly, will in this case take upon itself to acknowledge the authority of the new State before it is acknowledged by government, and pay to a person of my nomination moneys deposited with them by Messrs. Hanbury, etc. But if it shall prove that I am mistaken, I will then, as you decline the service, take your advice in the nomination of another.]*

Franklin to Jones.†

PASSY, *June* 17, 1780.

SIR: Having been informed by several gentlemen from L'Orient that it is there generally understood the mutiny on board your ship has been advised or promoted by the honorable Arthur Lee, esq., whom I had ordered you to receive as a passenger, I hereby withdraw that order so far as to leave the execution of it to your discretion; that if, from the circumstances which have come to your knowledge, it should appear to you that the peace and good government of the ship during the voyage may be endangered by his presence, you may decline taking that gentleman, which I apprehend need not obstruct his return to America, as there are several ships going under your convoy, and no doubt any of their passengers may be prevailed with to change places.

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* Paragraphs in brackets omitted by Sparks.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 89.

But if you judge those suspicions groundless, you will comply with the order aforesaid.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Franklin to Nesbit.*

PASSY, *June* 17, 1780.

SIR: I thank you for the information contained in your favor of the 13th instant. Orders are gone down from the government to secure Captain Landais, and assist Captain Jones in recovering the command of his ship. I am sensible the officers and men must have been misled, most probably by the person you suspect as much as by Captain Landais, and I doubt not their returning to their duty, and that your ship will have the benefit of being under the care and convoy of that brave commander.

With great regard, I have the honor to be, sir, etc.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *June* 18, 1780.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing me the 17th of this month, together with the letters enclosed of M. de Sartine and of the ambassador of Holland. Concerning the ship *Flora*, which had been brought into Cherbourg by the *Black Prince* privateer, your excellency will see by the enclosed paper that I had already given orders for the release of the vessel, with payment of damages, before the ambassador's complaint was made, and by letter to the owners may be seen what my sentiments are with regard to the principle about to be established by neutral powers. This single cargo I nevertheless condemned to the use of the captors, excepting what should be reclaimed on oath by the subjects of Holland.† My reasons for doing so were:

(1) Because the law has been settled in America that enemies' property found in neutral ships might be taken out of the same, paying the freight that would have been due if the ships had completed their voyages, together with all costs and damages. Of this there have been already several instances, and foreign owners have been so well satisfied with the handsome treatment their ships met with when carried into our ports on such occasions, that I never heard of any complaint.

(2) Because the English have always condemned and confiscated American property found in Dutch ships, of which there have been, I am informed, many instances in America; and neither the Dutch cap-

* MSS. Dep. of State. † See index, title "Free ships," etc.

tains nor owners have ever complained of this as a violation of the flag of their nation nor claimed its right of protecting our goods in their ships, but have delivered them up to the English on receiving their freight.

(3) Because a treaty has been long since offered in behalf of the United States to Holland, in which there was an article that free ships should make free goods, but no notice has been taken of that offer, and it was understood that till such a treaty was entered into the old law of nations took place, by which the property of an enemy was deemed a good prize wherever found; and this vessel, charged with English property, being brought in on the captain's voluntary declaration that it was such, before the intention of the neutral powers to change that law could be known, it was thought that the captor's right to the cargo could not fairly be refused.

I hope these reasons and the orders I had given will be satisfactory to his excellency the ambassador of their high mightinesses, whom I highly esteem and respect. I am perfectly convinced of the wisdom of your excellency's reflections on the subject, and you will always find me pursuing a conduct conformable to those just sentiments.

With regard to the observation of M. de Sartine on the "inconvenience resulting from American privateers fitted out as the *Black Prince* is, by Frenchmen, and yet not subject to the same forms and laws with your privateers," I beg leave to observe that by the express words of the commission granted to them they are directed to submit the prizes they shall carry into any port in the dominions of a foreign state to the judgment of the admiralty courts established in such ports or states, and according to the usages there in force. Several of our first prizes brought into France were, if I mistake not, so judged; and it was not upon any request of mine that such causes were afterwards referred to me, nor am I desirous of continuing to exercise that jurisdiction. If, therefore, the judgment I have given in the case of the *Flora* is not approved, and the Council of Prizes will take the trouble of re-examining and trying that cause and those of all other prizes to be brought in hereafter by American cruisers, it will be very agreeable to me, and from the very terms above mentioned of the commission I think it will also be agreeable to the Congress. Nor do I desire to encourage the fitting out of privateers in France by the king's subjects with American commissions. I have had many applications of the kind, which I have refused, advising the owners to apply for the commissions of his majesty. The case of the *Black Prince* was particular. She had been an old smuggler on the coasts of England and Ireland, was taken as such and carried into Dublin, where her crew found means to break prison, cut their vessel out of the harbor, and escaped with her to Dunkerque. It was represented to me that the people, being all English and Irish, were afraid to continue their smuggling business, lest if they should be again taken they might be punished as British subjects for their

crime at Dublin, and that they were willing to go a privateering against the English; but speaking no other language, they imagined they might, if taken, better pass as Americans if they had an American commission, than as Frenchmen, if under a French commission. On these grounds I was applied to for a commission, which I granted believing that such a swift vessel, with a crew that knew so well all parts of the enemy's coasts, might greatly molest their coasting trade. Her first success occasioned adding the *Black Princess*, by the same owners, and between them they have taken and sent in, or ransomed or destroyed, an amazing number of vessels; I think near eighty. But I shall continue to refuse granting any more commissions except to American vessels; and if, under the circumstances above represented, it is thought nevertheless inconvenient that the commissions of the *Black Prince* and *Princess* should continue, I will immediately recall them.

With the greatest respect, I am, your excellency's.

Jay to Neufville & Son, at Amsterdam.

MADRID, *June* 18, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Accept my thanks for your favors on the subject of the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens. The kind concern you take in the credit and prosperity of the United States merits their acknowledgments, and I shall take the first opportunity of communicating to Congress your very friendly propositions relative to the acceptance of the bills.

Whether Dr. Franklin is in circumstances to agree to these propositions I know not. They certainly are very generous and liberal, and would be attended with very happy effects. I am persuaded that Congress would strain every nerve to fulfill them. I have no intelligence whatever of Mr. Laurens, and am much at a loss to conjecture what should detain him.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 18, 1780.

SIR: The undersigned, minister of France, has witnessed the efforts of Congress to enable the commander-in-chief to make a glorious commencement of the campaign; he is convinced of the zeal with which all

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 211.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 693.

its members are animated, and if the army has not hitherto received any of the re-enforcements announced in January last, he is persuaded that Congress deeply lament those delays, and are sincerely desirous to prevent the fatal consequences which might result from them. The undersigned has since the beginning of this year continued to make the most pressing representations on this subject, and all the answers that he has received tend to assure him that the arrangements which were announced would be carried into full execution at the beginning of this month. Now that the time fixed for putting the army on a respectable footing has passed by, and it is but too certain that the re-enforcements demanded four or five months ago have not yet arrived, he earnestly entreats Congress to be pleased to pay immediate attention to the supply of these troops and to the fulfillment of their promises.

The king, after the positive assurances which he has received, has not the least doubt *that the American army is now twenty-five thousand strong, not including commissioned officers, and that it is at this moment in a condition to undertake the most vigorous offensive operations against the enemy in the posts which he occupies within the territory of the United States.* Congress, while giving these assurances, expressed in an urgent manner the wish that a French squadron should facilitate the operations of the land troops. The king has been eager to comply with the requests of the thirteen States. Their assurances are the basis of the measures which his majesty has taken. A squadron is on the point of arrival, and the French generals expect to find forces respectable in numbers ready to enter upon action. If at the moment of their arrival they are deprived of the co-operation upon which they have reason to rely, the most precious time for action will be lost; the enemy will have time to take the necessary measures for defense, and perhaps to receive re-enforcements; the soldiers' ardor will be quenched in inaction, and this delay will cause the loss of all the advantages of a campaign, which, if conducted with suitable promptness and activity, might have been made most useful to the common cause, and perhaps decisive.

It being manifestly necessary to complete the army, the undersigned has no doubt that Congress, as well from regard to the public interest as to its own glory and the performance of its promises, will immediately take for the accomplishment of this object measures more effectual than those which have hitherto been taken. He hopes also that the proper arrangements will be made for constantly maintaining during the whole campaign the number which has been announced, and he takes the liberty of recommending this important object in an equal degree to the consideration of Congress.

The minister of France, convinced of the zeal for the public good which inspires this assembly, as well as of its wisdom and prudence, hopes that it will see in his representations only a new proof of his attachment to the common cause; that it will not be offended at the freedom with which he expresses himself upon so important a subject, and

that it will be pleased to put him in a situation to transmit to his court satisfactory details respecting the fulfillment of the assurances made to him by Congress in January last.*

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *June* 20, 1780.

SIR: Last evening I received the letter an extract of which I have the honor to enclose. It is from Gerry, a member of Congress, who has been a member of their treasury board from the beginning of the year 1776.‡

It is much to be regretted that the Congress did not publish their resolution to pay off the loan-office certificates according to the value of money at the time of their being respectively issued with their resolutions of the 18th of March; because this, I think, would have prevented the alarm that has been spread in Europe. It will be found that almost all the interest that European merchants or others have in our funds lies in these certificates, and that almost all the paper bills now in possession of their factors in America have been received within a few months immediately before the 18th of March, and consequently received at a depreciation of forty for one at least, perhaps at a much greater.

Although some Europeans may have considerable sums in loan-office certificates, yet I have reason to believe that the whole will be found much less than is imagined. They have realized their property generally as they went along. Some may have purchased lands, others have purchased bills of exchange, others have purchased the produce of the country, which they have exported to St. Eustatia, to the French West India islands, and to Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to J. Adams.§

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *June* 21, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write to me on the 16th of this month, and also the extract of the letter addressed to you from Boston, dated April 26.

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* See the proceedings of Congress on the subject of this letter in the public journal of Congress under the date of June 21, 1780.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 149; 7 J. Adams' Works, 188.

‡ See Gerry to J. Adams, May 5, 1780, *supra*.

§ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 150, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 190.

From this it appears that the assembly of Massachusetts has determined to adopt the resolution of Congress fixing the value of the paper money at forty for one in specie. On reading that resolution I was persuaded that it had no other object than that of restoring the value of the paper money by lessening its quantity, and that in consequence of that operation the paper not brought in would take its course according to the circumstances, that would give it a greater or less degree of credit. What confirmed me in this opinion was the liberty given to the possessors of the paper money to carry it to the treasury of their State or to keep it in their own possession. But from the information I have since received, and the letter which you have been pleased to communicate to me, I have reason to believe that it is the intention of Congress to maintain the paper money invariably at the exchange of forty for one, and to settle on that footing all the paper money which has been thrown into circulation, in order to reduce insensibly the two hundred millions of dollars for which it is indebted to five millions.

I will not presume, sir, to criticise upon this operation, because I have no right to examine or comment upon the internal arrangements which Congress may consider as just and profitable; and moreover I readily agree that there may be some situations so critical as to force the best regulated and best established governments to adopt extraordinary measures to repair their finances and put them in condition to answer the public expenses; and this I am persuaded has been the principal reason that induced Congress to depreciate the money which they themselves have emitted.

But while I admit, sir, that that assembly might have recourse to the expedient above mentioned in order to remove their load of debt, I am far from agreeing that it is just or agreeable to the ordinary course of things to extend the effect to strangers as well as to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, I think it ought to be confined to Americans, and that an exception ought to be made in favor of strangers, or at least that some means ought to be devised to indemnify them for the losses they may suffer by the general law.

In order to make you sensible of the truth of this observation, I will only remark, sir, that the Americans alone ought to support the expense which is occasioned by the defense of their liberty, and that they ought to consider the depreciation of their paper money only as an impost which ought to fall upon themselves, as the paper money was at first established only to relieve them from the necessity of paying taxes. I will only add that the French, if they are obliged to submit to the reduction proposed by Congress, will find themselves victims of their zeal, and I may say of the rashness with which they exposed themselves in furnishing the Americans with arms, ammunition, and clothing; and, in a word, with all things of the first necessity of which the Americans at the time stood in need. You will agree with me, sir, that this is not what the subjects of the king ought to expect; and that, after escaping

the dangers of the sea, the vigilance of the English, instead of dreading to see themselves plundered in America they ought, on the contrary, to expect the thanks of Congress and of all the Americans, and believe that their property will be as secure and sacred in America as in France itself.

It was with this persuasion, and in reliance on public faith, that they received paper money in exchange for their merchandise, and kept that paper with a view to employ it in new speculations of commerce. The unexpected reduction of this paper overturns all their calculations, at the same time that it ruins their fortune. I ask, sir, if these consequences can induce you to believe that this act of Congress is proper to advance the credit of the United States, to inspire a confidence in their promises, to invite the European nations to run the same risks to which the subjects of his majesty have exposed themselves?

These, sir, are the principal reflections occasioned by the resolution of Congress of the 18th March. I thought it my duty to communicate them to you with an entire confidence, because you are too enlightened not to feel the force and justice, and too much attached to your country not to use all your endeavors to engage it to take steps to do justice to the subjects of the king.

I will not conceal from you that the Chevalier de la Luzerne has received orders to make the strongest representations on this subject, and that the king is firmly persuaded that the United States will be forward to give to him on this occasion a mark of their attachment by granting to his subjects the just satisfaction which they solicit and expect from the justice and wisdom of the United States.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

PARIS, *June* 22, 1780.

SIR: I have this day the honor of a letter from his excellency the Count de Vergennes on the subject of the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March concerning the paper bills, in which his excellency informs me that the Chevalier de la Luzerne has orders to make the strongest representations upon the subject. I am not certain whether his excellency means that such orders were sent so long ago as to have reached the hand of the minister at Congress, or whether they have been lately expedited. If the latter, I submit to your excellency whether it would not be expedient to request that those orders may be stopped until proper representations can be made at court, to the end that if it can be made to appear, as I firmly believe it may, that those orders were given upon misinformation they may be revoked; otherwise sent on.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 162, with verbal changes.

Your excellency will excuse this, because it appears to me a matter of very great importance. The affair of our paper is sufficiently dangerous and critical, and if a representation from his majesty should be made advantages will not fail to be taken of it by the tories and by interested and disappointed speculators, who may spread an alarm among many uninformed people so as to endanger the public peace.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

N. B.—This letter was written and sent on the 22d, though dated by mistake the 23d.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *June* 22, 1780.

SIR: I have received this day the letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me on the 21st of this month.

I thank your excellency for the confidence which induced you to communicate this letter to me, and the continuance of which I shall ever study to deserve.

When your excellency says that his majesty's minister at Congress has already received orders to make representations against the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March as far as they affect his subjects, I am at a loss to know with certainty whether your excellency means only that such orders have lately passed and are sent off to go to America, or whether you mean that such orders were sent so long ago as to have reached the hand of the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

If the latter is your excellency's meaning, there is no remedy; if the former, I would submit it to your excellency's consideration whether those orders may not be stopped and delayed a little time, until his excellency Mr. Franklin may have opportunity to make his representations to his majesty's ministers, to the end that, if it should appear that those orders were issued in consequence of misinformation, they may be revoked; otherwise sent on.

I will do myself the honor to write fully to your excellency upon this subject without loss of time; and although it is a subject on which I pretend not to an accurate knowledge in the detail, yet I flatter myself I am so far master of the principles as to demonstrate that the plan of Congress is not only wise, but just.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 152; 7 J. Adams' Works, 193.

Franklin to Johnson.*

PASSY, *June* 22, 1780.

SIR: I duly received the honor of your letter acquainting me with your acceptance of the trust you were appointed to by Congress, and your readiness to enter upon the execution of it. I have delayed hitherto requesting your coming to Paris for that purpose, because Mr. Deane, who had the chief management of all the mercantile affairs and whose presence as well as papers might be necessary to explain those transactions, has been long daily expected here, having written to me in December last from Virginia that he was there on his way to France, was to sail in the *Fendant*, a French man-of-war, for Martinique, and thence take a passage hither. We have heard some time of the arrival of the *Fendant* at that island, but I hear nothing of Mr. Deane. When I reflect on my time of life I grow more impatient to have those accounts settled; if, therefore, Mr. Deane should not arrive in the course of a month I must then desire you would come up. Bring with you, if you can, a good clerk that is an accountant, to copy, etc., and let us do the business together as well as we can.

On the receipt of the act of assembly from Maryland relating to their money in England, I wrote to the commissioners there, sent them the original act after taking a copy, and desired their immediate answer whether they would execute the trust, as something was required of me to be done in case of their refusal. I have but just learnt by a letter from Mr. Russel that mine got to hand. He wrote me of the 13th instant that, Mr. Hanbury being at Bath for his health, he had written to him, desiring to see him in town to answer my letter; that the answer, dated the 10th current, was he should certainly be in town in a month or sooner; and Mr. Russel adds, when he comes you may depend on our answer.

I have the honor to be, sir.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *June* 22, 1780.

SIR: I this day acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 21st.

I have the honor to agree with your excellency in opinion that it is the intention of Congress to redeem all their paper bills which are extant at an exchange of forty for one, by which means the two hundred millions of dollars which are out will be reduced to about five millions.

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 153; 7 J. Adams' Works, 193. This letter is criticised by Vergennes to Franklin, and by Vergennes to Adams, June 30, 1780; and Franklin afterwards dissented from it in a letter to Vergennes, July 10, 1780, *infra*.

I apprehend, with your excellency, that it was necessary for the Congress to put themselves in a condition to defray the public expenses. They found their currency to be so depreciated and so rapidly depreciating, that a further emission, sufficient to discharge the public expenses another year, would have probably depreciated it to two hundred for one; perhaps would have so totally discredited it that nobody would have taken it at any rate. It was absolutely necessary, then, to stop emitting. Yet it was absolutely necessary to have an army to save their cities from the fire and their citizens from the sword. That army must be fed, clothed, paid, and armed, and other expenses must be defrayed. It had become necessary, therefore, at this time to call in their paper; for there is no nation that is able to carry on war by the taxes which can be raised within the year. But I am far from thinking that this necessity was the cause of their calling it in at a depreciated value, because I am well convinced that they would have called it in at a depreciated value if the British fleet and army had been withdrawn from the United States and a general peace had been concluded. My reason for this belief is the evident injustice of calling it in at its nominal value—a silver dollar for a paper one. The public has its rights as well as individuals, and every individual has a share in the rights of the public. Justice is due to the body politic as well as to the possessor of the bills; and to have paid off the bills at their nominal value would have wronged the body politic of thirty-nine dollars in every forty as really as if forty dollars had been paid for one at the first emission in 1775, when each paper dollar was worth and would fetch a silver one.

I beg leave to ask your excellency whether you judge that the Congress ought to pay two hundred millions of silver dollars for the two hundred millions of paper dollars which are abroad? I presume your excellency will not think that they ought, because I have never met with any man in America or in Europe that was of that opinion. All agree that Congress ought to redeem it at a depreciated value. The only question, then, is at what depreciation? Shall it be at seventy-five, forty, thirty, twenty, ten, or five for one? After it is once admitted that it ought to be redeemed at a less value than the nominal, the question arises at what value? What rule? I answer, there is no other rule of justice than the current value, the value at which it generally passes from man to man. The Congress have set it at forty for one, and they are the best judges of this, as they represent all parts of the continent where the paper circulates.

I think there can be little need of illustration, but two or three examples may make my meaning more obvious. A farmer has now four thousand dollars for a pair of oxen, which he sells to a commissary to subsist the army; when the money was issued in 1775 he would have been glad to have taken one hundred. A laborer has now twenty dollars a day for his work; five years ago he would have been rejoiced to

have received half a dollar. The same with the artisan, merchant, and all others, but those who have fixed salaries or money at interest. Most of these persons would be willing to take hard money for his work and his produce at the rate he did six years ago. Where is the reason, then, that Congress should pay them forty times as much as they take of their neighbors in private life?

The amount of an ordinary commerce, external and internal, of a society may be computed at a fixed sum. A certain sum of money is necessary to circulate among the society in order to carry on their business. This precise sum is discoverable by calculation and reducible to certainty. You may emit paper or any other currency for this purpose until you reach this rule, and it will not depreciate. After you exceed this rule it will depreciate, and no power or act of legislation hitherto invented will prevent it. In the case of paper, if you go on emitting forever, the whole mass will be worth no more than that was which was emitted within the rule. When the paper, therefore, comes to be redeemed this is the only rule of justice for the redemption of it. The Congress have fixed five millions for this rule. Whether this is mathematically exact I am not able to say; whether it is a million too little or too much I know not. But they are the best judges; and by the accounts of the money being at seventy for one and bills of exchange at fifty-five for one it looks as if five millions was too high a sum rather than too small.

It will be said that the faith of society ought to be sacred, and that the Congress have pledged the public faith for the redemption of the bills at the value on the face of them. I agree that the public faith ought to be sacred. But who is it that has violated this faith? Is it not every man who has demanded more paper money for his labor or his goods than they were worth in silver? The public faith, in the sense these words are here used, would require that Congress should make up to every man who for five years past has paid more in paper money for anything he has purchased than he could have had it for in silver. The public faith is no more pledged to the present possessor of the bills than it is to every man through whose hands they may have passed at a less value than the nominal value. So that, according to this doctrine, Congress would have two hundred millions of dollars to pay to the present possessors of the bills, and to make up to every man through whose hands they may have passed the difference at which they passed between them and silver.

It should be considered that every man, whether native or foreigner, who receives or pays this money at a less value than the nominal value breaks this faith. For the social compact being between the whole and every individual, and between every individual and the whole, every individual, native or foreigner, who uses this paper is as much bound by the public faith to use it according to the terms of its emission as the Congress is. And Congress have as good a right to reproach every

individual who now demands more paper for his goods than silver with a breach of the public faith as he has to reproach the public or their representatives.

I must beg your excellency's excuse for calling your attention a little longer to this head of public faith, because I can not rest easy while my country is supposed to be guilty of a breach of their faith, and in a case where I am clear they have not been so, especially by your excellency, whose good opinion they and I value so much. This public faith is in the nature of a mutual covenant, and he who would claim a benefit under it ought to be careful in first fulfilling his part of it. When Congress issued their bills, declaring them in effect to be equal to silver, they unquestionably intended that they should be so considered, and that they should be received accordingly. The people or individuals covenanted in effect to receive them at their nominal value; and Congress, in such case, agreed on their part to redeem them at the same rate. This seems to be a fair and plain construction of this covenant or public faith; and none other I think can be made that will not degenerate into an unconscionable contract, and so destroy itself.

Can it be supposed that Congress ever intended that if the time should come when the individual refused to accept and receive their bills at their nominal value, and demanded and actually received them at a less value, that in that case the individual should be entitled to demand and receive of the public for those very bills silver equal to their nominal value? The consideration is, in fact, made by the public at the very instant the individual receives the bills at a discount; and there is a tacit and implied agreement, springing from the principles of natural justice or equity, between the public and the individual, that as the latter has not given to the former a consideration equal to the nominal value of the bills, so in fact the public shall not be held to pay the nominal value in silver to the individual. Suppose it otherwise, and how will the matter stand? The public offers to an individual a bill whose nominal value is, for example, forty dollars, in lieu of forty silver dollars; the individual says, I esteem it of no more value than one silver dollar, and the public pays it to him at that value; yet he comes the next day, when the bill may be payable, and demands of the public forty silver dollars in exchange for it. And why? Because the bill purports on the face of it to be equal to forty silver dollars. The answer is equally obvious with the injustice of the demand. Upon the whole, as the depreciation crept in gradually, and was unavoidable, all reproaches of a breach of public faith ought to be laid aside; and the only proper inquiry now really is, what is paper honestly worth? What will it fetch at market? And this is the only just rule of redemption.

It becomes me to express myself with deference when I am obliged to differ in opinion from your excellency; but this being a subject peculiar to America, no example entirely similar to it, that I know of, having been in Europe, I may be excused, therefore, in explaining my sentiments upon it.

I have the misfortune to differ from your excellency so far as to think that no general distinction can be made between natives and foreigners. For, not to mention that this would open a door to numberless frauds, I think that foreigners when they come to trade with a nation make themselves temporary citizens, and tacitly consent to be bound by the same laws. And it will be found that foreigners have had quite as much to do in depreciating this money in proportion as natives, and that they have been in proportion much less sufferers by it. I might go further, and say that they have been in proportion greater gainers by it without suffering any considerable share of the loss.

The paper bills out of America are next to nothing. I have no reason to think that there are ten thousand dollars in all Europe; indeed I do not know of one thousand dollars. The agents in America of merchants in Europe have laid out their paper bills in lands, or in indigo, rice, tobacco, wheat, flour, etc.; in short, in the produce of the country. This produce they have shipped to Europe, sold to the king's ships, and received bills of exchange, or shipped to the West India islands, where they have procured cash or bills of exchange. The surplus they have put into the loan offices from time to time, for loan offices have been open all along from 1776, I believe, to this time. Whenever any person lent paper bills to the public, and took loan-office certificates, he would have been glad to have taken silver in exchange for the bills at their then depreciated value. Why should he not be willing now? Those who lent paper when two paper dollars were worth one in silver will have one for two; those who lent when forty were worth one, will have one for forty; and those who lent when paper was as good as silver, will have dollar for dollar.

Your excellency thinks it would be hard that those who have escaped the perils of the seas and of enemies should be spoiled by their friends. But Congress have not spoiled any; they have only prevented themselves and the public from being spoiled. No agent of any European merchant, in making his calculations of profit and loss, ever estimated the depreciated bills at the nominal value; they all put a profit upon their goods sufficient to defray all expenses of insurance, freight, and everything else, and had a great profit besides, receiving the bills at the current, not the nominal value.

It may not be amiss to state a few prices current at Boston the last and the present year, in order to show the profits which have been made. Bohea tea, forty sous a pound at L'Orient and Nantes, forty-five dollars; salt, which costs very little in Europe and used to be sold for a shilling a bushel, forty dollars a bushel, and in some of the other States two hundred dollars at times; linens, which cost two livres a yard in France, forty dollars a yard; broadcloths, a louis d'or a yard here, two hundred dollars a yard; ironmongery of all sorts, one hundred and twenty for one; millinery of all sorts at an advance far exceeding. These were the prices at Boston. At Philadelphia and in all

other States they were much higher. These prices I think must convince your excellency that allowing one half, or even two thirds, of the vessels to be taken, there is room enough for a handsome profit, deducting all charges and computing the value of bills at the rate of silver at the time.

There are two other sources from which foreigners have made great profits: The difference between bills of exchange and silver. During the whole of our history, when a man could readily get twenty-five paper dollars for one in silver, he could not get more than twelve paper dollars for one in a bill of exchange. Nearly this proportion was observed all along, as I have been informed. The agent of a foreign merchant had only to sell his goods for paper, or buy paper with silver at twenty-five for one, and immediately go and buy bills at twelve for one. So that he doubled his money in a moment.

Another source was this: The paper money was not alike depreciated in all places at the same time. It was forty for one at Philadelphia sometimes when it was only twenty at Boston. The agent of a foreign merchant had only to sell his goods or send silver to Philadelphia and exchange it for paper, which he could lay out at Boston for twice what it cost him, and in this way again double his property.

This depreciating paper currency being, therefore, such a fruitful source for men of penetration to make large profits, it is not to be wondered that some have written alarming letters to their correspondents.

No man is more ready than I am to acknowledge the obligations we are under to France; but the flourishing state of her marine and commerce, and the decisive influence of her councils and negotiations in Europe, which all the world will allow to be owing in a great measure to the separation of America from her inveterate enemy and to her new connections with the United States, show that the obligations are mutual. And no foreign merchant ought to expect to be treated in America better than her native merchants, who have hazarded their property through the same perils of the seas and of enemies.

In the late province of the Massachusetts Bay, from the years 1745 to 1750, we had full experience of the operation of paper money. The province engaged in expensive expeditions against Louisburg and Canada, which occasioned a too plentiful emission of paper money, in consequence of which it depreciated to seven and a half for one. In 1750 the British Parliament granted a sum of money to the province to reimburse it for what it had expended more than its proportion in the general expense of the empire. This sum was brought over to Boston in silver and gold, and the legislature determined to redeem all their paper with it at the depreciated value. There was a similar alarm at first, and before the matter was understood; but after the people had time to think upon it, all were satisfied to receive silver at fifty shillings an ounce, although the face of the bills promised an ounce of silver for every six shillings

and eight pence. At that time the British merchants were more interested in our paper money, in proportion, than any Europeans now are, yet they did not charge the province with a breach of faith, or stigmatize this as an act of bankruptcy. On the contrary, they were satisfied with it.

I beg leave to remind your excellency that at that time the laws of Massachusetts were subject not only to the negative of the king's governor, but to a revision by the king in council, and were there liable to be affirmed or annulled. And from the partial preference which your excellency well knows was uniformly given to the subjects of the king within the realm when they came in competition with those of the subjects of the Colonies, there is no reason to doubt that, if that measure, when thoroughly considered, had been unjust in itself, but the merchants in England would have taken the alarm and procured the act to be disallowed by the king in council. Yet the merchants in England, who well understood their own interests, were quite silent upon this occasion, and the law was confirmed in the council; nor can it be supposed to have been confirmed there in a manner unnoticed. It had met with too much opposition among a certain set of interested speculators in the then province for that supposition to be made. And the case of the British merchants at that time differed in no respect from the present case of the French or other foreign merchants, except that the credits of the former were vastly greater, and they must have consequently been more deeply interested in that measure of government than the latter are in the present one. Their acquiescence in the measure and the confirmation of that act must have rested upon the full conviction of the British administration and of the merchants of the justice of it. Your excellency will agree in the difficulty of making any distinction between the French merchant and the Spanish or Dutch merchant by any general rule, for all these are interested in this business.

Your excellency is pleased to ask whether I think these proceedings of Congress proper to give credit to the United States, to inspire confidence in their promises, and to invite the European nations to partake of the same risks to which the subjects of his majesty have exposed themselves?

I have the honor to answer your excellency, directly and candidly, that I do think them proper for these ends, and I do further think them to be the only measures that ever could acquire credit and confidence to the United States. I know of no other just foundation of confidence in men, or bodies of men, than their understanding and integrity; and Congress have manifested to all the world by this plan that they understand the nature of their paper currency; that its fluctuation has been the grand obstacle to their credit, and that it was necessary to draw it to a conclusion in order to introduce a more steady standard of commerce; that to this end the repeal of their laws which made the

paper a tender and giving a free circulation to silver and gold were necessary. They have further manifested by these resolutions that they are fully possessed of the only principle there is in the nature of things for doing justice in this business to the public and to individuals, to natives and foreigners, and that they are sufficiently possessed of the confidence of the people and there is sufficient vigor in their government to carry it into execution.

Notwithstanding all, if any European merchant can show any good reason for excepting his particular case from the general rule, upon a representation of it to Congress I have no doubt they will do him justice.

Moreover, if his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne can show that the sum of five millions of dollars is not the real worth of all the paper money that is abroad, and that ten millions of dollars is the true sum, I doubt not Congress would alter their rule, and redeem it at twenty for one. But I doubt very much whether this can be shown. But I can not see that any distinction could be made between French merchants and those of other nations but what would be very invidious and founded upon no principle. I can not see that any distinction can be made between natives and foreigners but what would have a most unhappy effect upon the minds of the people in America, and be a partiality quite unwarrantable; and, therefore, your excellency will see that it is impossible for me to take any steps to persuade Congress to retract, because it would be acting in direct repugnance to the clearest dictates of my understanding and judgment of what is right and fit.

I can not excuse myself from adding that most of the arms, ammunition, and clothing for the army have been contracted for here by the ministers of Congress, and paid for, or agreed to be paid for, here in silver and gold. Very little of these articles have been shipped by private adventurers. They have much more commonly shipped articles of luxury of which the country did not stand in need, and upon which they must have made vast profits.

Thus have I communicated to your excellency my sentiments with that freedom which becomes a citizen of the United States intrusted by the public with some of its interests. I entreat your excellency to consider them as springing from no other motive than a strong attachment to the union of the States and a desire to prevent all unnecessary causes of parties and disputes, and from a desire not only to preserve the alliance in all its vigor, but to prevent everything which may unnecessarily oppose itself to the affection and confidence between the two nations, which I wish to see increased every day, as every day convinces me more and more of the necessity that France and America will be under of cherishing their mutual connections.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *June* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you have a letter for the gentleman you recommend to me. He seems to be a man of abilities. The words "*before I leave Europe*" had no relation to my particular immediate attention, but to the general one I flatter myself with, of being able to return and spend there the small remains of life that are left me.

I have written distinctly to Messrs. de Neufville concerning those bills. I hear that ——— was at Newbern the 12th of April, and soon to sail from thence or from Virginia for France. Probably he might not sail in some weeks after, as vessels are often longer in fitting out than was expected. If it is the *Fier Rodérique*, a fifty-gun ship, that he comes in, I have just heard that she would not sail till the middle of May. Herewith you have the judgment relating to the *Flora*, which I thought had been sent before. The mischiefs done by the mob in London are astonishing. They were, I heard, within an ace of destroying the bank, with all the books relating to the funds, which would have created infinite confusion.

I am grieved at the loss of Charleston. Let me hope soon to hear better news from the operations of the French and Spanish forces gone to America.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—As the English do not allow that we can make legal prizes, they certainly can not detain the Dutch ship the *Berkenloos* on pretense that it was become American property before they took it. For the rest, there is no doubt but Congress will do what shall appear to be just on a proper representation of facts laid before them, which the owners should appoint some persons in America to do. Those gentlemen may depend on my rendering them every service in my power.

Jay to De Neufville & Son.†

MADRID, *June* 25, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 8th instant came to hand yesterday. The receipt of the letters referred to in it was acknowledged by the last post. Your plan for paying the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens is noble and generous. I heartily wish it may succeed, and that things could be so adjusted as that you might not be exposed to loss or inconvenience by it. But, gentlemen, as to this matter I have neither instructions nor the means of preventing the evils you mention. If I had the money, or could procure it, I would, without hesitation, engage to repay you punctually, but that is not the case. That Congress will repay you,

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* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 475; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 91.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 211.

with gratitude, I am certain, but whether quite so soon as your convenience may require is more doubtful, because the absence of Mr. Laurens is an event they did not foresee, and consequently did not provide against. If you could make a loan for the United States in your country the money might be applied for the discharge of these bills. I am sure you would do Congress a very acceptable service by it. I have not yet heard from Dr. Franklin on this subject. You may rely on all the aid in my power to render, and I should be very happy if it could be equal to the present exigency. I am not without difficulties respecting the bills drawn upon me. If these difficulties should cease, and I should be in a capacity to assist you, I will immediately let you know it, but of this there is as yet no great prospect.

As a man I admire and esteem your conduct, and as an American I thank you. Be assured, therefore, that I shall omit no opportunity of convincing you of the regard and attachment with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 26, 1780.

SIR: The resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March, respecting the paper bills, appeared first in Europe, as recited in the act of the assembly of Pennsylvania; they were next published in the English newspapers, as taken from a Boston paper published by the council; at last the resolutions appeared in the journals of Congress.

A great clamor was raised and spread that the United States had violated their faith, and had declared themselves bankrupts, unable to pay more than two and a half per cent. A gentleman soon after called on me, and told me that the court was alarmed, and that the Comte de Vergennes would be glad to consult me upon the subject. I then received a letter from Boston, acquainting me that the legislature of Massachusetts had adopted the plan. Of this letter I sent an extract immediately to the comte, and waited on him at Versailles, where I had the honor of a long conversation with his excellency on the subject. He desired me to converse with his first secretary, which I did particularly.

His excellency told me he had written to me on the subject, and that I should receive the letter the next day. On my return from Versailles I received a letter from Mr. Gerry, informing me of the resolutions to pay the loan-office certificates at the value of money at the time when they were issued. I had before told the comte that I was persuaded this was a part of the plan. I sent an extract of this letter also to the comte, without loss of time. The next day I received the letter from

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 162, with verbal changes.

his excellency, the copy of which and of my answer are enclosed. Yesterday Mr. Trumbull, of Connecticut, favored me with a law of the State respecting this matter and an estimate of the gradual progress of depreciation. These papers I forthwith transmitted to his excellency. I am determined to give my sentiments to his majesty's ministers whenever they shall see cause to ask them, although it is not within my department, until I shall be forbidden by Congress; and to this end I shall go to court often enough to give them an opportunity to ask them, if they wish to know them.

The clamor that has been raised has been so industriously spread, that I can not but suspect that the motive at bottom has either been a wish to have an opportunity of continuing the profitable speculations which artful men are able to make in a depreciating currency, or else, by spreading a diffidence in American credit, to discourage many from engaging in American trade, that the profits of it may still continue to be confined to the few.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Sartine.*

PASSY, *June* 27, 1780.

SIR: I am very thankful to his majesty, in behalf of the suffering owners of the brigantine *Fair Play*, for his goodness in ordering to be paid to them fifteen thousand livres out of your treasury. But as that sum is conceived by your excellency to be a favorable allowance, in consideration that the misfortune happened by the fault of Captain Giddings, and the owners apprehend there was no fault on his part (being so informed by deposition upon oath), and none was mentioned or supposed in the governor of Guadaloupe's first letter to your excellency on the subject, I fear they will think the sum very small as an indemnification for the loss of their vessel, valued at six thousand pounds sterling.

I therefore request your excellency would be pleased to examine with some attention the said depositions and the valuation (of which I enclose the duplicates), and if, on the whole, you should judge the matter improper to be offered at present for his majesty's reconsideration, you would at least favor me with the informations that have been sent to your excellency from Guadaloupe of the blamable conduct of the captain, as by communicating those informations to the owners I may more easily satisfy them of the favorableness of the sum his majesty has been pleased to grant them.

Your excellency will perceive by their letter, which I send herewith, that they desire Mr. Jonathan Williams, of Nantes, might receive for them the sum that should be granted. I am therefore farther to request

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* 8 Sparks' Franklin, 476; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 98.

that your excellency would be pleased to give orders to your treasurer to accept and pay his drafts for the said fifteen thousand livres.

With great respect, sir, etc.,

B FRANKLIN.

J. Paul Jones to Morris.*

L'ORIENT, *June* 27, 1780.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR: I have deferred writing to you since my return to this kingdom because I had orders myself to return in the *Alliance* immediately to Philadelphia. I was under a necessity of going to court in April to procure the free sale of the *Serapis* and our other prizes, and was received by the royal family, government, and people with that open-armed affection that so nobly marks the character of this generous-minded nation. His majesty ordered a superb sword to be made for me, with an inscription in Latin on the blade that would do honor to the greatest admiral in history. The king directed his minister to write a special letter to the President of Congress, expressing in the strongest terms his personal esteem towards me, with his entire approbation of my conduct, particular desire to promote my future success, and to see me again at his court, etc. To this his majesty was pleased to add a letter to his minister, M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne, directing him to ask permission of Congress to invest me with the order of Military Merit; an honor that was never before offered to a stranger who had not actually served either in the army or navy of France.

I returned here, being charged with despatches of government, and having obtained the king's ship *Ariel* to assist with the *Alliance* in transporting to America the supply of arms and clothing that is now here, and so much wanted in our armies. The *Luzerne* and several other merchant vessels with cargoes amounting to two millions of livres were waiting for my convoy. But to the astonishment of every person, on the 13th of this month Captain Landais went on board the *Alliance* while I was on shore with the commandant of the marine to take measures for the despatch of the *Ariel*, and declared he came to take the command. I made immediate application to the commandant, not choosing to have any particular dispute with Captain Landais after the charge I had given in against him, and for which, with the approbation of this government, Dr. Franklin had displaced him seven months before and given him money to bear his expenses to America for trial. I was advised to send an express with the account immediately to court. I went up myself and returned in six days.

I found the *Alliance* at the entrance of Port Louis, and every necessary disposition was made to stop her from going out, agreeable to the

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* N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1878, 446.

within document; but my humanity would not suffer me to remain a silent witness of bloodshed between the allied subjects of France and America. My having prevented that scene of horror has been, I am persuaded, no small disappointment to the wicked heart and empty head of Captain Landais' two principal advisers. Such a scene would have been an excellent ground of argument for the tools of England against France. One of these two would-be great men will now have his carriage, baggage, and family transported from hence in the space on board the *Alliance* that should have been occupied by the soldiers' clothing; while the red-ribboned commodore has taken advantage of the confusion, and inveigles away (Americans?) from English dungeons and fed for three months on board the *Alliance* in order to man the *Ariel*. The brave men who so gloriously served with me in the *Bon Homme Richard* are now confined as prisoners in the hold of the *Alliance* and treated with every mark of indignity. I had requested them to complete a crew for the *Ariel*, and have demanded them in vain for that purpose. I can not see where all this will end, but surely it must fall dreadful on the heads of those who have stirred up this causeless mutiny. For my own part I shall make no other remark than that I never directly nor indirectly sought after the command of the *Alliance;* but after having, in obedience to orders, commanded her seven months, and after Mr. Lee had made a written application to me as commander of that ship for a passage to America, I am at a loss what name to give Mr. Lee's late conduct and duplicity in stirring up a mutiny in favor of a man who was at first sent to America contrary to Mr. Lee's opinion by Mr. Deane, and who is actually under arrest by order of his sovereign. What gives me the greatest pain is that after I had obtained from government the means of transporting to America under a good protection the arms and clothing I have already mentioned, Mr. Lee should have found means to defeat my intentions. I thank God that I am of no party and have no brothers or relations to serve, but I am convinced that Mr. Lee has acted in this matter merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise, and good Franklin, whose heart as well as head does and will always do honor to human nature. I know the great and good in this kingdom better, perhaps, than any other American who has appeared in Europe since the treaty of alliance, and if my testimony could add anything to Franklin's reputation I would witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all ranks, not only at Versailles and all over this kingdom, but also in Spain and Holland. And I can add from the testimony of the first characters of other nations that with them envy is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned.

You will bear me witness, my worthy friend, that I never asked a favor for myself from Congress, for you have seen all my letters and know that I never sought any indirect influence, though my ambition to act an eminent and useful part in this glorious revolution is un-

bounded. I pledge myself to you and to America that my zeal [derives] new ardor from the oppositions it meets with, and I live but to overcome them and to prove myself no mock patriot, but a true friend to the rights of human nature upon principles of disinterested philanthropy. Of this I have already given some proofs, and I will give more. Let not, therefore, the virtuous Senate of America be misled by the insinuations of fallen ambition. Should anything be said to my disadvantage, all I ask is a suspension of judgment until I can appear before Congress to answer for myself.

I repeat that I am determined to steer clear of party and to keep within my line of duty as an officer. Deeply sensible of the obligation I owe to your friendship, and ardently wishing to merit the affection of every good American, I am, dear sir, with the highest esteem and respect, your most obliged and very humble servant,

JNO. P. JONES.

N. B.—I will do my utmost to return immediately to America. I return you my best thanks for your letter of the 4th November.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 28, 1780.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor of informing Congress that the court of Madrid has sent to Havana land and naval forces sufficient to make a powerful diversion there. The governor of Havana, having been informed of the assurances given by this assembly on the 16th of December last respecting the provisions of which the islands and the fleet of his Catholic majesty might stand in need, is desirous that such quantities of corn as shall not be necessary for the subsistence of the armies destined to act upon this continent may be successively sent to him. It is desirable that the quantity now about to be sent should amount to three thousand barrels, and, with the approbation of Congress, the undersigned will give immediate orders to some merchants of this city to make purchases in the States in such manner as Congress shall think proper.

The governor of Havana is also desirous of being supplied with beef and pork, suet, lard, and vegetables, and with large and even small live cattle. The minister of France entreats Congress to be pleased to enable him to send to Havana a favorable answer to these different demands, and he will take pleasure in transmitting to the court of Madrid the intelligence of the facilities for supplies of provision which the Spanish colonies shall have enjoyed throughout the thirteen States.

LUZERNE.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 694. Another translation is given in the secret journals of date.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *June* 29, 1780.

SIR: The disputes about the *Alliance* have been so critical and disagreeable, that Congress will pardon me for making a few observations upon our arrangements here.

I apprehend that many of the disputes, delays, and other inconveniences that have attended our affairs in this kingdom have arisen from blending the offices of political minister, board of admiralty, chamber of commerce, and commercial agent together. The business of the minister is to negotiate with the court, to propose and consult upon plans for the conduct of the war, to collect and transmit intelligence from other parts, especially concerning the designs and the forces of the enemy. This is business enough for the wisest and most laborious man the United States have in their service, aided by an active, intelligent, and industrious secretary. But added to all this, our ministers at the court of Versailles have ever been overloaded with commercial and admiralty business, complicated and perplexed in its nature, and endless in its details. But for this I am persuaded much more might have been done in the conduct of the war, and the United States might have had more effectual assistance, and France and Spain too fewer misfortunes to bewail.

I would therefore beg leave to propose to appoint a consul, without loss of time, to reside at Nantes, and to him consign all vessels from the United States. I think it should be an American, some merchant of known character, abilities, and industry, who would consent to serve his country for moderate emoluments. Such persons are to be found in great numbers in the United States. There are many applications from French gentlemen. But I think that a want of knowledge of our language, our laws, customs, and even the humors of our people—for even these must be considered—would prevent them from giving satisfaction or doing justice. Besides, if it is an honor, a profit, or only an opportunity to travel and see the world for improvement, I think the native Americans have a right to expect it; and, further, that the public have a right to expect that whatever advantages are honestly to be made in this way should return some time or other to America, together with the knowledge and experience gained at the same time.

These consuls, as well as the foreign ministers, should all be instructed to transmit to Congress written accounts of the civil and military constitutions of the places where they are, as well as all the advantages for commerce with the whole world, especially with the United States. These letters preserved will be a repository of political and commercial knowledge that in future times may be a rich treasure to the United States. To these consuls the commercial concerns of the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 163, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 208.

public should be committed, and the vessels of war. It will be necessary sometimes to send a frigate to Europe to bring intelligence, to bring passengers, even perhaps to bring commodities or fetch stores. But I hope no frigate will ever again be sent to cruise or be put under the command of anybody in Europe, consul or minister. They may receive their orders from the navy board in America, and be obliged to obey them. I have had a great deal of experience in the government of these frigates when I had the honor to be one of the ministers plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles and afterwards at Nantes, L'Orient, and Brest, when I was seeking a passage home. Disputes were perpetually arising between officers and their crews, between captains and their officers, and between the officers of one ship and another. There were never officers enough to compose a court-martial, and nobody had authority to remove or suspend officers without their consent; so that, in short, there was little order, discipline, subordination, or decency.

Another thing, when frigates are under the direction of an authority at a distance of three or four hundred miles so much time is lost in writing and sending letters and waiting for answers, it has been found an intolerable embarrassment to the service. It is now two years since consuls were expected and a secretary to this mission. It is a great misfortune to the United States that they have not arrived. Every man can see that it has been a great misfortune, but none can tell how great. There is much reason to believe that if our establishments here had been upon a well-digested plan and completed, and if our affairs had been urged with as much skill and industry as they might in that case have been, that we should at this moment have been blessed with peace, or at least with tranquillity and security, which would have resulted from a total expulsion of the English from the United States and the West India islands.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

PARIS, *June* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter of the Count de Vergennes to me of the 21st of this month and a copy of my answer to his excellency of the 22d.

This correspondence is upon a subject that has lain much out of the way of my particular pursuits, and therefore I may be inaccurate in some things; but in the principles I am well persuaded I am right. I hope that things are explained so as to be intelligible, and that there is nothing inconsistent with that decency which ought in such a case to be observed.

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* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 165; 7 J. Adams' Works, 211.

If your excellency thinks me materially wrong in anything, I should be much obliged to you to point it out to me, for I am open to conviction.

This affair in America is a very tender and dangerous business, and requires all the address, as well as all the firmness, of Congress to extricate the country out of the embarrassment arising from it; and there is no possible system, I believe, that could give universal satisfaction to all; but this appears to me to promise to give more general satisfaction than any other that I have ever heard suggested. I have added copies of the whole correspondence.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Jefferson.*

PARIS, *June* 29, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Mazzei† called on me last evening to let me know he was this morning at 3 to set off on his journey to Italy. He desired me to write you that he has communicated to me the nature of his errand, but that, his papers being lost, he waits for a commission and instructions from you; that being limited to five per cent., and more than that being given by the powers of Europe, and, indeed, having been offered by other States, and even by the ministers of Congress, he

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 210.

† Philip Mazzei was born in Tuscany in 1730, and from 1755 to 1773 was engaged in business in London. In December, 1773, he came to Virginia, with a party of Italians, with the view of superintending the introduction of grapes and other fruits and of silk culture in Virginia. When in America he became intimate with Jefferson, Madison, and Adams. In 1779 he went to Europe for the purpose of obtaining arms for Virginia; and when in Paris came in conflict with Franklin, who discountenanced all movements on behalf of separate States to obtain European aid. This produced in him a prejudice against Franklin, afterwards deprecated by Jefferson. Mazzei revisited the United States in 1784, but afteward returned to Europe, where he attained political preferment in Poland. In 1802, when the Emperor Alexander was interested in the illuminati, to whose mystical views Mazzei approached, Mazzei received a Russian pension, which, strange as the inconsistency may appear, he seems to have enjoyed till his death. It was to Mazzei that Jefferson wrote a famous letter (April 24, 1796, 4 Jeff. Works, 139), which, as translated (for the original never was produced) seemed to imply that Washington was affected by the reaction towards Congress then exhibiting itself in the United States. With Madison Mazzei was in constant correspondence (see 1 Madison's Writings, 44, 444), and he appears to have been on friendly terms with Patrick Henry (id., 77). His visit to the United States in 1784 was, in part, to obtain a foreign consulate, in which he was disappointed. "Mr. Adams is the only public man whom he thinks favorably of, or seems to have associated with; a circumstance which their mutual characters may perhaps account for." (Madison to Jefferson, April 25, 1784, id., 78.) From this letter, and from that of Jefferson, to which it is a reply, it appears that Jefferson looked with no favor on Mazzei's political utterances. Neither Madison nor Jefferson had any idea that Mazzei was then a Russian pensioner. Mazzei published in 1788 a work on America,

has little hopes of succeeding at so low an interest; that he shall, however, endeavor to prepare the way in Italy for borrowing, and hopes to be useful to Virginia and the United States.

I know nothing of this gentleman but what I have learned of him here. His great affection for you, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Mason, and other choice spirits in Virginia, recommended him to me. I know not in what light he stands in your part; but here, as far as I have had opportunity to see and hear, he has been useful to us. He kept good company and a good deal of it. He talks a great deal, and is a zealous defender of our affairs. His variety of languages and his knowledge of American affairs gave him advantages which he did not neglect.

What his success will be in borrowing money I know not. We are impatient to learn whether Virginia and the other States have adopted the plan of finances recommended by Congress on the 18th of March. I think we shall do no great things at borrowing, unless that system or some other, calculated to bring things to some certain and steady standard, succeeds.

Before this reaches you you will have learned the circumstances of the insurrections in England, which discover so deep and so general a discontent and distress, that no wonder the nations stand gazing at one another in astonishment and horror. To what extremities their confusions will proceed no man can tell. They seem unable to unite in any principle, and to have no confidence in one another. Thus it is, when truth and virtue are lost. These, surely, are not the people who ought to have absolute authority over us in all cases whatsoever; this not the nation which is to bring us to unconditional submission. The loss of Charleston has given a rude shock to our feelings. I am distressed for our worthy friends in that quarter. But the possession of that town must weaken and perplex the enemy more than us.

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which, from its ultra radicalism and its misconception of the American system, Madison severely condemns in a letter to Mazzei of December 10, 1788. (Id., 444.)

Mazzei—for Mazzei's correspondence with John Adams, see John Adams' Works, vol. 7, p. 608; vol. 9, p. 552.

An interesting letter, dated April 16, 1781 of Patrick Henry, recommending Mazzei is in the Dreer Collection in Philadelphia.

The only letter on record from Franklin to Mazzei was written before Franklin left for France, and relates mainly to Mazzei's plans for silk and fruit culture in America. Mazzei's abandonment of his silk and fruit enterprise in Virginia arose from his inability to obtain Italian experts in consequence of the breaking out of the Revolution. The estate of Collei, near Monticello, which was bought for him by an American company as a vineyard for experiment, has since been shown to be in a climate suited for that culture. This neighborhood brought about Jefferson's acquaintance with him, and the obnoxious passage about reaction, above alluded to, which Mazzei selected for publication, was given at the end of a long answer by Jefferson to enquiries by Mazzei as to his private affairs. It may be a mistake to distrust Mazzei's professions of radicalism, but his relations to the Emperor Alexander and his bitter antagonism to American statesmen of democratic tendencies make his sincerity open to doubt.

By this time you know more than I do of the destination and the operations of French and Spanish armaments. May they have success, and give us ease and liberty, if the English will not give us peace.

I have the honor to be, with affectionate respect, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to Franklin.*

VERSAILLES, *June* 30, 1780.

SIR: I did not until this day receive the letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 24th of this month.

You request, in consequence of an application made to you by Mr. Adams, that the orders given to the Chevalier de la Luzerne relative to a resolution of Congress of the 18th of March last should be revoked, or at least suspended, as that plenipotentiary is able to prove that those orders are founded on false reports.

Mr. Adams, on the 22d, sent me a long dissertation on the subject in question, but it contains only abstract reasonings, hypotheses, and calculations which have no real foundation, or which at least do not apply to the subjects of the king, and in fine principles, than which nothing can be less analogous to the alliance subsisting between his majesty and the United States.

By this, sir, you can judge that the pretended proofs mentioned by Mr. Adams are not of a nature to induce us to change our opinion, and consequently can not effect a revocation or suspension of the orders given to the Chevalier de la Luzerne. The king is so firmly persuaded, sir, that your private opinion respecting the effects of that resolution of Congress, as far as it concerns strangers, and especially Frenchmen, differs from that of Mr. Adams, that he is not apprehensive of laying you under any embarrassments by requesting you to support the representations which his minister is ordered to make to Congress. And that you may be enabled to do this with a complete knowledge of the case, his majesty has commanded me to send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Adams, the observations of that plenipotentiary, and my answer to him.

The king expects that you will lay the whole before Congress, and his majesty flatters himself that that assembly, inspired with principles different from those which Mr. Adams has discovered, will convince his majesty that they know how to prize those marks of favor which the king has constantly shown to the United States.

However, sir, the king does not undertake to point out to Congress the means which may be employed to indemnify the French who are holders of the paper money. His majesty, with respect to that, relies entirely on the justice and wisdom of that assembly.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 110,

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *June* 30, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 22d instant on the subject of the resolution of Congress of March 18 last. I have already informed you that it was by no means my intention to analyze this resolution as it respects the citizens of the United States, nor examine whether circumstances authorize the arrangement or not. I had but one object in writing to you with the confidence which I thought due to your knowledge and your attachment to the alliance, which was to convince you that the French ought not to be confounded with the Americans, and that there would be an evident injustice in making them sustain the loss with which they are threatened.

The details into which you have thought proper to enter have not changed my sentiments; but I think that all further discussion between us on this subject will be needless, and I shall only observe that if the king's council considers, as you pretend, the resolution of Congress in a wrong point of view, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who is on the spot, will not fail to elucidate the matter; and if Congress on their part shall not adopt the representations which that minister is charged to make to them, they will undoubtedly communicate to us their reasons to justify their refusal.

Should they be well founded, the king will take them into consideration, his majesty demanding nothing but the most exact justice. But should they be otherwise, he will renew his instances to the United States, and will confidently expect from their penetration and wisdom a decision conformable to his demand. His majesty is the more persuaded that Congress will give their whole attention to this business, as this assembly, which has frequently renewed the assurance, values, as well as yourself, sir, the union which subsists between France and the United States, and that they will assuredly perceive that the French deserve a preference before other nations who have no treaty with America, and who even have not as yet acknowledged her independence.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 166, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 212.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 1, 1780.

SIR: I had this morning the honor of your letter of the 30th of June.

It is very certain that the representations from his majesty which may be made by his minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, will be attended to by Congress with all possible respect, and its due weight will be given to every fact and argument that he may adduce, and I am well persuaded that Congress will be able to give such reasons for their final result as will give entire satisfaction to his majesty and remove every color of just complaint from his subjects.

As in my letter of the 22d of last month I urged such reasons as appeared to me incontestable to show that the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March, connected with the other resolution, to pay the loan-office certificates according to the value of money at the time they were emitted, being a determination to pay the full value of all the bills and certificates which were out; and the depreciation of both, being more the act and fault of their possessors than of government, was neither a violation of the public faith nor an act of bankruptcy.

I have the honor to agree with your excellency in opinion that any further discussion of these questions is unnecessary.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Protest of the City of Amsterdam.†

[Extracted from the resolutions of the council of that city of the 29th of June, 1780, and inserted in the acts of the provincial assembly of Holland, at The Hague, July 1, 1780.]

The deputies of the city of Amsterdam, in the name and on the part of their constituents, in order to justify themselves to posterity, have declared in the assembly of their noble and grand mightinesses that their committee is of opinion that it is necessary, without loss of time, to write on the part of their high mightinesses to M. de Swart, their resident at the court of Russia, and charge him to enter into a conference, the sooner the better, with the commissioners of her Imperial majesty of Russia and of other neutral powers in the place of his residence and elsewhere where it shall be judged suitable, in order to conclude together a convention for the mutual protection of the commerce and navigation of neutral powers on the basis of the declaration made by her majesty to the belligerent powers, and of the resolution adopted on this subject by their high mightinesses on the 24th of April last, adding to it only that said M. de Swart shall take for the rule of his conduct the simplicity which her Imperial majesty of Russia herself has

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* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 167; 7 J. Adams' Works, 213.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306.

proposed in the explanations which she made on five points at the request of his Swedish majesty, and which M. de Swart has communicated to their high mightinesses, to the end that with such a provisional convention they would be well pleased to decree together the reciprocal protection of the merchant ships of each other, which, fortified with the requisite papers, shall be nevertheless insulted on the sea; so that these merchant vessels, being in reach of one or more vessels of war of one of the allied powers, wherever it may be, they may receive, in virtue of such an alliance, any assistance; and that at the same time the contracting powers engage to put to sea, provisionally, all the vessels of war they can, and to give to the officers who shall command them necessary orders and instructions, that they may be able to fulfill these general, salutary, and simple views.

And that, further, as to arrangements to be made for the future, which may require more particular detail, and which can not be adjusted with the expedition which the present perilous state of the navigation of the neutral powers in general and of this province in particular demands, M. de Swart will reserve all this for a separate article, of which her Imperial majesty of Russia made mention in the above-named explanations, and that he will declare in regard to this that their high mightinesses have given thereon their final and precise orders, in which they will constitute one or more plenipotentiaries, who will be able to treat of the necessary arrangements on this subject with the neutral powers.

That said constitutents, to give greater weight to their present advice, add further to the above, that if this advice was rejected, and if the affair was negotiated on the basis of the previous opinion, exhibited on the 23d of June last, in the assembly of Holland, the consequence of it will be that the Russian squadron, which, according to orders of her Imperial majesty of Russia, must have already put to sea, will appear in the seas bordering on this country without giving any protection to the commerce of this country; while, on the other side, though commerce has been a long time charged with double duties, their high mightinesses, meantime, grant it no protection, because the colleges of admiralty of this country profess themselves unable to do it, or at least to put to sea sufficient convoys to avoid affronts like those which the squadron under the orders of Rear-Admiral de Byland had lately endured.

That from this total failure of protection to the navigation of this country, on the one side, and from the continual insults of which their high mightinesses every day receive grievous complaints, on the other, there must naturally ensue an entire suspension of the commerce of this country; and thence it is easy to foresee that this commerce will be diverted and take its course by other European channels, and that the burdensome impositions with which it is charged, in order to obtain means for its protection being continued, will precipitate its ruin.

That in this confusion of affairs, and in the extreme necessity in which they find themselves to take advantage of an offer of assistance and succor so generously and magnanimously made and proposed by her Imperial majesty of Russia to this state on a footing so easy and so little burdensome, the lords constituents will leave posterity to judge of the weight of the reasons alleged by some members of the assembly of their noble and grand mightinesses, in the deliberation on this subject, as if the acceptance of said means for the necessary protection of the commerce of this country, and in particular of foreign succor, could be considered a means of drawing on a war on the part of those against whom it is found necessary to defend ourselves in making use of said means to all lawful purposes; and as if we ought for this reason to decline the said offer of assistance, unless her Imperial majesty of Russia, beside her said magnanimous plan of re-establishing the liberty of the seas, will also engage with the other neutral powers to guaranty to this nation all its possessions fixed and immovable both in and out of Europe.

That the lords constituents will only remark, that in order that such an attack on the fixed and immovable possessions of the republic may appear likely, it would be necessary, at least, to allege some plausible reasons or pretexts to defend it, in the eyes of all Europe, from the most manifest injustice and violence; whereas it is clear that such hostilities could not have any foundation on a protection of commerce to which their high mightinesses find themselves absolutely forced by the open violation of the treaty of commerce concluded with England in 1674; that thus the probability of an attack of this sort, seeing the manifest injustice of such an enterprise, must vanish; and this especially if we consider the great number of enemies that England has drawn upon her, and that it would be madness to increase the number; that such being the case, the said suppositions are of too small weight, and too far removed from all probability, to refuse the means which are offered of protecting the commerce of the subjects of the state, and that to refuse an aid so powerful, while it is not in a condition to protect its commerce by its own unaided forces, will be evidently to renounce all protection possible, while the burdensome imposts under which commerce, in expectation of some protection, has a long time groaned and still groans, would, against all reason, remain in their rigor.

That, in addition to this, the lords constituents will remark further, that it appears by the successive despatches of M. de Swart to their high mightinesses on this affair, that he insists strongly on hastening the business, and on sending, the sooner the better, necessary instructions for this purpose, after the example of Sweden, who has already instructed her minister to conclude the said convention. That this is the more necessary, because we know that all sorts of indirect means are set to work to deprive the republic of the advantage of an alliance so beneficial, and to involve it in a war with France.

From this it is clear that such pernicious views will be accomplished

if not only they put off the completion of the convention, but also, as is but too apparent, if they evade it altogether, by making her Imperial majesty of Russia propositions of guaranty, which not only are entirely foreign to the plan which this princess has laid before the eyes of Europe, but which her majesty, in the explanations she has given, has roundly declared she would never listen to.

In fine, that the lords constituents are of opinion that it is necessary to satisfy the wishes of her Imperial majesty of Russia, by making the declaration in question on the part of their high mightinesses to the belligerent powers, and by assuring her majesty that as soon as said convention shall be signed their high mightinesses will make the said declaration to the courts of the belligerent powers.

Meantime, the committee referred thereon to the better advice of the honorable council. On which having deliberated, and the voices having been taken, the burgomasters and counselors thanked the committee for the trouble they had taken, and agreed to the above advice.

A. VAN HINGELANDT.

Couteulx to Jay.*

CADIZ, *July* 4, 1780.

SIR: With your esteemed letter 22d June last we received an enclosed one for Mr. Harrison, to whom it was immediately conveyed. Said gentleman arrived here about a fortnight ago and has remitted us your favor 5th May last introducing him to our acquaintance. We have done everything in our power to convince him of our true regard for the recommendation he brought, and though few occasions have presented of being useful to him, we have had the pleasure of facilitating to him some commercial affairs advantageous to his interest, and have also presented him to our new governor-general, Orielly.

About the regulations expected on the treatment to be allowed to American seamen, we see that you are expecting answers from the Congress to your letters on the subject; in the interim are of opinion to continue on the same plan laid out at your departure. We are very willing to follow that case, though we must confess to you that in itself it is a tiresome and disagreeable job enough by the multiplicity of people that present themselves every day, the kind of trial that must be made of each in particular to us, if they are grounded in the succor they pretend, and more than all by the difficulty of collocating them, and the strange and monstrous pretensions of many, who (as sailors in fine) lavish themselves in very free terms upon upbraiding their own country that does not provide better for its seamen, and threatening to engage on board of English vessels rather than to famish. There is now here a gang of fourteen of them come from Lisbon with French

*MSS. Dep. of State.

and Spanish passes that denote them to be Americans. They won't be satisfied with one real of plate a day. There are but two American ships here, so full of people that they can not be engaged for love or money to take more. We have proposed to them to go and stay on board some of the men-of-war now here with the allowance that they might go away whenever they please, but they have such a terrible reluctance to it, that it is difficult to determine, as they may still remain here long time enough.

Here enclosed we remit you accounts of our disbursements to this day, which you will please to direct us for the reimbursement of, and at the same time it may serve you to form a judgment on the annual expense, considering it however a half more for the future on account of the dear price of provisions, that does not afford people living at one real a day as I had taxed them.

We are very happy to hear that Mrs. Jay's health is better. The beautiful walks of Aranjuez gardens will perhaps have contributed to the recovery of her health. We will learn the continuation of it with pleasure, as also Colonel Livingston's, to whom we present our compliments. We beg you would be good enough to tell Mr. Carmichael that we never could get any intelligence, neither from the people at Mrs. Murphey's nor at the French consul's, of General Washington's picture, of which we lament much the loss. We assure this gentleman of our civilities. There is now in the bay a formidable fleet, composed of thirty-two men of first rank of the line, twenty-four of them Spanish and eight French. We expect still four French more from Toulon, after which arrival we think this fleet shall go to cruise in the channel. God grant they may succeed as well as M. Guichen. We should expect soon good news from America and West Indies from said admiral and from M. de Ternay.

We remain, etc.,

L. COUTEULX.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 6, 1780.

SIR: In looking over the long list of vessels belonging to the United States taken and destroyed, and recollecting the whole history of the rise and progress of our navy, it is very difficult to avoid tears. Nevertheless, what we have done and lost shows what we can do. Our resources of materials, artists, and seamen are not exhausted. But it is impossible not to inquire whether we have not committed errors in the destination of our vessels? Whether our navy is equal to the attack or defense of places? Whether our articles of war for the government of the marine are adequate to the introduction of that obedience and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 172.

discipline that are necessary? Whether cruising for the protection of our own trade against the depredations of privateers and smaller vessels of war of our enemies, and for the purpose of making prizes of transports and merchant ships, is not the object fittest in the present stage of our naval history to encourage seamen to engage in our service, to form officers, to supply the United States with many things, to weaken and distress our foes? Officers, who have a thirst for glory and wish to distinguish themselves by brilliant battles, ought not to be discouraged, but I can not but think that at this period they would do more essential service to their country by a line of conduct leading to fewer laurels, but more wealth.

In all events, however, it is to be hoped and presumed that Congress will give great attention to their navy, to the augmentation of ships, the multiplication of seamen, the improvement of discipline, and the formation of officers. Americans, I see, must cherish their own navy. I fear that no other nation would grieve very much at the total destruction of it before the conclusion of a peace. I am sorry to say this, but I have heard such hints as convince me that it is my duty to put Congress on their guard, and to entreat them to leave nothing unattempted to put their marine upon the best footing in their power.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 6, 1780.

SIR: In the puplic papers of the latter end of June are lists of the vessels of war and privateers taken and destroyed by the powers at war.

Vessels taken from France.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Protée	64	Taken by Admiral Digby.	Licorne	32	Admiral Vernon.
			Alcmène	30	Proserpine, Sutton.
Fortune	42	Taken by Admiral Rowley.	Oiseau	26	Apollo, Pownal.
			Adventure	26	Admiral Arbuthnot.
Blanche	36	Taken by Admiral Rowley.	Pilote	14	Commodore Reynolds.
Prudente	36	Ruby, Everett.	Mutin	14	Do.
Danaë	34	Experiment, Wallace.	Coureur	14	Admiral Keppel.
Sartine	32	Admiral Vernon.			

DESTROYED.

Valeur	26	Experiment, Wallace	Recluse	24	Experiment, Wallace.

*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 168.

Vessels taken by France.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Ardent	64	D'Orvilliers.	Lively	20	D'Orvilliers.
Experiment	50	D'Estaing.	Ceres	18	D'Estaing.
Minerva	32		Weazel	16	
Montreal	32	Le Bourgoyne.	Senegal	16	
Fox	28	La Junon.	Zephyr	14	
Active	28		Alert	10	D'Orvilliers.
Ariel	20	D'Estaing.	Thunder Bomb	8	D'Estaing.

DESTROYED.

Juno	32	At Rhode Island.	Cerberus	28	At Rhode Island.
Flora	32		Rose	20	At Savannah.
Lark	32		Falcon	18	At Rhode Island.
Orpheus	32		King Fisher	16	Do.
Quebec	32	By the Surveillante.			

Privateers taken from France.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Lion	40		Comte d'Artois	28	
Monsieur	40		Lis	23	
Duc de Cogny	36		Sphinx	20	Retaken by the French.
Belhune	30		Helena	16	Do.
Ménagère	30		Jackall	10	Do.
Hercule	30				

Vessels taken from Spain.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Phœnix	80	By Admiral Rodney.	Ammonica	32	Pearl, Montagu.
Monarca	70		Margarita	28	Johnstone.
Princessa	70				

DESTROYED.

S. Domingo	70	By Admiral Rodney.	S. Julian	70	
S. Eugenio	70				

Privateers taken from the Spaniards.

Vessels.	Guns.	Vessels.	Guns.
Guipuscoa	64	Sta Teresa	28
San Carlos	52	Sta Bruna	26
San Carlos	32	Solidad	26
San Rafael	30		

Vessels of war taken from Congress.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Hancock	32	Rainbow, Sir George Collier.	Hampden	20	Sir George Collier.
			Trumbull	20	Venus, Ferguson.
Raleigh	32	Experiment, Wallace.	Cumberland	20	Pomona, Waldgrove.
Providence	32	Admiral Arbuthnot.	Ranger	20	Admiral Arbuthnot.
Boston	32	Do.	Alfred	20	Ariadne, Pringle.
Delaware	30	Lord Howe.	Hunter	18	Sir George Collier.
Virginia	30	St. Albans, Onslow.	Cabot	18	Hope, Dawson.
Oliver Cromwell	24	Beaver Sloop, Jones.	Lexington	16	Alert, Bazeley.

DESTROYED.

Bricole, pierced for 60, mounting	40	Admiral Arbuthnot.	Washington	32	Captain Henry.
			Effingham	28	Do.
			Queen of France	28	Admiral Arbuthnot.
Bon Homme Richard.	44	Serapis, Pearson.	Fruit	26	Do.
			General Moultrie	20	Do.
Randolph	36	Yarmouth, Vincent.	Notre Dame	16	Do.
Warren	32	Sir George Collier.			

N. B.—Seventeen armed ships, from fourteen to twenty-four guns, destroyed by Sir George Collier at Penobscot; three frigates and two sloops destroyed by the same upon the stocks at Portsmouth; the galleys destroyed upon Lake Champlain, in Georgia, etc.; the ships destroyed in Egg Harbor, at Bedford, etc.

Vessels of war taken by Congress.

Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.	Vessels.	Guns.	Remarks.
Serapis	44	Paul Jones.	Countess of Scarborough.	32	Paul Jones.
Drake	18	Ranger, Paul Jones.			
Thorn	16	Boston, Tucker.			

DESTROYED.

Augusta	64	At Mud Fort.	Mermaid	21	Off Cape Henlopen.
Acteon	28	At Fort Sullivan.	Merlin	18	At Mud Fort.

Vessels of war destroyed by accident.

ENGLISH.

Vessels.	Guns.	Vessels.	Guns.
Somerset	64	Cruiser	16
Repulse	32	Otter	16
Arethusa	32	Pomona	16
Liverpool	28	Zebra	16
Syren	28	Cupid	16
Leviathan	26	Savage	16
Grampus	26	Pegasus	14
Tortoise	26	Spy	14
Glasgow	24	Swallow	14
Vestal	20	Viper	14
Mercury	20		

FRENCH.

Roland	64	Monarque	64
Zephyr	32	Fox	28

SPANISH.

Pondersoso	70	Rosa	30
Notre Dame		Congres	
St. Joseph	70	Carmes	36

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 7, 1780.

SIR: On the 27th of June Mr. Hartley, after a speech of an hour long, moved that the house would give him leave to bring in a bill to the end to empower the court to adopt the most proper means to make peace with America. After a short debate, the question being put, the majority was for the negative. This motion is said to have had the less success because it is founded on a principle absolutely false and derogatory to the royal prerogative. The King of England, to make peace, wants nothing but the will. It is in this case only that he is absolute. The American war was commenced without the participation of Parliament. Why should they give the king new powers to bring it to a conclusion? There is but one means of forcing him to it, and that is by refusing him the necessary subsidies; and they are now further from this than ever. But it is ridiculous to labor to clothe the king with

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 173.

powers which are inherent in his title. It is, in other words, to permit him to be a king.

The bill is of the following tenor:

Whereas for some years there have arisen unfortunate disputes between Great Britain and several provinces of North America, which have occasioned the calamities of war: To the end to prevent a greater effusion of blood, and to re-establish peace, be it enacted, that his majesty be permitted, by virtue of letters patent, to nominate commissioners, with power to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of restoring peace, in concert with persons authorized for this purpose by the said provinces of North America. That, to facilitate the good intentions of this bill, be it enacted, that the king give power to the said commissioners to cause to be suspended all hostilities, by land and by sea, for so long a time and under such conditions and restrictions as they shall judge proper. That, to the end to establish upon a good foundation a cordial reconciliation and a durable peace between Great Britain and the said provinces, by reinstating them in their ancient friendship, his majesty may legally permit his said commissioners to grant and to ratify, from time to time, any article of pacification which, thus granted and ratified, shall have its full and entire effect for ten years, to be dated from the 1st of August of the present year. That, for removing every obstacle which may oppose itself to the full execution of any article of pacification, his majesty shall be at liberty, by an order in writing, signed with his hand and countersigned by one or more secretaries of state, to authorize the said commissioners to suspend, during ten years, to be dated from the 1st of August of the present year, the execution of any act of Parliament which concerns the said provinces, so far as the said acts, their clauses or conditions, may put any obstacle to the full effect and to the execution of any article of pacification between Great Britain and the said provinces. That, to the end to establish a durable reconciliation and a perpetual peace between Great Britain and the said provinces, be it enacted, that all and every article of pacification, resolved and ratified for ten years as aforesaid, shall be from time to time communicated to both houses of Parliament, to be by them examined, as forming the base of a sincere and durable union; and that every one of the said articles, having been once approved in Parliament, shall have forever its full and entire effect. That the present act shall remain in force until the 31st of December.

Having been disappointed, by another accident, of my English papers, I have been obliged to translate this bill from the *Courrier de l'Europe*. I hope to transmit the original in a few days. It is, however, of so little consequence, that it is scarce worth transcribing. Other grounds must be taken than that of General Conway, Governor Pownal, or Mr. Hartley before anything will be done in earnest towards peace. The history of Charleston, and the numberless fictions with which the the stockjobbers have decorated it, have raised the stocks three and a half per cent., and have given such a temporary intoxication to the people, that scarce anything is talked of but unconditional submission.

The affair of Mobile, the dispersion of both the outward and homeward bound Quebec fleet, the indecisive battles between de Guichen and Rodney, and the anxiety for Walsingham's fleet, and twenty other fears begin now to sink their spirits again.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

N. B.—Sir George Saville moved on the same day a resolution that the American war was unconstitutional, expensive, and ruinous; but this motion was rejected by nearly the same majority.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 7, 1780.

SIR: On the 21st of last month the merchants of the city of Amsterdam arrived at The Hague, and presented to their high mightinesses a petition conceived in these terms:

To their high mightinesses our lords the States-General of the United Provinces:

The subscribers, all merchants, trading to the West Indies, and established under the jurisdiction of this state, give respectfully to understand that, to their great regret, the petitioners have learned, by the way of a ship lately arrived from Curaçao, the unheard-of ill treatment exercised by the English in taking the barks belonging to the subjects of their high mightinesses which trade with the French possessions in the said countries, and which, loaded with the productions of the said countries, purchased or consigned, make sail to return to the islands or places which belong to the dominions of their high mightinesses, without having, even to this time, that your petitioners know of, returned either the barks or cargoes: but so far from it, that the cargoes of some of them have been already condemned and the barks restored empty, a fate which the petitioners fear to see others undergo likewise. And as by these vexations and unparalleled ill treatment the subjects of your high mightinesses, contrary to all kinds of right, are deprived of their properties and effects embarked, as well as of the liberty which is assured to them by the treaties subsisting between the crown of England and this state, and by these means see themselves reduced to an impossibility of being able to procure for the ships sent from home to the West Indies the cargoes necessary for their return, all expeditions and adventures of merchandises from our countries to these places must absolutely cease, and draw after it the inevitable ruin of this branch of commerce, so important, as well as that of many of the subjects of your high mightinesses, both in this country and in the West Indies.

For these causes the petitioners pray, in all humility, that your high mightinesses would be pleased to take this navigation and commerce, forming an object so considerable, under your effectual protection; in the first place by granting the necessary convoy to ships which go to the West Indies or which return from thence; and in the next place to order to cruise in those seas a sufficient number of vessels of war, or even to order them to escort the barks in question and other trading ships loaded with productions and effects permitted by the treaties and making sail for the French colonies or returning from them, to the end to secure them from all further insult; which will preserve at the same time the petitioners, as well as many other subjects of the republic, from total ruin. That it may, moreover, please your high mightinesses to charge the Count de Welderen, your envoy extraordinary to the British court, to make the necessary representations touching the seizure of these barks, to seek to obtain of the English ministry that the requisite orders may be sent to the colonies of his Britannic majesty for releasing the aforesaid barks, with their cargoes, paying, at the same time, the expenses occasioned by their seizure; in fine, that by the good and efficacious offices of his excellency things may be directed in a manner that on the part of the court of St. James they may write to Jamaica and elsewhere not to interrupt for the future the subjects of their high mightinesses in the exercise of this lawful commerce, but to leave them to enjoy a free navigation and commerce, such as have been solemnly accorded and guarantied to them by the treaty of 1674.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 175, with verbal changes.

Congress to the Minister of France.*

IN CONGRESS, *July* 7, 1780.

The minister of France having, in a note dated the 28th of June, informed Congress that the court of Madrid has sent to the Havana a considerable body of forces to make a diversion in that quarter; and that the Governor of Havana desires that as much flour and fresh provisions, such as cattle, hogs, suet, lard, and pulse, as can be spared should be sent thither; and the minister having intimated that three thousand barrels of flour are immediately wanted, and that he will undertake to have that quantity purchased and sent, if Congress approve the measure, the following answer was returned:

That the minister of France be informed that, through the loss of Charleston, the numerous army the States are under the necessity of maintaining in the southern department, the ravages of the enemy, and the lightness of the crops in the middle States, as well as the present extraordinary demand for the purposes of an effectual co-operation with the expected armament of his most Christian majesty, have not left these States in a situation to admit of any considerable export of provisions; yet Congress, desirous to testify their attention to the necessities of his Catholic majesty's colonies and armaments, and as far as lies in their power to compensate for the failure of supplies of rice, which an alteration in the circumstances of the southern States has unhappily rendered it impracticable to afford, have resolved, that it be recommended to the State of Maryland to grant permission to such agent as the minister of France shall appoint to purchase within that State any quantity of flour, not exceeding three thousand barrels, and to ship the same to such colonies of his Catholic majesty in the West Indies as the minister of France may direct. That many of the articles mentioned in the memorial of the minister being such as the colonies of his Catholic majesty furnish upon better terms than they can be procured from these States in their present situation, it is to be presumed they will feel no inconvenience from Congress not entering at this time into any determination thereon.

Resolved, That Congress will from time to time afford such supplies to the colonies of his Catholic majesty as their circumstances may require and the situation of these States enable them to grant.

W. Lee to J. Adams.†

BRUSSELS, *July* 8, 1780.

SIR: I have been prevented by indisposition, otherwise should have had the honor of writing to you sooner on a subject which appears to affect the honor of America, of Congress, and its agents in Europe.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 695. † 7 J. Adams' Works, 215.

The copy of General Clinton's letter that was intercepted, which you sent here to Mr. Jennings, having afterwards appeared in most of the public papers, there was a formal contradiction of its authenticity, first in The Hague Gazette, and inserted in such a manner as to make the world believe that this contradiction came from Sir Joseph Yorke, the English minister. The Leyden Gazette confirmed in some measure this contradiction, in which it was followed by the Courier du Bas-Rhin, though it had before given the letter at length as having been originally published by order of Congress; but, after the intelligence of the surrender of Charleston, this same gazetteer, namely, the Courier du Bas-Rhin, in No. 51, June 24, 1780, positively states that letter to have been a forgery, and concludes in these injurious terms: "Donc il vaut mieux se bien défendre et se bien battre que de supposer des lettres qui ne peuvent abuser le public qu'un moment." You must be sensible of the injury it will bring to America and the cause of liberty if the world is permitted to be impressed with the idea that Congress and its agents are base enough to be guilty of such a mean and pitiful conduct as to forge and publish the grossest falsehoods as solid truths.

Mr. Dumas, who is styled by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane the American agent at The Hague, and who is actually paid with the money of America, has a particular connection with the editor of the Leyden Gazette, and I have reason to believe has a correspondence with the Bas-Rhin; therefore one would naturally imagine, as it was his duty, he could have taken some measures to prevent such a censure on America, or from spreading further than in the same circle in which The Hague Gazette circulates!* The Bas-Rhin Gazette, as well as that of Berlin, is generally looked on as a Prussian court gazette, being printed in the capital of the Prussian dominions on the Rhine, and I have no doubt if the Prussian minister at Paris was spoken to on the subject a repetition of such conduct would at least be prevented in the editor of that gazette.

As Don Solano has returned to Cadiz with his squadron, leaving only four ships of the line to convoy the fleet to the West Indies, all my pleasing prospects of peace, from the hopes of the enemy suffering some capital loss there in this campaign, are totally vanished, for on the arrival of Graves and Walsingham, who have been permitted to go unmolested, the superiority of the enemy at sea will be so decided, that France will be fortunate if she loses no more than those islands she had before taken from the English. Hitherto Rodney has only shown his superiority in the art of boasting, which is certainly his forte. The original force, intended to go under M. Ternay, has unhappily been diminished one-half; no effectual offensive operation can be expected

* This is unjust to M. Dumas. He was directed by Dr. Franklin and by Mr. Adams to cause this letter to be inserted in the Leyden Gazette. At the same time he suspected the trick, and first opened their eyes to it. Perhaps it had been wiser in him not to have so hastily followed his orders.—Note to 7 John Adams' Works, 216.

from that expedition; and if it is true, as it is reported, that in the fall M. Ternay goes to the West Indies, the progress of the enemy northward from South Carolina may be greater during the fall, winter, and spring than most people imagine; when in the course of a campaign or two the four eastern States and France may too late repent, one for supporting, and the others for not crushing in the bud the dangerous and alarming designs that began to appear in Philadelphia and Congress eighteen months ago. If it is expected that M. Ternay is to render any effectual service to America, it is most clear to me that he ought to winter in Chesapeake Bay, in Virginia, where, with very great ease, he may be secure against a very superior force, and prevent any attempt of the enemy for enlarging their quarters northward from Carolina. If the court of Versailles should approve of such a plan orders accordingly can not be sent out too soon to M. Ternay; and if the squadron in the West Indies is to be re-enforced or relieved, that should be done with clean and fresh ships from Europe. From this you will perceive that a speedy peace is not in my view. Indeed, it is not. I know the enemy too well; they will not seriously think of peace (though they will never cease in their attempts to divide and disunite the parties, which I well know they are endeavoring at now) while they have the least glimmering of hope left, unless it is on the terms of America again submitting to British yoke and France relinquishing the islands she has taken. Such a peace, I presume, will never take place. I am sure it can not while America continues united.

It is said that young Mr. Laurens was gone from Carolina to Congress, and as Mr. Laurens the elder has not yet arrived, there seems to be too much reason to apprehend his having met with some unhappy accident at sea.

Adieu.

W. LEE.

Lovell to Dumas.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 10, 1780.

SIR: I know not how I can profess all the regard which I feel for you without appearing, on the one hand, to do it upon slight grounds, or, on the other, to have delayed it too long.

I have been steadily in Congress, without once visiting my family in Boston, since January, 1777, and from May, that year, have been a member of the committee of foreign affairs; consequently, I am well informed of your truly republican spirit, your particular affection for these States, and your industry in their service, most of your numerous letters, down to December 30, 1779, having come to hand.

The honorable gentleman who will deliver this, being also a member

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 309.

of Congress, has a just esteem for you, and promises himself much advantage from an opportunity of conversing with you. Mr. Searle is well able to make a due return of the benefits from the fund of his intimacy with American state affairs, his extensive commercial knowledge, and his science of mankind, gained by former travels.

I shall shortly write to you again by another respectable gentleman of our assembly, and I will use every means to make him the bearer of what you have so rightfully solicited, as a faithful *first* correspondent of our committee, from whom you will, probably, have regular official letters under a new arrangement of a secretaryship, which has been vacant from the days of a confusion excited by an indiscreet and illiberal publication here on the 5th of December, 1778, and which you have read with grief.

In the mean time I hope you will receive kindly this individual testimony of cordial friendship, from, sir, your very humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *July* 10, 1780.

SIR: As a late and particular letter from me to your excellency is now on the way to America, and as I purpose to write again very fully by the successor of M. Miralles, I decline saying much in this letter, which I shall send by a circuitous and hazardous route.

I have accepted bills to the amount of between eleven and twelve thousand dollars. They arrive slowly and I am very glad of it. No news of Mr. Laurens; I regret his absence. I hope the terms for the sale of the bills on me will not be lowered. Remittances have really become necessary. Distressed American seamen cost a good deal. The house of Le Couteulx have advanced money for them at Cadiz. [I received their account this morning. Copy of this letter and account are enclo sed.]†

I had yesterday an application from the director of a hospital at St. Andeira, desiring to be informed whether I would be responsible for the ordinary expenses of receiving and curing a New England master of a vessel, who had escaped from captivity penniless, having one of his legs so injured by iron fetters as to be in danger of losing it. These are calls of humanity. I entreat Congress to enable me to obey them, and to establish specific regulations for the conduct of these affairs.

The surrender of Charleston is the subject of much speculation and many unfavorable conjectures. I have received no public letters since

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 212, with verbal changes and omissions.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

I left America, except one from the committee, enclosing the resolutions for drawing bills on me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *July* 10, 1780.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me, dated June 30, together with the papers accompanying it, containing the correspondence of Mr. Adams.† I have taken some pains to understand the subject and obtain information of facts from persons recently arrived, having received no letters myself that explain it. I can not say that I yet perfectly understand it; but in this I am clear, that if the operation directed by Congress in their resolution of March the 18th occasions, from the necessity of the case, some inequality of justice, that inconvenience ought to fall wholly on the inhabitants of the States, who reap with it the advantages obtained by the measure; and that the greatest care should be taken that foreign merchants, particularly the French, who are our creditors, do not suffer by it. This I am so confident the Congress will do, that I do not think any representations of mine necessary to persuade them to it.

I shall not fail, however, to lay the whole before them; and I beg that the king may be assured that their sentiments, and those of the Americans in general, with regard to the alliance, as far as I have been able to learn them, not only from private letters but from authentic public facts, differ widely from those that seem to be expressed by Mr. Adams in his letter to your excellency, and are filled with the strongest expressions of the friendship of France, of the generous manner in which his majesty was pleased to enter into an equal treaty with us, and of the great obligations our country is under for the important aids he has since afforded us.‡

B. FRANKLIN.

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* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 177; 8 Sparks' 479; Franklin, 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 102.

† See Vergennes to Franklin, June 30, 1780, *supra*.

‡ Adams' letter to Vergennes of June 22, 1780, given *supra*, while it takes untenable ground as to the standard by which government debts are to be paid, only by implication shows unfriendly feeling to France. But Vergennes understood it as maintaining unjust discrimination against France, and from this came his letter to Franklin and to Adams, each of June 30, above given. To that to Franklin the letter in the text is a reply.

Lovell and Houston, Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Dohrman.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11, 1780.

SIR: Mr. George Anderson, of Virginia, having informed us of the humane and benevolent attention uniformly given by you to the citizens of these States who have been so unfortunate as to be captivated at sea and carried into the ports of Portugal, we represented the same to Congress, to whom it gave much pleasure to know that those men had found a patron and friend disposed to alleviate their distresses.

The enclosed resolve constitutes you an agent of Congress, and you will from time to time receive powers and instructions from that body through this committee. At present, we need only say in general that the affairs of the citizens of America applying for relief in captivity are committed to your discretion, and your countenance and advice in matters of business are solicited for others.

We wish to learn from you in what manner you would be repaid, trusting that, though the war in which this republic is engaged oppresses it with expense, and calls now for all its resources, you will by no means fail in the end of compensation.

You must be governed in your advances on account of these United States more by that economy which their circumstances make essential than by the liberality of your own habits, which American subjects in distress will probably but too often stimulate. You ought to know that Dr. Franklin and others who have advanced moneys to Americans under the misfortune of captivity have transmitted receipts regularly, so that due charges may be made against those who are in public service, and repayment may be had of those who are in condition to make it while in private employ.

You will correspond with our ministers and agents in France, Spain, and Holland whenever you may thereby promote the interests of these United States, for which you have manifested already so much regard.

We are, sir, your most humble servants,

JAMES LOVELL.
WILLIAM C. HOUSTON.†

Lovell and Houston, Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11, 1780.

SIR: We are to communicate to you that Congress entertain a favorable sense of the attention and services of Mons. de Chezaulx, his most Christian majesty's consul at the port of Bergen, in Norway, in the late affair of the prizes sent in there by the squadron commanded

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 112.
† Mr. Dohrman was a merchant at Lisbon, Portugal.

by Captain Jones, and we beg you will present, through the proper channel the acknowledgment to be made for the polite respect shown to the interests of the citizens of these States.

We are, sir, your very humble servants,

JAMES LOVELL.
W. C. HOUSTON.

Lovell and Houston, Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11th, 1780.

SIR: Congress having appointed the honorable Henry Laurens to solicit a loan of money in the United Provinces of the Low Countries, in order to facilitate his success the enclosed resolution has been passed. We need say nothing to explain or urge it, except that it is thought a mark of attention and confidence due to those powers named in it that their interest, if the state of politics inclines them to exert it, will have a good effect; and that the want of money makes this loan a very capital object to the United States. You will, we are sure, give Mr. Laurens every assistance in your power, and solicit the countenance of the court where you reside to forward his negotiations.

Until Mr. Laurens shall arrive Mr. Adams is commissioned and empowered to undertake that business, and in case of his disability Mr. Dana is in like manner commissioned and empowered.

We are, sir, your humble servants,

JAMES LOVELL.
W. C. HOUSTON.

Lovell and Houston, Committee of Foreign Affairs, to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11, 1780.

SIR: After the repeated remonstrances which you have made to Congress on the subject of bills of exchange, the enclosed resolution, we are well aware, will need an apology. We regret that you should have so much trouble and be put to so many expedients in matters of this kind, well knowing how delicate a point it is to solicit further advances after so many have already been made. Congress, attending to your letters and representations, have taken this step with reluctance; but the present crisis, when not only the preparations for a vigorous campaign call for large expenditures, but the expectation of a co-operating force makes great additions necessary, has induced them to risk the sum mentioned.

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*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 111, with verbal changes.
†MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 111.

The bills will not be drawn faster than indispensable exigencies may require, and it is to be hoped that this mode of commanding cash will not be again resorted to.

We are, sir, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.
W. C. HOUSTON.

Lovell and Houston, Committee of Foreign Affairs, to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11, 1780.

The enclosed resolutions and commission will explain themselves;† and we have only to add a request that, in the event of your not being able to undertake the business to which they point, you will furnish Mr. Dana with the papers, as we have not time to make out or procure other copies for him.

We are, sir, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.
WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON.

Lovell to Jay.‡

July 11, 1780.

DEAR SIR: By a letter from Messrs. Gardoqui & Sons, of May 3, received yesterday, I have the pleasure of knowing you were then well. In a postscript to me of his former of February 24, the P. S. not dated, he says he hears of you *every week*. This creates a chagrin, as we have none of your favors later than March 3. You are not to suppose that I dare to *complain;* I have read my Bible to better purpose. I am not entitled to throw the "first stone," but I have as good a title as anybody to palliate my own faults, and to shift them upon others. There is said to be a committee of foreign affairs; each member is loaded with a variety of business; two have amiable wives near Philadelphia; I miss the gentlemen, therefore, frequently. Mr. Livingston is now absent, but you have herewith a letter he sent to my care a few days ago. The weather is murderous hot, and I can not go up and down to the offices in search of those authenticated papers, which ought to be regularly forwarded to you and dignified officers abroad. You will be pleased, therefore, to know from me *individually*, and by way of a resolve of Congress of June 21, certified by me, that Mr. Dohrman, of Lisbon, is appointed our agent in Portugal.

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*7 J. Adams' Works, 217.

† The resolutions and commission authorizing Mr. Adams to execute the duties assigned to Mr. Laurens in Holland are to be found at large in the secret journals of Congress, vol. 2, pp. 314–317.—Note to 7 J. Adams' Works.

‡ 2 Jay's Life, 56.

Mr. Searle is the bearer of this, *via* France, and Mr. Laurens will either go for Holland in the same ship, the *Jay*, or will sail in a few days by another opportunity for Holland. The former gentleman is on business for the State of Pennsylvania, and perhaps for some mercantile companies also. You already know Mr. Laurens is to negotiate a loan. Indeed, an instruction was given to a committee to bring in a draft of a letter to the ministers plenipotentiary of these States at Versailles and Madrid, directing them to inform his most Christian and Catholic majesty of the appointment of Mr. Laurens, and to solicit the aid of their majesties respectively on this occasion.

I am, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.

Lovell and Houston to J. Adams. *

IN COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, *July* 12, 1780.

SIR: Enclosed you have a description of the bills of exchange concerning which we have written you. The secret checks accompany it. They are just furnished us by the treasury board, and we are sorry that the paper is so indifferent, but hope it will answer the purpose of information. We are assured the copy is exact. It is, however, necessary to observe that, unless the impression of the bills is very fine and clean, it will be very difficult to discover the whole of the secret checks perfectly.

We are, sir, etc.,

JAMES LOVELL.
WILLIAM CHURCHILL HOUSTON.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *July* 13, 1780.

SIR: By the treaty of alliance of the 6th of February, 1778, his majesty and the United States agreed, in case of war, to join their councils and efforts against the enterprises of the common enemy; to make it a common cause and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigencies of conjunctures; and each of the contracting parties in the manner it may judge most proper is to make all the efforts in its power against the common enemy.

I have cited these clauses from the treaty not as foundations of any

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 218.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 178, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 218.

To this letter Vergennes replied July 20, 1780 (see *infra*), showing the naval efforts France was then making, and the answer those efforts gave to the discontents of which Adams spoke.

demand that I have to make, because they are neither proper to support any demand, nor have I authority to make any if they were, but as an apology for the liberty I take of requesting your excellency's attention to a few observations upon the present conjuncture of affairs.

It is certain, from the best intelligence from London, as well as from the debates in Parliament on the several motions which have been made for a pacification, that the British ministry are inflexibly determined to pursue the war another campaign in America, to send more troops and ships there if they possibly can obtain them, and to put to the hazard not only the national credit, but their maritime power, and even their political existence, rather than give up their designs of domination over America; and indeed this is not at all to be wondered at, that the ministers and the nation who have so far lost their justice, their humanity, and policy as to deliberately form and pursue the plan of changing the foundations of the laws and government of thirteen Colonies and reducing them to slavery, and who have pursued their object with such sanguinary fury for so many years, should persist so as to bury themselves in the ruins of their empire rather than to fail of their purpose, when it is plain they consider the same ruin in the independence of America and her connections with France.

The conduct of Count de Guichen on the 17th of April and on the 15th and 19th of May in the West Indies does great honor to the national bravery as well as their science in naval tactics, and shows that there is no cause to fear that the enemy will obtain any advantage there. Yet nothing has yet been done on either side that seems decisive.

The advantages which Spain has gained in West Florida, and particularly of late at Mobile, and the probability that they will succeed in acquiring both the Floridas, show that the English are on the losing hand in that quarter; but it is not the loss of both the Floridas nor of all the West India islands, in my opinion, that will induce them to make peace, and acknowledge the independence of America in alliance with France. They will see every possession they have beyond their island lopped off, one after another, before they will do this.

I presume not to know to what part of America M. de Ternay and M. de Rochambeau are destined, but to whatever part it is, whether Canada, Nova Scotia, New York, Carolina, or Georgia, I have no hopes of anything decisive from their operations, although they should be instructed to co-operate with General Washington. If they should be destined against Canada or Nova Scotia they may succeed; but this success will not be decisive. If they are intended against New York, I have no hopes of their success. The naval force is not sufficient to command the seas; Admiral Graves added to the ships before at New York will be superior; and I shall venture to give my opinion that without a superiority of naval force New York will never be taken. It is so situated, so fortified, it is garrisoned with troops so accustomed to war, and so embittered and inflamed by cruel passions, carefully nursed

up in their breasts by their king and their generals, and it is universally regarded by them a port of such essential importance, that I confess I should despair of success against it with an army twice as numerous as that of the Generals Washington and Rochambeau united while the English are masters of the seas, or even while they have there an equality of naval power.

Most people in Europe have wondered at the inactivity of the American army for these two years past; but it is merely from want of knowledge or attention. The true cause of it is the English have confined themselves to their strongholds in seaport towns, and have been sheltered from all attacks and insults there by the guns of their men-of-war, and forever will be so while they have the superiority of the sea. If our army had been three times as numerous as it was it must have remained inactive without a fleet to co operate with it; for an attack upon New York without a fleet would have been only sacrificing the lives of thousands of brave men without a possibility of succeeding.

Had the English two years ago marched into the country from Philadelphia instead of retreating back with precipitation to New York Europe would have heard more of the exertions of the American army—so much more, that in my opinion you would have heard of their total destruction. As it was, they were closely pursued, attacked, and if not beaten, yet they had much the worst of the action, for besides their loss in killed and wounded, and in those who perished under the fatigue and heat of the day, not less than five hundred deserted from them, and their desertions would have been multiplied in every unsuccessful engagement within the country.

If the last year the enemy had marched out into the country instead of remaining under cover of their men-of-war I am equally clear that they would have been ruined. The English ever since the alliance have been fearfully apprehensive of an attack upon their strongholds upon the seacoasts by the French. This it was induced them to retreat from Philadelphia to New York, and this has kept them almost wholly confined to that garrison the last year. I mention this merely to wipe off the imputation said to result from the inactivity of our army since the alliance, by showing the true cause of it, that it proceeds not from any change of sentiments in the Americans, but from the change of the mode of prosecuting the war on the part of our enemies.

I am, however, clearly of opinion, and I know it to be the general sense of America, that the English, both in North America and in the West India islands, have been for these two years past absolutely in the power of their enemies, and they are so now, and will continue to be so in such a degree that nothing will be wanting but attention to their situation and a judicious application of the forces of the allies to accomplish the entire reduction of their power in America. In order to show this let me beg your excellency's attention to a few remarks

upon the situation of the English and upon the method of applying the forces of the allies so as to reduce them.

The English are in possession of Canada, a province vastly extensive, and in which there are a great number of posts at a great distance from each other, necessary to be maintained among a people, too, who are by no means attached to them, but who would readily afford all the assistance in their power to the united forces of France and of the United States, and who would join them in considerable numbers. In this whole province the English have not, comprehending the garrisons of all their posts, more than four thousand men.

The English are in possession of Nova Scotia; they have in Halifax and the other posts of the province and at Penobscot about three thousand men. But the people of this province, being descendants and emigrants from New England chiefly, are discontented with the British Government, and desirous of joining the United States. They are in possession of New York Island, Long Island, and Staten Island, where they have in all of regular troops perhaps ——— thousand men. The militia, volunteers, etc., of whom they make such an ostentatious display in the despatches of their generals and in the gazettes of St. James are of very little consideration; their numbers are much exaggerated; it is force and fear and policy that enrol the greater part of them; there are perhaps fifteen thousand inhabitants of the city. These, together with the army and navy, are fed and supplied with provisions and stores and fuel, and their cattle and horses with forage, brought by sea from Quebec, Halifax, Ireland, and the West India islands, except the small quantity which they draw from Long Island and Staten Island.

They are now in possession of Charlestown, in South Carolina, and Savannah, in Georgia. Their armies and navies in these places, as well as the inhabitants, must be chiefly supplied by sea in the same manner. They are still perhaps in possession of St. Augustine, in East Florida, and Pensacola, in the West. From these places they have drawn of late years great supplies of lumber and provisions for their West India islands. The number of troops in Georgia and Carolina may amount to ——— thousand. They are in possession of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, and St. Lucia, and of other islands. These draw supplies of provisions and lumber, etc., from Quebec, Halifax, Pensacola, and Augustine—that is, from the Floridas. The number of troops they have in each island I am not able to ascertain; but certainly they are not strong in any of them; and the climate in the West Indies, and in Georgia and Carolina is making a rapid consumption of their men.

From this sketch it will be easily seen what a great number of posts they have to sustain; how these are mutually connected with and dependent on each other, and that their existence in all of them depends upon their superiority at sea, and that to carry on the intercourse and

communication between these various places a vast number of transports, provision vessels, and merchant ships are necessary. This is so much the fact that the English nation has now little navigation left but what is employed in maintaining the communication of these places with one another and with Europe. Here, then, it is that the English commerce and navy are vulnerable; and this it is which clearly points out to their enemies the only sure and certain way of reducing their power in that quarter of the world; and if it is reduced there, it is brought into a narrow compass everywhere.

The policy and necessity of keeping always a superior fleet both in the West India islands and on the coast of the continent of North America is from all this very obvious. The English are so sensible of this, that they dread it as the greatest evil that can befall them. The appearance of the Count d'Estaing upon the coast of North America never failed to throw the English into the utmost terror and consternation.

The appearance of a French fleet upon our coasts has repeatedly compelled, and ever must compel, the English to call off from their cruises all their frigates and other ships, and to assemble them at New York for their security and the defense of that place. These are among the happy effects of such a measure. The communication of the United States not only with each other, but with the West Indies, with France, and all other parts of Europe with which they have any concern, is immediately opened, and they are thereby easily furnished in all parts with everything fitting and necessary to carry on the war with the greatest vigor. His majesty's fleets and armies will be amply and much more cheaply supplied, and his subjects will reap, in common with the inhabitants of the United States, the benefits of this free commerce. It will give free sea room to the few frigates belonging to Congress and the several States to cruise for the merchant ships, provision vessels, and transports of the enemy. It gives opportunity also to the privateers to do the same. There are at this day, notwithstanding the dreadful sacrifices made at Charlestown and Penobscot, the Continental frigates, the *Confederacy*, which is arrived at Philadelphia, the *Alliance*, which will soon be there, the *Trumbull*, the *Deane*, the *Bourbon*, and also a ship of fifty six guns which is nearly ready for sea. The State of Massachusetts has two frigates and several smaller vessels. There are, besides these, now in being, belonging to Newburyport, Beverly, Salem, Marblehead, Portsmouth, Boston, and Rhode Island, about forty privateers. There are several belonging to Philadelphia.

If a French fleet should constantly remain on that coast, the number of these privateers would be doubled in a very few months. What havoc, then, must these armed vessels make, especially if a few French frigates should be also ordered to cruise for prizes among the provision vessels, merchant ships, and transports, passing and repassing to and from America and the West Indies to Europe, and to and from Amer-

ica and the West Indies, and to and from Quebec, Nova Scotia, New York, Charlestown, Savannah, and the Floridas. Such depredations have several times been made by our cruisers alone as to reduce the English at New York to very great distress, and it would be very easy to reduce them in this way to such misery as to oblige them to surrender at discretion.

I therefore beg leave to submit it to your excellency's consideration whether there is any possible way that a marine force can be employed against the English so much to the advantage of France and the disadvantage of England as in this way, and whether upon the principles of French interest and policy alone, even without taking into consideration that of the United States, a fleet ought not to be constantly kept in North America. The advantages they will there have in artists, supplies, accommodations, etc., above the English are obvious.

But the question will arise, where shall they winter? I answer, they can winter with perfect security and advantage either at Boston, Rhode Island, Delaware, or Chesapeake Bay.

Another question will arise, whether they should all winter together in one port or be separated to several ports? I apprehend, however, that it would be most prudent to leave to the discretion of the commander-in-chief of the squadron to keep the squadron together or to detach parts of it, according to the exigencies of the service, advising with Congress or with the Chevalier de la Luzerne from time to time.

Two ships of the line, with three frigates, stationed at Boston, with orders to cruise occasionally for the protection of French and American trade and the annoyance of the enemy, the same number at Rhode Island with the same orders, the same number at Delaware River with similar orders, and a like number in Chesapeake Bay with like orders, which would make eight ships of the line and twelve frigates, I have a moral certainty would in one year reduce the power of the English in North America to absolute annihilation without striking a blow on land. These ships would make a diversion of an equal force of the English from the West India Islands, so that they would be in that respect as usefully employed for his majesty there as anywhere. Eight ships of the line and twelve frigates stationed together at Rhode Island with orders to cruise for the same purposes would do the same thing.

Which plan would be the best I dare not undertake to say, but until further informed and instructed by Congress I should think, however, that the best plan would be to station the fleet for the winter either in Delaware or Chesapeake Bay; and as the war has lately turned to the southward I am inclined to think that Chesapeake Bay would be the most proper.

But in all events, I beg leave to entreat in the most earnest manner that a powerful fleet may be ordered to winter somewhere in North America. By this means I think there is a moral certainty the English will be ruined there, whereas if dependence is had upon the assaul-

and attack of their strongholds without the most absolute command of the sea I fear it will end in disappointment and disgrace.

There is the more urgent reason for laying these considerations before your excellency, because there is a portion of the people in America who wish to return to the domination of Great Britain, many of whom are sensible and artful men. They take notice of every circumstance of the conduct of France, and represent it in such a light as they think will throw a prejudice against the alliance into the minds of the people. They represent the affair of Rhode Island and of Savannah and of some other things as proofs that the court of France do not mean to give any effectual aid to America, but only to play off her strength against that of Britain and thus exhaust both. The refugees in England concur with them in these representations, and the ministry and the members of Parliament in their public speeches represent the same thing.

Even Mr. Hartley, who is more for peace than any man in that kingdom, in a printed letter to the inhabitants of the county of York, says: "It is our duty to unravel by negotiation the combination of powers now acting against us;" and he says further, in express words, that "it is apparent to all the world that France might long ago have put an end to that part of the war which has been most distressing to America if they had chosen so to do." He must mean here the war of their frigates and privateers upon our trade. "Let the whole system of France be considered," says he, "from the beginning down to the late retreat from Savannah, and I think it is impossible to put any other construction upon it but this, viz., that it has always been the deliberate intention and object of France, for purposes of their own, to encourage the continuation of the war in America in hopes of exhausting the strength and resources of this country and of depressing the rising power of America." This is not only the language of Mr. Hartley, but the general language of newspapers and pamphlets, and, I am well informed, of conversation in England. These are very industriously sent to America through various channels, which can not be stopped by laws, art, or power.

The body of the people have great confidence in the sincerity of France; but if these contrary opinions should be suffered to gain ground, as they most assuredly will if something is not done to prevent it, when all the world sees and declares as they do that it is the best policy of France, if she considered her own interest alone in the conduct of the war, to keep a superior naval force upon the coasts of the continent of North America, I leave your excellency to judge what a melancholy effect it will have upon our affairs. There is no event, in my opinion, which would have so direct a tendency to give force and extent to opinions so dangerous to both nations as the calling off from the continent your naval force during the winter and not keeping a superiority there through the year. I scruple not to give it as my

opinion that it will disunite, weaken, and distress us more than we should have been disunited, weakened, or distressed if the alliance had never been made.

The United States of America are a great and powerful people, whatever European statesmen may think of them. If we take into our estimate the numbers and the character of her people, the extent, variety, and fertility of her soil, her commerce and her skill and materials for ship-building, and her seamen, excepting France, Spain, England, the Emperor, and Russia, there is not a State in Europe so powerful. Breaking off such a nation as this from the English so suddenly and uniting it so closely with France is one of the most extraordinary events that ever happened among mankind. The prejudices of nations in favor of themselves and against all other nations, which spring from self-love, and are often nurtured by policy for unworthy purposes, and which have been ever certainly cultivated by the English with the utmost care in the minds of the Americans, as well as of the people of every other part of their dominions, certainly deserve the attention of the wisest statesmen; and as they are not to be eradicated in a moment, they require to be managed with some delicacy.

It is too often said in France (where the prejudice against the English has not been fostered with so much rancor because France never had so much to fear from England as England had from France) that "the Americans and the English are the same thing," not to make it appear that there are some remnants of prejudices against the Americans among the French, and it must be confessed there are some in America against France. It is really astonishing, however, that there are so few; and it is the interest and duty of both to lessen them as fast as possible, and to avoid, with the nicest care, every colorable cause of reviving any part of them.

I beg your excellency to excuse this trouble, because the state of things in America has really become alarming, and this merely for the want of a few French men-of-war upon that coast.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Neufville & Son to Jay.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 13, 1780.

SIR: Never letter could have been more welcome than the favor your excellency honored us with of the 25th of the past month, as it expresses a true concern about the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens and your approbation of our conduct. As we from the beginning acted from principle in the American cause, and never will prevaricate, this is only from the same motive, but we shall be sorry if we should not be supported, and that it is out of your excellency's power to do it. We can not judge

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 213, with verbal changes.

how far those drafts may go, and if we had not expected that your excellency, as well as Dr. Franklin, would have been willing and able to answer for a trifle (one or two hundred thousand guilders) in such a matter as this it would have been a folly to undertake it.

Dr. Franklin wrote to us that people would be satisfied to have the bills enregistered, but we found the contrary; several of them would have them duly protested, and until to day we have again accepted them all; but how it will go further we do not know. We were very sensible to the hint your excellency was pleased to give us of making a loan here. We might from time to time have got some money in that way if properly authorized; and our good-will and influence certainly would have brought it further than it had been done by the house which was formerly intrusted with it, and we have long ago desired a loan should be opened in our hands, but we never could properly obtain it. A trifle of allowance, and chiefly the largeness of the sum which was required from us to answer for at once, prevented it, so we did not fall on the idea of mentioning it again. We can and may work for glory, but on a large scale we can not sacrifice our own [interest]. Every catastrophe in favor of or against America has with our public a great influence. So the capture of Charleston would be very much against us at this moment for such a purpose; and though we could not flatter ourselves to go any length with it, a very particular circumstance might revive the American spirit; and it would even require some time before such a power was brought into due terms whereon we could engage anything.

This is certain, that in a moment as critical as the present a small sum would save the honor of Congress, and in that light could not be paid for too dear, which made us think on a method, that your excellency could employ a banker, and likewise Dr. Franklin; that we, drawing on either of your excellencies, if we were sure you would approve of it, could prolong terms in all probability, and without doubt as long as should be needful, and until the arrival of Mr. Laurens, and that by his means and instructions proper measures could be taken.

We must also expect that Congress (as on the first days of May they were informed that Mr. Laurens had not sailed) will have been attentive to provide for those bills, and have considered the consequences, as we do in Europe. We write the same idea to Dr. Franklin, and propose to him, if he should not approve of such a method or find a better, to empower us for a loan, as we know he had formerly instructions thereon. We are too nice and anxious for the credit of Congress that we could make any use thereof if it should hurt matters any way; but it is not possible to know what may be done before a proper trial; and we are obliged at last to speak plain, that whatever bills now further should offer we can not accept any more. We wish our proposals may not seem incongruous; we make them with the more assurance, as we are not conducted by any other motive than by the most extended desire

to prevent every difficulty which could in any way hinder the reputation of the United States.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 14, 1780.

SIR: The advices from The Hague of the 9th are that the talk had been of a congress to be held in that residence; but as her majesty the Empress of Russia had given to understand that she desired that the conferences should be held at Petersburgh the States-General have consequently named, upon the proposition of his serene highness the Prince Stadtholder, the Baron de Waassenaar Starrenburg and the Baron Van Heckeren de Brantrenburg, deputies to the assemby of their high mightinesses on the part of the provinces of Holland, West Friesland, and Utrecht, ministers plenipotentiaries to go to Petersburgh, to the end to assist there at the conferences which are to be held for the protection of the commerce of neuters. And that the Chevalier Llano, now minister plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty to their high mightinesses, had arrived at that residence.

The English continue to fill all the newspapers of Europe with the despatches of Clinton, Cornwallis, Tarleton, etc., of their triumphant progress in Carolina; and we are unable to obtain a syllable from any part of America to contradict it or explain it. It is devoutly to be wished that Congress would appoint some active and intelligent secretary for foreign affairs, and make it his duty to transmit the journals, newspapers, and other intelligence, and duplicates and triplicates of them, to their servants abroad. Vessel after vessel arrives, even directly from Philadelphia, and we can not get the journals, papers, and scarcely a private letter by them. Surely the department of foreign affairs is of some importance to the United States, and their most important officers abroad ought not to be less informed than every private merchant. The successes of the English in Carolina have filled them with the most ridiculous exultations. They have thrown off the mask entirely, and talk now almost universally of nothing but unconditional submission; not an idea of peace is entertained. They are perfectly confident the Congress will not maintain their authority three months. They have filled the world with histories of insurrections at Philadelphia, which drove the Congress to Lancaster, killed the French minister, etc. The stocks rose three and three-fourths per cent. This is the wise nation that is to govern America, as they think, at their pleasure.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 186, with verbal changes.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 15, 1780.

SIR: The news from Constantinople is:

That upon the advice that a fleet of French merchantmen from Marseilles was blocked up by the English cruisers in the port of Milo, the Comte de St. Priest, ambassador of France, presented a memoir to the Porte, complaining of this last violation of the last agreement made between the Ottoman Government and the ambassadors of the belligerent powers for the maintenance of the neutrality. In consequence the Reis Effendi requested Mr. Ainslie, the British ambassador, to give orders conformably to the said agreement to the cruisers of his nation to respect the coasts, forts, and havens of the Ottoman Empire, and not to commit hostilities but in open sea. The ambassador answered "that he approved the requisitions of the Porte too much not to contribute all that lay in his power to make the English cruisers observe the orders which had been before given them." Nevertheless, the Comte de St. Priest judged proper, by way of further precaution, to send the consul of his nation who resides at the Dardanelles to the Captain Pacha, who is now in the Archipelago with his fleet, to desire him to have a care that the French fleet should suffer no insult. The Ottoman admiral immediately complied with this requisition; and we learn by the French consul, who is returned here, that having found this commandant at Metelin, he had no sooner learned the object of his commission than he detached some to go to the succor of the fleet blocked at Milo. But his assistance will not have been necessary, because, according to letters from Smyrna, the six English cruisers which held the French fleet shut up, having had the audacity to attack this convoy even in the port, the Chevalier d'Entrecasteux who commanded it, had shattered them, after an engagement of several hours, in such a manner that he had put them out of a condition to keep the sea, and that they must have retired to Paros.

Stockholm, June 27.—The king having judged proper to name an admiral-general of his fleet, has chosen for this eminent post the major-general and commander of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword, Henry de Trolle. M. de Moussin Puschkin, envoy from Russia, is arrived here from Petersburgh.

Hague, July 10.—The admiralty of Amsterdam has put in commission, with the advice of the prince stadtholder, the vessels the *Admiral de Reister*, of sixty-eight guns, and the *Hereditary Prince*, of fifty-six.

Hamburg, June 23.—The *Mars*, a Danish man-of-war of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Luken, and three frigates, with seventy-eight merchant ships of different nations, under convoy, sailed from the sound the 18th of this month.

It thus appears that Russia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark are proceeding in earnest to convoy their trade and increase their naval force to protect the confederacy in favor of the rights of neutrality.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 189.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 15, 1780.

SIR: It is worth while to lay before Congress the following statement, which is lately published in the papers:

English ships of the line.

Now under Rodney, including the *Triumph*, of seventy-four guns, arrived from Cork the beginning of May	22
N. B.—The *Fame*, of seventy-four guns, was taken to pieces last winter to repair the other vessels of Jamaica. The *Sultan*, from St. Lucia, and the *Hector*, from Europe, joined in March the two sixty-fours which were at that station, Jamaica	4
They say that Arbuthnot has sent to Jamaica the *Russell* and *Robust*	2
The 15th of May sailed with Graves	7
The 3d of June sailed with Walsingham	4
	39

French and Spaniards.

With De Guichen	23
Left at Martinique, the *Dauphin Royal*, of seventy-four guns, to protect the port	1
At the Havana, under D. Bonnet	8
At St. Domingo, under De la Motte Piquet	5
Sailed from Cadiz the 28th of April, under D. Solano	12
M. de Ternay, the 3d of May	7
	56

A superiority against which all the events of the war evidently show that it is impossible to resist. But the ministerial people have made Rodney take Don Solano with his twelve ships, which shifts the balance to—English, fifty-one, French and Spaniards, forty-four.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *July* 15, 1780.

SIR: The news from Petersburgh of the 13th of June is, that the last advices received from Mohilon have confirmed the news that the empress would return sooner than was at first expected, and that the emperor, under the name of the Count de Falckenstein, would arrive at the same time at Petersburgh; that the fleet of Cronstadt had been eight or ten days in the road waiting only for their final instructions to put to sea. It will be separated into three divisions, each of five ships of the line, under the command of the Rear-Admirals Borisson, Cruse, and Polibin. Since the departure of a courier which the Chevalier Harris, the British envoy, has expedited to his court the 26th of last month, a report has been spread that he has demanded his recall.

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*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 191.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 187, with verbal changes.

The ordinance which the empress has passed at Czarsko-Zelo, on the 19th of May, to the end to ascertain the rights and duties of her subjects relative to the neutrality, is too remarkable, in the present conjuncture, not to be given entire to the public. The following is the preamble:

The maritime war subsisting for some time between Great Britain on the one part, and France and Spain on the other, has begun lately to do equal injury to the commerce and navigation of our faithful subjects. We have not in consequence failed to employ for their protection and indemnification from all the losses which have been occasioned to them our most efficacious intercession; in consequence of which several merchants have already obtained, in proportion to their demands, a considerable indemnification. Nevertheless, although we doubt not that all the others will be equally indemnified by the belligerent powers, yet we can not regard the particular compensation of individuals as a sufficient pledge of the safety upon which neutral nations may hereafter depend. From this motive we have resolved not only to take measures the most effectual for the maintenance of the maritime commerce of our subjects, but to put them in execution in case of need. They have already been announced to all Europe by a declaration delivered in the same terms to the belligerent powers, by which we fix expressly and with precision the rights and prerogatives of a commercial neutral flag. The one and the other are founded either upon the proper terms of our treaty of commerce with the crown of Great Britain, or upon the evident and immutable principles of the law of nature and nations. But while we require of other nations, for our proper utility, the entire and unlimited accomplishment of their duties, we are not less fixed in the intention on our part to observe inviolably in regard to them the obligations of the strictest neutrality. Thus it is necessary that all our subjects should conform themselves rigorously in their maritime commerce and in the enterpri es relative to it to this our will; in default of which they will render themselves unworthy of our protection and of our succor. But to the end that no man may fall into error by ignorance, we order our college of commerce to notify the Russian merchants trading in our ports that, while we enjoy an entire liberty of trading and sending their vessels to all parts of Europe, they are bound to observe, conformably to our treaties with different powers and to the ordinances of each place, that which follows.

This is the preamble; the purview shall be sent to Congress as soon as it appears.

It seems that the empress, as well as the Ottoman Porte, has not a little resented the indecent and groundless assertions with which England had filled Europe and America, that the empress would take part with them, and that there were misunderstandings subsisting between Petersburgh and Constantinople. I think it can be no longer doubted that Russia will never take part with England, and that while she is determined upon a neutrality, every other maritime power of Europe must do the same or join against England It is equally plain that England must come into the system of rights preparing for neutrals or go to war with all the maritime powers of the world. This is too decisively and obviously advantageous to North America to need any comments.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *July* 15, 1780.

SIR: Since my last, of the 21st of May, nothing has passed of much interest in the assemblies of this province to deserve repetition. I send an account of all that passes to Dr. Franklin, at Paris, almost every post. The fitting out of ships of the republic for convoy goes on slowly, and the resolutions in this respect and for the negotiations with Russia drag equally slow. The English party, led by the English ambassador and by another person who leads the majority here, continue to perplex, delay, and cross everything, and he who is at the head of all follows their impulses. In a word, the English intrigue more here than in all Europe besides. The difficulties they excite in Germany and foment on the subject of the coadjutor of Munster and Cologne are intended to embarrass this republic and hinder it from being successfully occupied in the re-establishment of its navy. It was in agitation to make choice of a prince of Austria for coadjutor, and, of consequence, for future elector of Cologne. The King of Prussia is opposed to it, and France also. England, in the name of Hanover, favored the views of the house of Austria. This may kindle a war in Germany.

The protest here annexed of the minority in the chapter of Munster is a paper as important as it is well done. I received it in German and translated it, and while I am writing this a copy of it is making.

I have nothing more to add, except that a body of ten thousand Prussians quartered in Westphalia have orders to hold themselves ready to march to Munster on the first signal.

The misfortune of Charleston has animated the courage of the Anglomanes here and filled our friends with consternation. I do my best to encourage them, and I succeed. In spite of the intrigues of the English they will gain nothing important here, because there must be unanimity in the resolutions for war or peace.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *July* 17, 1780.

SIR: In your excellency's letter to me of the 24th of February last I was honored with your opinion in the following words:

With regard to the full powers, which authorize you to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the court of London, I think it will be prudent not to communicate them

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 310.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 192, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 228. For Vergennes' protest against this course, see Vergennes to Adams, July 25, 1780, *infra*, where he gives answers specifically to each point made by Adams.

to anybody whatever, and to take every necessary precaution that the British ministry may not have a premature knowledge of them. You will no doubt readily feel the motives which induce me to advise you to take this precaution, and it would be needless to explain them.

(1) I should have been very happy if your excellency had hinted at the reasons which were then in your mind, because after reflecting upon this subject as maturely as I can I am not able to collect any reasons which appear to me sufficient for concealing the nature of my powers in their full extent from the court of London. On the contrary, many arguments have occurred to me which seem to show it to be both the policy of the United States and my particular duty to communicate them.

(2) Your excellency will recollect that my commissions empower me to join with the ministers of the belligerent powers in making peace; to make a treaty of commerce with the ministers of his Britannic majesty, and to represent the Congress as their minister plenipotentiary at the court of London. It seems to me, then, inconsistent with the design and nature of my appointments to conceal them from the court of London.

(3) I think, also, that announcing my powers to the court of London would have a tendency to draw out from them some proofs of their present designs, and it is always important to discover early the intentions of the enemy, that the people may be prepared, both with councils and forces, to resist them if hostile.

(4) The English nation would expect of the ministers that some answer should be given to me. If it should be an insolent one, as there is too much cause to expect, it will prepare the minds of the Americans and of the other belligerent powers for what they are to expect, and it will alarm and arouse, if anything can, the people of England.

(5) At this particular time, when an election approaches, it would throw the ministry into some embarrassment, for the people of England sigh for peace.

(6) Another consideration has weight with me; a great part of Europe, as well as the people of England, are amused by the English ministry and their emissaries with reports that there is some secret treaty between France and the United States, by which the former has secured to themselves exclusive privileges in some branches of the American commerce, which misrepresentations, as they are at present an obstruction to peace, would be cleared up by the communication of my powers.

(7) There are at present many persons of consideration in England who have long followed the ministry in the war against America who begin to see the impracticability of succeeding, and now vote for peace, and will lay hold of every occurrence that favors its accomplishment.

(8) At this moment, under the wild impression that the surrender of Charleston has made, it might be improper to make the communication,

but upon the news coming of M. de Ternay's arrival, of Don Solano's, or both, or upon the receipt of some intelligence which may take off a part of this impression, I submit it to your excellency's consideration whether it would not be proper for me to communicate my appointments to Lord George Germain. It seems to be most proper that it should be done, so that the nation may consider them before the meeting of Parliament, and that those who are for peace may digest their plans accordingly.

(9) Notwithstanding the suppression of the late riots, and the consequent temporary relaxation of the committees and associations, the nation is in a most critical situation. Those disturbances were not simply the effect of fanaticism and bigotry, but of deep and general discontent and distress among the people; and although the ministry may at present be confident they have suppressed them forever, they will surely find themselves mistaken if they pursue this war. I know of no measure that will be more likely to increase the opposition against administration than communicating my powers. It will at least show all the world that the continuance of the war and the consequent ruin of England is their own fault, not that of the Americans, who are ready to make peace upon terms honorable and advantageous to Great Britain.

(10) I am the more confirmed in these opinions by the communication your excellency made to me yesterday of the message sent by the court of London to the court of Madrid. I am convinced in my own mind that that message is insidious in the last degree, and that it is intended to answer two ends only. First, to spy out what they can of the political and military plans of Spain; secondly, and principally, to amuse France, Spain, and America too, with false ideas of pacific inclinations, simply in order to slacken and enervate their preparations for the next campaign.

(11) Sincere intentions of making peace upon any terms which France or America can agree to consistent with subsisting treaties I am as sure they have not as I am of their existence. Now I think there is no way of counteracting this insidious policy so honorably and so effectually as by a frank and decent communication of my full powers. This will necessitate them to come to an explanation of their real intentions concerning America; for there, sir, lies the obstacle to peace; all other questions would be soon arranged if that was settled.

I hope your excellency will pardon the long letters I write you, because it is really a voluminous subject to have in contemplation, and mankind in general are little less interested in it than our particular countries. I shall hope for the honor of your excellency's answer upon these subjects.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hartley to Franklin.*

LONDON, *July* 17, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Enclosed I send you a copy of a conciliatory bill† which was proposed in the House of Commons on the 27th of last month. It was rejected. You and I have had so much intercourse upon the subject of restoring peace between Great Britain and America, that I think there is nothing further left to be said upon the subject. You will perceive by the general tenor of the bill that it proposes a general power to treat. It chalks out a line of negotiation in very general terms. I remain in the sentiments which I ever have and which I believe I ever shall entertain, viz., those of seeking peace upon honorable terms. I shall always be ready and most desirous to join in any measures which may facilitate peace.

I am, ever, your most affectionate,

D. HARTLEY.

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*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 113.

†DRAFT OF A PROPOSED BILL FOR CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA.

A bill to invest the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally to agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of North America.

Whereas many unfortunate subjects of contest have of late years subsisted between Great Britain and the several provinces of North America hereinafter recited, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which have brought on the calamities of war between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces: To the end therefore that the further effusion of blood may be prevented, and that peace may be restored, may it please your majesty that it be enacted and be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, to authorize and empower any person or persons to treat, consult, and finally to agree with any person or persons properly authorized on the part of the aforesaid provinces of North America upon the means of restoring peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces according to the powers in this act contained.

And be it further enacted, That in order to facilitate the good purposes of this act, his majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons, so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to order and proclaim a cessation of hostilities on the part of his majesty's forces by sea and land for any time and under any conditions or restrictions.

And be it further enacted, That in order to lay a good foundation for a cordial reconciliation and lasting peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces of North America, by restoring an amicable intercourse between the same as soon as possible, his majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to enter into and to ratify, from time to time, any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which article or articles, so entered into and ratified from time to time, shall remain in full force and effect for the certain term of ten years from the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in order to remove any obstructions which may arise to the full and effectual execution of

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *July* 17, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Since writing the preceding letter bills to the amount of about fifteen thousand dollars have been presented, and at a time when the news of our misfortune at Charleston made an impression much to our disadvantage. These bills, however, are accepted, and the Count de Florida Blanca appears to interest himself more than ever in contributing to aid us, repeating, in the strongest manner, his majesty's favorable intentions. What he hinted at with respect to the attempts of the enemy to thwart Mr. Jay's negotiations has proved true. A Mr. Cumberland, secretary to Lord George Germain, has obtained permission to come to Madrid, and is actually here at present.† But as his excellency has promised to communicate his proposals, whatever they may be, on the subject of an accommodation, we can not entertain a doubt but that he will do it with the same frankness with which he made known to us those of Sir John Dalrymple. The Count de Montmorin,‡

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any article or articles of intercourse and pacification as before mentioned, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by any instrument under his sign manual, countersigned by one or more of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, to authorize and empower any such person or persons so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to suspend for the term of ten years from the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, the operation and effect of any act or acts of Parliament which are now in force respecting the aforesaid provinces of North America, or any clause or clauses, proviso or provisos, in any such act or acts of Parliament contained; inasmuch as they or any of them may obstruct the full effect and execution of any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification which may be entered into and ratified as before mentioned between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces of North America.

And be it further enacted, That in order to establish perpetual reconcilement and peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces of North America, it is hereby required, and be it enacted, that all or any article or articles of intercourse and pacification which shall be entered into and ratified for the certain term of ten years, as before mentioned, shall from time to time be laid before the two houses of Parliament for their consideration as the perpetual basis of reconcilement and peace between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces of North America; and that any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification as before mentioned, when the same shall have been confirmed in Parliament, shall remain in full force and effect forever.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue to be in force until the thirty-first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 23, with verbal corrections.

† A full narrative of Cumberland's proceedings when on this mission is given in his life. He had no previous diplomatic experience, though much literary distinction as a dramatist. According to his account he was received in Madrid with much greater favor than the letter in the text indicates. But he did nothing, and was badly treated by his own government, which did not sustain his claims to be regarded as a public minister, and refused to refund him the large outlays he made in supporting that character.

‡ Montmorin became in 1789 one of the cabinet of Louis XVI, and perished in the September massacres. His wife and son died on the guillotine. See 1 Gouverneur Morris' Diary, 138.

ambassador for France here, is not the least alarmed by the reception of this gentleman, and that court is full as much interested as we are in the object for which he is sent. Mr. Jay will transmit to Congress a narration which I have given him of this gentleman's motions.

We have likewise received an account of the death of M. Miralles. He will soon have a successor, by whom we shall write more fully, and I hope more to the satisfaction of Congress. Nothing can hurt us here, or in Europe, so long as we are united, firm, and vigorous. I experienced at first a little coldness from the foreign ministers at this court after the news of the surrender of Charleston, but that is worn off.

The public papers will announce the disturbances which have lately arisen at London; all is at present quiet in that quarter, and government seems to have acquired fresh confidence and vigor. The Count d'Estaing is expected at St. Ildefonso the 1st of next month, to go from thence to take the command of the united fleets, which will consist of thirty-six sail of the line, from Cadiz, including the French from Toulon and other French ports, and twelve or fifteen from Brest. The last advices import that the English squadron amounted to twenty-eight, chiefly capital ships; they left port about the 20th ultimo. The rest of Europe is in the same situation that I have already mentioned.

Since writing my letter of the 28th of May I received a letter from the Baron de Schulenburg,* of which the enclosed is a copy, in answer to a civil letter which I wrote him on my arrival here, representing the situation of our affairs in a favorable light. I daily expect another letter from him more particular, in consequence of an address which I have transmitted to him, by which he may write to me in safety. I have cultivated the friendship of the foreign ministers and their secretaries as often as I have had occasion, and as I have always avoided an appearance of prejudice, I flatter myself that I have been listened to with attention. My conduct has been the same with those of this nation with whom I have found means to be acquainted, and I doubt not, with time and patience, we shall ultimately succeed. I can not speak too highly of the conduct of the Count de Montmorin, personally or politically. M. Gerard, in his letters to me, expresses the same attachment as ever to our cause, and his late acquisition of dignity and consequence puts it more in his power to be useful to us. As yet Mr. Jay has received but one letter from Congress, which conveyed their resolves respecting the bills of exchange drawn on him. I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Mr. Houston last week, which I shall answer, if possible, by this opportunity.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

* Missing.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 19, 1780.

SIR: The news from Petersburgh of the 16th of June is that the fleet destined for the protection of the commerce of that empire was ready to sail. Of the three squadrons of which it is composed, one is to cruise, as they learn, in the North Sea, the other upon the coast of Portugal, and the third in the Mediterranean. This last will winter at Leghorn, and the two first in some port of a friendly power upon the North Sea or in the Baltic.

The news from Copenhagen of the 4th of July is that "the maritime forces of the northern powers begin to put themselves in motion for the protection of their commerce in regard to the belligerent powers. The vessels the *King of Jutland* and the *Prince Frederick*, of seventy guns, commanded by the captains de Kaas and Lous, have put into the road the 30th of June. The better to man them, as well as the other vessels of our squadron, we have embarked several detachments of the regiments of infantry of Holstein, Falster, and Jutland. The 1st of July we saw pass by here towards the sound three Swedish ships of the line coming from the Baltic; and the next day the Russian fleet, composed of fifteen ships of the line and of several frigates, came to anchor in our road, separated into three divisions, under the command of Vice-Admirals de Borislow, de Kruse, and de Polibin. They say that is to be followed by the admiral's vessel, commanded by Vice-Admiral Greigh, in quality of commander-in-chief of all the fleet."

The following are the articles of the ordinance of the Empress of Russia concerning the navigation of the merchant flag of Russia:

ARTICLE I. They may not take any part in the war, directly nor indirectly, or under any pretext whatsoever; and they may not even give succor to any of the powers at war by carrying them merchandises of contraband under the Russian flag. These consist, namely, in cannon, mortars, muskets, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, or balls, proper to fire, fusils, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cutlasses, pikes, swords, scabbards, gibernes, saddles, and bridles. They ought also to take special care that there be not found on board of any vessel more of these warlike stores than they have occasion for for their own use, and so much that each sailor or passenger may be sufficiently provided.

ART. II. All other merchandises, whoever may be the owners, and even although they belong to the subjects of one or another of the belligerent powers, may be freely embarked upon Russian vessels, and shall enjoy on board of them equally with the merchandises of our subjects the protection of the Russian flag, excepting those which are contained in the first article under the name of contraband, as in fact they are declared such in the eleventh article of our treaty of commerce with England. By means of this safety of merchandises permitted in neutral vessels, our subjects ought also to have a care not to embark effects which belong to them upon vessels of nations engaged in the war, to the end to avoid thus all disagreements and disagreeable rencontres.

ART. III. Every vessel going out of the port of this city, or of any other of our empire, ought to be furnished with sufficient proofs that she belongs to Russian sub-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 194.

jects; to wit, with sea-letters, as is the usage, and with a certificate of the custom-house, in which it may be declared, first, with what merchandises she is loaded, and how much; secondly, on the account of whom they have been purchased, and to whom the vessel and the cargo are addressed. For the greater safety the certificates sent by the custom-house shall be inspected by the admiralty, or in his default by the magistrate of the place.

ART. IV. Not only our native subjects shall enjoy these prerogatives, but also strangers who are settled in our dominions and who bear like them the public burdens; that is to say, during the time that they shall sojourn in our country, since in no other case can it be permitted them to employ the merchant flag of Russia.

ART. V. Each Russian vessel, even in case one single owner expedites two or three vessels at a time for the same place, ought to be provided in particular with the documents mentioned in the third article, which may serve to justify their property in case that these ships should separate during the voyage or be obliged to pursue different routes.

ART. VI. It is forbidden to every Russian vessel to have connoissements, charter-parties or other sea papers double or doubtful, much less false declarations, inasmuch as these always expose to an inevitable danger. Thus they should give their principal attention that their documents be in good order, and prove clearly, as it is said before, the true destination of the vessel and the nature of her cargo. It is also necessary that the contract between the owner of the merchandises and the master of the vessel or the agreement known under the name of charter-party be always on board. But as it happens very often that the owner of merchandises in making his adventure, whether in his own vessel or whether in a neutral vessel freighted by him, fixes the sale of them solely by speculation by preference in some port, and in case the price in this port is too low, in some port more distant; in this case they ought not to fail to name and settle the two ports according to the order of the route and their situation in one single connoissement, and not in two. They ought also to observe the same precautions in regard to the charter-parties, to the end that there may be no difference between them and the connoissements; and in case that any one of our subjects, in contempt of these dispositions, shall allow himself in artifice and duplicity, he may assure himself that he shall never enjoy our protection, which is granted only to lawful and innocent commerce, and by no means to illicit and fraudulent traffic.

ART. VII. Every Russian vessel which, after having unloaded her cargo in any foreign port, has a design to return into her country, or to proceed farther in another foreign place, ought to provide herself, in this port and in every other at which she may stop to trade, with the documents required by the usages of the country, to the end that they may prove at all times the nation to which the ship belongs, the port from which she comes, that to which she is bound, and the merchandises with which she has been loaded anew.

ART. VIII. Forasmuch as the aforesaid documents are indispensably necessary to prove the neutral property of effects which are found on board the ship, they ought particularly to take care not to throw them into the sea, no more than any other writings or papers, without any exception, upon any occasion whatever, especially on the rencontre of any other vessel, inasmuch as by such a step one might expose himself to well-founded suspicions and to disagreeable consequences.

ART. IX. It is necessary to have a scrupulous attention, that there be not on board of any Russian vessel any merchant, clerk, and never more than one-third of the seamen subjects of the belligerent powers, because by conducting differently such vessel might expose herself to sustain disagreeable disappointments. But as a similar inconvenience may easily happen to those sorts of ships which, in time of war, are purchased of the subjects of the belligerent powers, for this reason, from this time, and as long as the present maritime war shall last, the said vessels may not be purchased unless under condition that they shall be solely employed in the Baltic or the Black Sea.

ART. X. The carriage of all merchandise whatsoever into places blocked or besieged by sea and by land is entirely prohibited, in consequence of which, if any of the merchants of this empire, engaged by the hope of gain, shall intermeddle in any such traffic, whatever loss he may sustain, he can not ever have the right of demanding our protection.

ART. XI. All our subjects who, by reason of their commerce, find themselves in foreign countries ought to conform themselves exactly to the civil and mercantile laws which shall there subsist, as well as to the ordinances of every place where they live or to which they may send their vessels. Nevertheless, to the end that they may as much as possible be instructed in those laws and ordinances, the college of foreign affairs will communicate to that of commerce all the writings that have relation thereto, that they may be able to give notice of them to the merchants by the means of the public papers.

ART. XII. Although our intention is to protect efficaciously and vigorously the navigation and the commerce of our faithful subjects, nevertheless we intend not by any means to permit that there result from it the least prejudice to one or the other of the belligerent powers, or that individual merchants should profit of it to make unlawful gain. To this effect we forbid expressly any of our merchants and trading subjects to permit strangers to negotiate or send ships to sea under his name. Every person who shall in this respect transgress our will shall be deprived forever of our imperial protection for his vessels, as well as of the right of fitting them out in future. If our subjects interested in maritime commerce follow exactly this ordinance in all its points they may be assured of our entire and unlimited protection concerning their affairs in foreign countries, as well as of a zealous and affectionate intervention on the part of the ministers, agents, and consuls who reside there on our part. To this end our college of foreign affairs will communicate to them in sufficient season the most precise instructions; but those among our subjects who shall depart from these regulations ought not to expect the least protection on our part, whatever unfortunate accidents and other damages they may sustain by their voluntary transgression of the orders which they shall have received, and not to depart from the requisite circumspection recommended to them. The college of commerce, in notifying this ordinance to the body of Russian merchants trading in our ports, shall at the same time be held to furnish the custom-houses with the necessary instructions relative to this order, as well as to communicate our will to the governors of provinces where there are ports, that at the same time they may be observed in all the tribunals which may concern them.

"CZARSKO-SELOLE, 19*th of May*, 1780."

The original is thus subscribed by the hand of her Imperial Majesty Catterine.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 19, 1780.

SIR: There is an article of news from Copenhagen of the 4th of July:

The vessels of war the *Prince Frederick* and the *Jutland*, each of seventy guns, and the frigates the *Pearl* and the *Alsen* are in the road. The admiral's flag will be hoisted on the 6th on board the *Justitia*, of seventy-four guns, and all the Dutch fleet will consist this year of ten ships of the line, from seventy-four to fifty guns, and six frigates, thirty-six to thirty. There has already sailed of this fleet one ship of sixty

* MSS. Dept. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 199.

guns for the coast of Guinea; one of fifty is in the North Sea; another is in the road of Elsinore for a guard-ship, and three frigates have sailed for America. Thus the squadron will remain composed of seven ships of the line and three frigates, which are to join the Russian fleet. Yesterday and the day before arrived in the road of this city a Russian fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and four frigates, under the command of Admiral Borislow, of Vice-Admiral Kruse, and of the Commandant Polibin; and on the 1st of this month there passed before the port of this city the Swedish ships of war coming from the Baltic Sea and making sail toward the Sound.

Elsinore, June 27.—There has sailed from this port a convoy of eighteen merchant ships, destined for the North Sea, under the convoy of a Swedish ship of the line and a frigate.

There is a paragraph in the Amsterdam Gazette of the 14th which is worth translating, because these paragraphs oftentimes betray a great deal of politics. It is this:

The conquest of Mobile, made by the Spaniards, the news of which has lately arrived here, appears so much the more important as it leads infallibly to that of Pensacola, by which the Spaniards may cut off one of the principal avenues of Jamaica, and may in time intercept the commerce and the provisions of this island, from whence they are much annoyed at Mexico by the English, who sufficiently incline to extend themselves when they can, and had made since the peace so great progress in this part of the world that to stop them the war was become almost indispensable to Spain.

It might have been added that it was become indispensable to France, too; for the English have ever made it a maxim to go to war with France, as she had a fine fleet and a flourishing commerce. Burn, sink, and destroy were the words with England whenever a formidable navy appeared upon the ocean belonging to any other nation.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 20, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 13th of this month. I am very sensible of the confidence with which you have communicated your ideas on the present situation of the United States, and the need they have of the immediate assistance of some ships of the line and some frigates. The Chevalier de Ternay and the Count de Rochambeau are sent with the express design which is the subject of your letter. They will concert their operations with Congress and with General Washington; and as the king has given them no precise orders with regard to their return to Europe, but has left them at liberty to act as they shall judge proper for the relief of America, there is every reason to believe that they will take their station during next winter in North America, if that shall be agreeable to

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 200; 7 J. Adams' Works, 232.

Congress, and that they will employ the ships and troops under their command according to the plan that shall be settled between them and the American generals.

You will perceive, sir, by this detail that the king is far from abandoning the cause of America, and that his majesty, without having been solicited by Congress, has taken effectual measures to support the cause of America. I flatter myself, sir, that these generous proceedings will excite suitable sensations in America, and that they will prevail over the falsehoods which the common enemy and their wicked adherents propagate there in order to raise suspicions of France, and to induce the Americans to take resolutions which will terminate in their slavery and dishonor.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to W. Lee.*

PARIS, *July* 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 8th I received in due course of post. The letter from Clinton arrived first at L'Orient in a Philadelphia newspaper, which had been sent to Mr. Jay. Mr. Wharton, I think, copied it, and sent it to Dr. Franklin, who communicated it soon after it appeared in Boston and other newspapers, without a hint of its want of authenticity. Within a few days past I have seen a gentleman from America, who says it was a mere *jeu d'esprit*, written by an officer in the army, upon the North River. I have been all along afraid that our countrymen would at length imitate their enemies in this kind of imposition, and I always thought that whenever they did they would be ingenious at it.

It must be agreed that this is ingeniously done, and conveys a great deal of solid truth and important instruction under this fiction. Yet I can not think the ingenuity of it a justification or excuse. We have no need of such aids as political lies. Our character for truth, sincerity, and candor is more real strength than ever can be derived from such impostures, however artfully performed. The influence this practice has upon the world in destroying confidence and in poisoning the morals of the people, the pure and single source of which is truth, ought to induce us to discountenance the practice by all means. The liberty of the press by no means includes a right of imposing on mankind by such detestable forgeries. I can not, therefore, think that the reflection you quote from the newspaper was too severe. All that we can do is to write to Congress and beseech them to suppress such practices. The signature of Charles Thomson, hitherto sacred, will no longer be credited if something is not done to discountenance such abuses.

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* 7 J. Adams' Works, 231.

Don Solano has not returned to Cadiz; but what will be done in the West Indies time alone can discover. Whether M. de Ternay will go to the West Indies, stay in America, or come to Europe I know not. I have not contented myself with giving my sentiments of what ought to be done by word of mouth, but I have stated it in writing, with my reasons at large, to more than one minister, and of all this I shall inform Congress in detail, who will see and judge who is right.

You say that a speedy peace is not at present in your view. This is so far from being surprising to me, that I wonder you ever should have had any pleasing prospects of peace from the enemy's suffering some capital loss in the West Indies. They are in such a sulky, mulish, suicidal temper, that they would not make peace if you took every island they have. This is my opinion. The suppression of the riots, committees, associations, correspondences, and all have given ministry more giddy confidence than even the taking of Charleston.

I fear America must reconcile herself to the thought of growing up in the midst of war, and find her resources in labor, patience, and economy, where she may have them in sufficient abundance.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 21, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me yesterday, and am extremely sensible of your excellency's confidence in communicating to me the destination of the armament under M. de Ternay and the Count de Rochambeau and the probability that the ships will winter in North America.

I assure your excellency that scarcely any news I ever heard gave me more satisfaction; and nothing, in my opinion, can afford a more effectual assistance to America, or make deeper or more grateful impression on the minds of her inhabitants.

I am infinitely mistaken if the service of the king in the conduct of the war, both in the West Indies and North America, does not derive such essential advantages from this measure as will demonstrate its wisdom to all the world, as well as to the English and Americans the king's determined benevolence to the American cause.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 201; 7 J. Adams' Works, 233.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 22, 1780.

SIR: The king of England's speech at the prorogation of Parliament contains nothing remarkable worth the attention of America, except compliments to the two houses upon their magnanimity and perseverance in the pursuits of this just and necessary war, which he says has put it in his power to make such efforts that he dares hope, with the aid of divine Providence, to disconcert the violent and unjust designs of his enemies, and induce them to listen to equitable and honorable terms of peace. "These efforts have already been followed by success both by sea and land; and the happy and important turn which affairs have lately taken in North America makes me conceive the best-founded hopes of the return of the affection and loyalty of my subjects of the Colonies, and of their happy reunion with their mother country."

There is one more sentence which deserves attention:

Exert yourselves to inculcate this important truth, that rebellious insurrections to resist or reform the laws can not fail to terminate in the destruction of those who have made the attempt, or by the subversion of our happy and free constitution.

Americans will make their own reflections on this speech. It is very certain that it has not the air nor the spirit of peace.

Madrid, June 27.—We expect to learn in a few days the formation of the combined fleet in the Bay of Cadiz. The following is the state of the Spanish vessels which are now there, ready to go out under the command of Lieutenant-General Don Louis de Cordova: *La Tres Sainte Trinite*, of one hundred and twenty guns; the *Foudre* and *S. Ferdinand*, of eighty; the *Sainte Isabelle*, the *Ange Gardien*, the *Serieux*, the *Atlas*, the *St. Pierre Apotre*, the *Orient*, the *St. Raphael*, the *St. Joachim*, the *St. Damase*, the *St. Isidore*, the *St. Eugene*, and the *St. Laurent*, of seventy; the *Mino*, of fifty-six; the frigates the *Ste. Lucie*, of thirty-six; the *Ste. Rufine*, of twenty-eight; the *Ste. Barbe*, and the *Assomption*, of twenty-six; the chebecs the *Majorquais* and the *Murcien*, of thirty-six; the *St. Sebastian*, of twenty-four; and the corvette the *Ste. Catherine*, of eighteen. To these vessels must be added the squadron of Ferrol, which entered on the 23d of May in the Bay of Cadiz, under the command of Don Athanasio Baranda, and composed of the vessels the *Conception*, of ninety; the *St. Charles* and the *St. Vincent*, of eighty; the *Ferme*, the *Galice*, the *St. Paschal*, and the *Brilliant*, of seventy; the *Septentrion*, of sixty-four; the frigates *El Carmen* and the *Perpetua*, of thirty-six; as well as the corvette the *Ste. Helene*, of twenty-two guns; making thus a total of twenty-four ships of the line, six frigates, four chebecs, and two cutters.

Cadiz, June 24.—The squadron of M. de Bausset, composed of seven ships of the line, anchored on the 18th in this bay. His frigates brought in two small ships, loaded with corn and flour and a cutter of twelve guns. The cruise of this squadron has served very much to keep the enemy's cruisers at a distance; and the neutrals, not fearing to be disturbed, have come here in great numbers. The 19th the *Protector*, commanded by M. de Achen, arrived here; she fell into the midst of the Quebec fleet, but as she sailed ill and had no frigate (the *Galatea* having been separated from her), she was not able to take more than two vessels, the cargoes of which were rich enough, and which she sent into Lisbon.

Thus the French and Spanish ships at Cadiz amount to thirty of the line. This fleet, combined with that of Brest, and with the *Active*, the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 201.

Guerrier, the *Cæsar*, gone to convoy merchantmen to a certain latitude, and to a ship of one hundred and ten guns from Rochfort, and all commanded by the Count d'Estaing, would give a good account of the English.

Petersburgh, June 23.—The squadron equipped at Cronstadt, having received its last orders, sailed from thence the 19th of this month. As the service to which it is destined will not permit it to return before winter in the ports of this empire, the court has sent to its ministers in Holland, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark orders to request of those respective powers that there may be granted to this squadron a free entry into their ports, and all the succor of which they may have occasion in case they should be obliged to put in there by any accident, etc.

Copenhagen, July 4.—The arrival of the fleet of fifteen Russian ships of the line in our port is soon to be followed by the departure of the Danish fleet. The *Justice*, of seventy-four guns, the last of the vessels that we have armed to form it, will go to-morrow into the road; and the day after the Vice-Admiral De Schindel will hoist his flag on board of her. We shall then have in service eight ships of the line, two fifty guns, and six frigates, to wit, the *Justice* and the *Princess Sophia Frederick*, Commandant Krieger, of seventy-four; the *Jutland* and the *Prince Frederick*, commandants De Kaas and Lous, of seventy; the *Droit d'Indigénat* and the *Wagrie*, captains Gormar and Bille, of sixty-four; the *Dannebrog* and the *Holstein*, captains Ellebracht and U. C. Kaas, of sixty; the *Mars* and the *Greenland*, captains Lutken and Knudsen, of fifty; the *Bornholm* and the *Riel*, captains Schaning and Tender, of thirty-six; the *Moen*, Captain Budde, of thirty-four; the *Cronberg*, Captain Ziervogel, of thirty-two the *Alsen*, Captain Count de Reventlau, of twenty-four; and the *Christian*, Captain Stockflelk, of twenty guns. Of these, nevertheless, the *Holstein* sailed the 30th for Guinea; the *Bornholm*, the *Moen*, and the *Christian* are in the islands of America, and the *Greenland* serves as a guard-ship in the road of Helsingore.

Whatever may be the part that other powers will take in regard to the project of an armed neutrality, the three crowns of the north appear uniform in their measures for the protection of the commerce of their subjects; and these measures have already the effect that their ships, particularly the Swedish and Danish, are already sought for freight in the Baltic in preference to all others; while on the other side there arrive no neutral vessels from the North Sea in the sound which does not make the most bitter complaints concerning the ill treatment received from English privateers. A Dutch ship has had nineteen of them on board of him since his departure from the coast of France, and a Russian ship has been robbed of all his victuals by these pirates, who had left him nothing but gruau water and eighteen pounds of bread upon which eight men were to subsist during three weeks.

Hague, July 17.—Affairs between our republic and the court of London are still in the same state of indecision. We learn that the latter has answered, by the Viscount Stormont, to the different memoirs presented during some weeks by the envoy the Count de Welderen, in which he insisted upon the stipulations of the treaty of 1674: "That in answer to these memorials, and to all those which could be presented of the same nature, he, Lord Stormont, observed that the Count de Welderen insisted upon that which at this time no longer existed; that it would be superfluous to repeat what had passed upon this subject; that he should confine himself, therefore, to remind him of the order which the king had given in his council on the 17th of last April, and of which he had had the honor to give him official information."

I am thus particular in laying before Congress a state of the navies of Europe, because they show the unanimity and ardor with which all the maritime powers are intent upon their commercial and naval interests, upon the freedom of commerce and navigation, and upon the rights of neutral nations, and to show that America is universally considered by them as such a magazine of raw materials for manufactures, such a source of commerce, and such a nursery of seamen and naval power, that they are determined that no one power in Europe shall ever again monopolize it. We must, however, fight our own battles and bear our own expenses; for the slow march of those powers, their maxims of dignity, and systems of etiquette, are such that they must have their own way and operate in their own time. England has hints and warnings enough, but she will not take them. These events, however, all show the wisdom of Congress in planning the first treaty which was first sent to the Court of Versailles upon the principle of perfect equality and reciprocity—granting no exclusive privileges, and binding herself to no obligation not to admit any other and all other nations to the same; principles from which it is to be presumed we shall not depart.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 22, 1780.

SIR: I take the earliest opportunity to inform you that his majesty's minister, in giving me notice of the expedition of the squadron which arrived at Rhode Island on the 12th instant, informs me that particular considerations relative to the movements of the English have induced his majesty to send in two divisions the forces which are designated to act in this country. The first division, having happily arrived, will be immediately ready for active service. With regard to the second, it was to quit the French coast as soon as circumstances should permit. Will you have the kindness, sir, in imparting this news to Congress, to inform that body that it ought to be kept secret till the moment of execution. I hope that Congress will approve of this reserve, both on account of the uncertainty of events at sea and because the enemy should be kept in ignorance of our measures.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

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* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 696.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *July* 22, 1780.

SIR: As everything is here in the activity of summer, nothing new has occurred. The States of the province of Holland do not assemble till the 26th of this month. It is to be wished that we may soon receive news from America which will raise again the courage of the friends of the United States, to whom the misfortune of Charleston has caused much pain, in proportion as it has reanimated those who favor your enemies. The latter, in the mean time, forge and utter every day rumors injurious to the United States, such as that they are about to submit. "The Congress," say they, "is disunited and ready to dissolve; the southern provinces successively yield, and they flatter themselves in England that those in the north will follow their example." The king himself flatters his Parliament with this idea. I can for the present only oppose patience to all this, and keep myself mostly out of sight, for they look on me as a lost man, and one who will be soon abandoned by America herself. Besides, my feeble health, which has not been able to resist this shock and a concurrence of many others, forces me to this inaction for a time.

Two plenipotentiaries depart hence to regulate at Petersburgh with the Empress of Russia the armed neutrality. The court of Denmark has followed the example of Russia in making the same declarations to the other powers. It appears that the affair of Munster will not trouble the peace of Germany. This election must be made the 16th of next month, and probably the archduke will be coadjutor.

JULY 24.

The sudden declaration of Denmark, unforeseen by all the world, much embarrasses those here who hope to see the armed neutrality fail. Amsterdam has protested against sending plenipotentiaries to Petersburgh, to whom embarrassing instructions have been given. She wishes, with reason, that they would be content simply to send full powers to M. de Swart, resident of the republic at Petersburgh, with orders to conform to the resolution of their high mightinesses, which is positive and clear on the accession to said armed neutrality. It is expected that Sweden will make, on the first opportunity, a like declaration. Then the opposition will not be able to force the republic to recede without making themselves odious.

We hope by the next post, among other things, to receive good news from the combined fleet of the Count de Guichen and Don Solano; as also from M. de Ternay and from the continent.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 311, whose version, condensing the original, is here given.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 23, 1780.

SIR: I have been amused some time with dark and unintelligible hints in letters from London of some messenger sent from Lord North to Madrid.

Three weeks ago I waited on the Comte de Vergennes, at Versailles, to acquaint him that I had an intention of making a journey to Amsterdam for a few weeks, as I flattered myself I might form some acquaintances or correspondences there and collect some intelligence that might be useful to the United States. His excellency desired me to wait some time, for that in eight or ten days he believed he should have something to communicate to me. I assured him that I would not go until I saw him again or heard further from him. This day sevennight his excellency informed me that he was ready to let me know that a messenger from the court of London had arrived at Madrid; that the Spanish ministry had demanded the sentiments of the British court concerning America. He said he was not instructed. He was told he must previously explain himself upon that subject. He determined to send an express to London for instructions. This the Comte de Vergennes said would take up two months, and consequently leave me time enough to go to Holland, but if anything should happen in the mean time he would give me the earliest information of it.

In the *Courier de l'Europe* of the 14th of July is this paragraph:

> The report runs that a person who has been secretary of the Marquis d'Almodavar, during his embassy from the court of Madrid to that of London, arrived here (London) some weeks ago on board the *Milford*, coming from Oporto; that after a stay of eight days this frigate had orders to transport to Lisbon this person, accompanied by Mr. Cumberland, secretary of Lord George Germain, whose instructions imply that if at the end of twenty days he is not called to Madrid he is to return here immediately. As soon as this person arrived at Lisbon he set out for Madrid, where fifteen days after Mr. Cumberland was invited to go, and where he is at present.

There is a body of people in England who are zealous and clamorous for peace, and the ministry find their account in amusing and silencing them by equivocal appearances of negotiations. They have ever made it a part of their political system to hold out to America some false hopes of reconciliation and peace, in order to slacken our nerves and retard our preparations. They think also that they can amuse the courts of France and Spain with a talk about conferences and negotiations, while they are secretly concerting measures to succor Gibraltar and carry on their operations the next campaign. But serious thoughts of peace upon any terms that we can agree to I am persuaded they never had; but if they ever did entertain any thoughts of negotiation, it must have been at the time of their consternation for Sir Henry Clinton and their despair of his success.

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* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 205; 7 J. Adams' Works, 233.

The total and absolute suppression of the tumults in London, and the triumphant success of Clinton, beyond their most sanguine expectations, has now given them such confidence and exaltation that the people of America will dethrone Congress, and like the Israelites of old demand a king, that they now think of nothing but unconditional submission, or at least of delusive proffers of terms, which they know the majesty of the people in America will not agree to, in order to divide us, to make a few gentlemen apostates and some soldiers deserters.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to Dumas.*

MADRID, *July* 24, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I confess myself very remiss in not answering your favor of the 21st ultimo sooner. The removal of the court from Aranjuez to this city, and a bilious disorder which has oppressed me more than a month, and which still afflicts me, have in part been the reason. I have no news to communicate to you which can console you for our late misfortunes; I can assure you, however, that they do not deject me. *Per aspera ad astra.* Heaven does not intend to exempt us from the adversities which have befallen other nations who struggled for their liberty by giving us almost full and instantaneous enjoyment of it. I have full confidence in the perseverance of our countrymen. They will, I hope, act with more vigor in consequence of their misfortunes. I have received letters from America, dated in the end of April and the 1st of May, which speak of the loss of Charleston as certain, and which predict other successes of the enemy in the northern States, but which show no despondency.

I shall pay implicit obedience to the request you make me with respect to your family, and you may rely upon me when I tell you that as long as I have any influence or any friends in the councils of America they shall not want strenuous advocates; and this letter will always be a memento that would put me to the blush should I be deficient in a promise which I think myself, even in justice to my country, obliged to endeavor to fulfill in the best manner possible.

The Spanish, or rather allied, fleet has returned to Cadiz, except a few vessels which cruise near that part. The Count d'Estaing is expected at St. Ildefonso in about a week, the count being now at that place. I go there this week.

I see that the *Courrier de l'Europe* mentions that Mr. Jay has received his *congé*, etc., etc. Not a word of truth. The English papers sent our commissioners from France frequently, yet a treaty was made by these

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* 5 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr, 312.

same *congéd* commissioners. I have received your cipher safe. Begin when you please your observations on men and things. I shall be much obliged to you to separate and seal up all the letters you have ever received from me, unless it be this, under a cover for me, which, in case of death—which Heaven forbid!—you will direct to me, delivered to my orders.

My best compliments to your family and Messrs. de Neufville, and believe me ever your friend and servant,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *July* 25, 1780.

SIR: The 21st of March last I had the honor to write your excellency a long letter on my own concerns, of which I annex here an extract. I add here that when I received the first commission of the committee on the part of Congress dated in December, 1775, in which they honored me with their orders and credentials, I did not solicit to be employed; I did not even think of it. But chosen and named by this respectable body, in a manner as unexpected as it was definite and authentic, to serve essentially the United States, my ardent thoughts and life were consecrated with zeal to the cause of the United States. Persuaded that it was the cause of humanity, of liberty, and of virtue, I have sacrificed everything to this noble service during nearly five years with all possible zeal and fidelity. The Congress also testified to me soon after that they were well satisfied with my services. I have corresponded assiduously since that time with the committee of foreign affairs, with the plenipotentiaries of the United States at Paris, and with a number of other servants of America. I have raised up, cemented, and nourished in Holland a considerable party in their favor, whereby I have drawn upon myself the hatred of a party more powerful, which wishes to see me perish, and which has already done me all the wrong and all the mischief of which it was capable. I have participated in the adverse fortune of America in the just confidence that the United States and their Congress will have my interest at heart, as I have constantly and successfully had theirs, and as their magnanimity, their dignity, and their honor require in the eyes of the European public.

I have yet fully this confidence; and it is this which caused me to solicit, more than a year since, in several of my letters to the committee of foreign affairs, a formal confirmation of my agency on the part of Congress for my safety and quiet. I beg, sir, that you will second my request, and obtain for me a resolution as favorable as my demand is just.

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*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 313.

I knew that some Americans, whom I honor in other respects, have entertained and propagated the idea that a commission of the honorable committee of foreign affairs was not so valid as one of Congress. One of them said so to me. I will not, sir, give myself up to an idea so injurious as to think that Congress would refuse to ratify what their committee has done and the engagements it has made; but this body is not always composed of the same persons; it has many other affairs; it may forget me, and I may be cruelly supplanted, abandoned, and consequently, at the age of sixty years, ruined, with my family, without resource and without means. I put, then, my cause into the hands of your excellency, to endeavor to obtain for me, as promptly as possible, the satisfaction I desire, and to send me the commission I solicit. The service of the United States requires it, and this will not interfere with the powers of minister plenipotentiary who may be sent here; on the contrary, I shall be useful to him, if God spares my life.

One consideration also to which I pray Congress to give their attention is, that far from being recompensed for my past labors, the two hundred and twenty-five louis d'ors or guineas which I draw yearly for my subsistence and to defray the expenses of journeys, postages, etc.—charges which from prudence and considering circumstances I have never carried to the account—are not sufficient, and I have been obliged constantly to expend my own in addition. Besides my age, the privation not only of a copyist, which the service demanded, but even a valet, which I have been obliged also to deny myself, in order to be able to subsist, for about three years, makes my life extremely sad and painful.

In perfect trust that Congress will consent to give attention to my petition and to my state, I commend myself, with my wife and daughter, to their protection.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *July* 25, 1780.

SIR: The intention of his majesty, which you had done me the honor to signify to me in your letter of the 24th instant, to have the contestation relative to the taking of the ship *Flora* brought before the tribunal of the realm, there to be judged according to the laws and rules established for French privateers, appears to me so perfectly right, that I acquiesce in it with pleasure. I had the honor of acquainting your excellency in mine of the 18th past with the motives urged to me for granting an American commission to the *Black Prince*. Afterwards I was, without seeking or desiring it, drawn into the exercise of a kind of judicial power respecting her prizes by being assured that your

* MSS. Dep. of State.

tribunals refused to judge of prizes made by American cruisers, and by being shown the eleventh article of the king's regulation of September 27, 1778, directing the officers of the admiralty to send me copies of all their proceedings and the papers relating to any prize brought into your ports by such cruisers, which it was alleged was intended to enable me to judge of the legality of these prizes, which judgment was therefore demanded of me. A letter, too, which I had the honor of receiving from M. de Sartine seemed to confirm this, viz:

VERSAILLES, *le* 27 *7bre* 1779.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous envoyer les procédures instruites par les officiers de l'Amirauté de Brest concernant la prise Le Jeune Dominique, et huit Rancons faites par le corsaire américain Le Prince Noir. Vous savez, Monsieur, que le conseil de prises n'a pas jugé convenable de prendre connoissance de ces sortes de procédures; et je vous prie de m'accuser la réception de ces différentes pièces.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

These, if I have acted improperly, are my excuses. I shall, as you advise, withdraw the only two commissions I have issued to the privateers fitted out by the king's subjects.

Being, with the greatest consideration, yours,

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 25, 1780.

SIR: As the present state of things may render the frigates and other vessels at the disposal of Congress useful to the combined naval operations, I pray you to have the goodness to propose putting these vessels under the orders of M. de Ternay, commander of the French squadron, while instructions, such as shall be thought proper, are given to the American captains. If Congress approves of this proposition, it will be necessary to send orders to the frigates, which are now in the eastern ports, so that they may join the French squadron as soon as possible; if, however, they have been destined to any other service, and Congress is reluctant to change their destination, do not, I pray you, sir, insist on my demand. If these vessels shall receive orders to join the French squadron, I wish to have it in my power to inform M. de Ternay at what time he may look for them, what signals they will make on their approach, and what signals he shall use in reply to theirs.

I had hoped, sir, after the assurances which Congress was pleased to give me, that the *Confederacy* would be ready about the 15th of this month at farthest. Will you have the kindness to let me know, with

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 697.

as much accuracy as circumstances will permit, about what time you think that she will be ready to set sail.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

Reed to Luzerne.†

IN COUNCIL, *Philadelphia, July* 25, 1780.

SIR: In answer to your excellency's favor of this day, I have the honor to acquaint you that the enlisting any deserter in the Continental army being expressly contrary to the direction of the commander-in-chief, the Hessian deserters are quite at liberty to enter into the service of his most Christian majesty, if his officers approve it, and they will in that case receive every encouragement from us so to do.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOSEPH REED,
President of Pennsylvania.

Vergennes to J. Adams.‡

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 25, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write on the 17th of this month.§ I have read it with the most serious attention, and in order to give you an answer with greater exactness I have placed in the margin every paragraph which seemed to require observations on my part. You will there see, sir, that I continue to be of opinion that the time to communicate your plenipotentiary power to Lord Germain is not yet come, and you will there find the reasons on which I ground my opinion. I have no doubt but you will feel the force of them, and that they will determine you to think as I do. But if that should not be the case, I pray you, and in the name of the king request you, to communicate your letter and my answer to the United States, and to suspend, until you shall receive

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* IN CONGRESS, *July* 27.

Resolved, That the frigates *Trumbull, Confederacy*, and *Deane*, and the sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, be put under the direction of General Washington, to be employed in co-operating with the fleet of his most Christian majesty, commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, in any naval enterprise on the coasts of North America.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 697.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 207, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 235.

§ Given *supra*, under date. For Adams' rejoinder, see *infra*, July 26, 1780. See comments, Introduction, § 15.

orders from them, all measures with regard to the English ministry. I shall, on my part, transmit my observations to America, that M. de la Luzerne may communicate them to the members of Congress, and I am persuaded that that assembly will think the opinion of the ministry of France worthy some attention, and that they will not be afraid of neglecting or betraying the interests of the United States by adopting it as a rule of their conduct.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

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